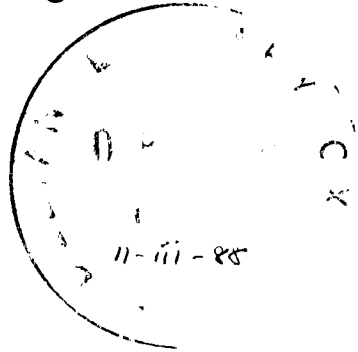


**The Doctrine of the Royal Supremacy  
in the Thought of Richard Hooker**



by

William John Torrance Kirby

Christ Church, Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of Oxford  
Trinity Term, 1987

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POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM



ELISABET D. G. ANGLIAE, FRANCLAE, HIBERNIAE, ET VERGINIAE REGINA.  
FIDEI CHRISTIANAE PROPVGNATRIX ACERRIMA NVNC IN DNO REQVIESCENS.

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Short Abstract

The subject of this dissertation is Richard Hooker's defence of the royal headship of the church in the final book of his treatise Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. His treatment of this political question is remarkable for its depth of theological analysis. Hooker approaches the issue of the royal headship from three main theological angles: first, from the standpoint of the crucial distinction of Reformation soteriology between the so-called 'Two Realms' or 'Two Kingdoms'; secondly, according to the categories and distinctions of basic systematic doctrine, notably Chalcedonian Christology and Trinitarian dogma; and thirdly, he applies the magisterial reformers' test of ecclesiological orthodoxy. Modern students of Hooker's political thought have been very reluctant to bridge the gulf between the theological and political realms of his discourse. As a result, the theological matrix of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy has been quite neglected. The erection of such a bridge is indispensable to our understanding of the alien mentalité which underlies this important Elizabethan controversy.

We shall attempt to demonstrate that Hooker's employment of theological argument in defence of the Royal Supremacy was central to his ultimate apologetic purpose. He wrote the Lawes with a view to 'resolving the consciences' of the Disciplinarian-Puritan critics of the Elizabethan Settlement. He sought to convince these opponents by the most compelling mode of argument they knew - theological argument - that the royal headship was wholly consistent with the cardinal principles of the ecclesiology and political theory of the magisterial Reformation. In the first chapter there is a consideration of the methodological difficulties of modern Hooker scholarship. This is followed by an examination of Hooker's apologetic intention and a division of the chief theological elements of the controversy over the Royal Supremacy. Chapter two explores the soteriological foundations of Hooker's doctrine of the

Two Realms and Two Regiments as well as his relation to the authority of the magisterial reformation. Chapter three examines Hooker's ecclesiology as the pivotal link between his soteriological 'first principles' and his political theory. Finally, in chapter four, the considerations of the previous chapters will be applied directly to the interpretation of Hooker's theology of the royal headship as presented by him in Book VIII of the Laws.

Greater Abstract

The main focus of this dissertation is Richard Hooker's defence of the royal headship of the English church in the reign of Elizabeth. In the final book of his treatise Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, he develops an extremely sophisticated theological analysis of the Royal Supremacy in response to a series of objections raised by Thomas Cartwright, a pre-eminent Puritan divine. Both Cartwright's criticisms and Hooker's response to them are remarkable for their doctrinal complexity. The issue of whether the Civil Magistrate may assume the title and responsibility of 'headship' in relation to the church was disputed by them on the highest level of theological discourse. On the one side, Cartwright insisted that Christ alone is entitled to be called 'Head of the Church'. On the other side, Hooker argued that because there are two kinds of ecclesiastical power, the 'ghostly' and the 'external', the church may therefore have both a ghostly head, viz. Christ, and an external head, viz. the Civil Magistrate. Below the surface of this disagreement respecting the 'title of headship' there is a complex theological debate which lies at the very core of the constitutional controversies of the Elizabethan church. Hooker's approach to the question of the royal headship is remarkable indeed. He responds to the Disciplinary objections against the Royal Supremacy by

mounting a three-pronged attack on their most basic doctrinal assumptions. First he impugns their commitment to the received orthodoxy with respect to certain fundamental categories and distinctions of Christology and Trinitarian dogma. Secondly, he questions their interpretation of the crucial distinction of Reformation soteriology between the Two Realms or Two Kingdoms. Finally, he rejects their adherence to the principles of ecclesiological orthodoxy established by the magisterial reformers. In short, Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy is closely interwoven with three of the central issues of sixteenth-century theological dispute.

The central purpose of this thesis is to explore the theological matrix of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. Our aim is to investigate the connections between the theological and political aspects of his discourse and to show how the question of the royal headship of the church was tied to certain of the more fundamental themes of Reformation thought. Modern students of Hooker's political thought have been remarkably reluctant to bridge the gap between these two realms of his discourse. Indeed very few critical studies of Hooker's political thought have appeared in past thirty years. Those studies which have addressed his theory of the Royal Supremacy have failed to make sufficient allowance for the alien character of Hooker's thought. For him there was no clear-cut division

between the disciplines of theology and political theory. Yet modern critics persist in treating his achievement as a political philosopher in isolation from several of the crucial theological issues of the time. It is the purpose of this study to attempt to overcome this anachronistic assumption in the methodology of modern Hooker scholarship and hence to treat the Lawes as a work of 'political theology'.

In addition to this general methodological issue in modern Hooker scholarship, there are other questions of interpretation which must be raised. By far the most important point of disagreement in recent scholarship over the interpretation of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy, and of his theory of the Tudor constitution in general, is the question of their logical incoherence with respect to his philosophical first principles. Some scholars argue that the defence of the Royal Supremacy in Book VIII of the Lawes contradicts his legal theory in Book I. Others defend the unity and consistency of the treatise on the grounds of Hooker's clear subordination of all principle to the pragmatic necessity of securing political stability that Hooker in fact submits to mere polemical expediency in the face of the ecclesiastical crisis of the late 1580s and early '90s. Against these two sceptical evaluations of the treatise, we propose to argue that Hooker's position is indeed coherent, but that the internal

consistency of his argument derives not from sheer polemical necessity, but rather from his continual reference of the key issues to the principles of systematic theology and reformed doctrinal orthodoxy. Our aim, therefore, is to emphasize the irenical character of Hooker's apologetic intention. That is to say, his argument is addressed chiefly to certain protestant divines, the so-called 'moderate Puritans', who expressed theological doubts about the ecclesiastical constitution established under the Elizabethan Settlement, and in particular concerning the Royal Supremacy. Hooker's apologetic aim was to resolve these doubts by a reasoned theological defence of the royal headship according to the doctrinal principles of the magisterial reformers. The commonly received view of Hooker as the representative of an Anglican via media between the Catholic and Reformed positions cannot be reconciled with such an interpretation of the apologetic purpose of the Laws. Thus our argument will require a reconsideration of Hooker's basic theological position with respect to the Reformation. In short, therefore, our aim is to set Hooker's defence of the Royal Supremacy in the context of the Elizabethan ecclesiological controversies, to examine more closely the apologetic intention behind Hooker's treatise, and thereby to demonstrate the crucial role of theological modes of argument in the framing of his doctrine of the Supremacy.

The method of this inquiry is to trace the critical steps which connect the relevant underlying theological assumptions of Hooker's thought with his eventual analysis of the Royal Supremacy in Book VIII of the Lawes. Hooker was very careful about his own methodology, and spells out his approach clearly in both the Preface and Book I of the Lawes. As a result, his treatise is a great deal more systematic than most other polemical works of the time. He begins with 'more generall meditations' and then proceeds in order to 'later particular decisions'. (LEP 1.1.2; Pref. 7). Our examination of the relevant general meditations, however, will not be restricted simply to the more theoretical early books of the Lawes. The interpretation of the fundamental shape of Hooker's thought demands that attention be paid to his various Sermons and Tracts. These lesser works of Hooker will figure prominently in the discussion of his formulation of the Two Realms and Two Regiments doctrine which, as shall also be shown, is the keystone of the political thought of such magisterial reformers as Luther and Calvin. The contributions of Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift to the Admonition Controversy will be reviewed at the appropriate stages. For Hooker constructs his own argument as a reply to Cartwright's final unanswered salvo in that debate of the 1570s. The next step is to show the soteriological basis of Hooker's doctrine of

the church. Hooker's ecclesiology stands as the pivotal link between the theological first principles embodied in the Two Realms theory, on the one hand, and Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy, on the other. The doctrine of the Church as 'politique societie' is of crucial importance in his subsequent analysis of ecclesiastical jurisdiction - the Royal Supremacy being the power of supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This consideration of his ecclesiology will develop the view that Hooker sets out to criticise the Disciplinary-Puritan doctrine of the church from the high ground of reformed orthodoxy.

In the final chapter these various strands of Hooker's theology will be drawn together in the interpretation of the difficult text of his defence of the royal headship with which we began. Hooker's analysis of the chief categories of Cartwright's theological objections of the royal headship will be examined. Then there will follow an examination of Hooker's response to these objections. These are to be divided into the following categories: 1) the Trinitarian question; 2) the Christological question; 3) the ecclesiological question; and 4) the question of the Two Realms and Two Regiments - this being the order of Hooker's argument.

What, then, is the outcome of this inquiry? Is there originality in the argument? And does it constitute a

worthwhile contribution to Hookerian studies? In its methodology the present study has set out to overcome the anachronistic assumptions implicit in the customary modern approaches. Hooker's defence of the royal title of headship in the fourth chapter of Book VIII has often been ignored or skirted by modern critics of the political theory of the Laws. The attempt to reinterpret Hooker's political doctrine in the light of the theological matrix of his thought is long over-due. The contribution which we have sought to make above all is to reassess this key feature of Hooker's political theory through the alien categories of contemporary discourse which modern critics have avoided. Our interpretation of Hooker's apologetic purpose will entail some revision of his place among the sixteenth-century protestant divines. The anachronism of 'Anglicanism' has been observed already by other modern historians of the Elizabethan period. This revision has yet to be applied to a reevaluation of Hooker's theology. Obviously this revision cannot be accomplished within the scope of this present essay. Nevertheless, our study can at least hope to initiate this process of reevaluation. To demonstrate that Hooker and his contemporaries, both Establishment and Disciplinarian, saw the Royal Supremacy as a fundamentally theological issue is the chief burden of this thesis. It is our aim to offer an interpretation of some of the chief elements of that issue. For a

considerable period of time Hookerian studies have remained fragmented among a variety of disciplines. The interpretation of Hooker's political theory in particular has suffered from this unconscious imposition of an anachronistic division of the sciences. The separation of the realms of political and theological discourse which we have inherited from the Enlightenment ought not to be assumed so in our reading of this sixteenth-century divine. To do so necessarily involves a failure to apprehend the essentially alien character of his thought. While we can probably never expect to recover this mode of thought in any complete and wholly satisfactory manner, it is nevertheless the aim of this essay to attempt to do so as far as possible. It is on this attempt at a reinterpretation that the study must be justified.

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## Abbreviations

- FLE      The Folger Library Edition of the Workes of Richard Hooker, gen. ed. W. Speed Hill, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1977. Currently four of seven volumes have been published.
- HW      The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker, 3 vols., ed. John Keble, 7th ed. revised by R. W. Church and F. Paget, Oxford, 1888.
- Inst.     John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, translated by H. Beveridge, London and Grand Rapids, Michigan, n.d.
- LEP      Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, all references to which are taken from the authoritative Folger Library Edition.
- PS      Parker Society editions of the works of the English Reformers, Cambridge, 1840-  
.
- TC      The principal works of Thomas Cartwright in the course of his debates with Archbishop John Whitgift in the Admonition Controversy. These are: TC 1, A Replie to an Answer Made of M. Doctor Whitgift, Wandsworth, 1574; TC 2, The Second Replie against Master Whitgifte's Second Answer, Zurich ?, 1575; TC 3, The Rest of the Seconde Replie, s.l., 1577.
- WA      (Weimarer Ausgabe) D. Martin Luther's Werke, Weimar, 1883-1957.  
.
- WW      The Works of John Whitgift, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. John Ayre for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851.

## Chapter I

## INTRODUCTORY: THE QUESTION OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

In the final book of his treatise Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie<sup>1</sup> Richard Hooker devotes a full chapter to an elaborate theological defence of the 'title of

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<sup>1</sup> All references to Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie are taken from the authoritative Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker, ed. W. Speed Hill (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1977-). In this essay, the convention of referring to the treatise as the 'Lawes' is observed. References indicate the subdivisions of Hooker's text into book, chapter, and section originated by John Keble in his own critical edition of The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker, 3 vols., ed. John Keble, 7th ed. revised by R. W. Church and F. Paget (Oxford, 1888). Where the subdivision in the Folger Library Edition departs from Keble, notably in Book VIII, the later edition is followed. This is a small potential source of confusion for readers without access to the most recent edition. Books I through IV were first published in 1593 by John Windet. The considerably larger Book V was not issued until 1597. A publishing history of the Lawes by W. Speed Hill, General Editor of the new Folger Library Edition and Georges Edelen, editor of the first volume containing Books I-IV, together with a textual introduction to the same by Edelen are to be found in FLE, vol. 1, xiii-xxxviii. Books VI and VIII were not published until 1648, and Book VII not until 1662, the first year in which the Lawes appeared as a whole. The excellent researches of P. G. Stanwood, editor of Hooker's posthumous books, have resolved once and for all the doubt surrounding the authenticity of Books VI-VIII. The authenticity of the whole treatise is now affirmed, with the one qualification that the posthumous books were left unpolished and partially incomplete. See Stanwood's textual introduction to 'The Three Last Books' in FLE, vol. 3, xiii-lxxv. Earlier discussions of the textual problems are to be found in R.A. Houk's introduction to an edition of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity: Book VIII (New York, 1931); see also C. J. Sisson, The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker and the Birth of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity (Cambridge, 1940); and finally, W. Speed Hill, 'Hooker's Polity: The Problem of the "Three Last Books"', Huntington Library Quarterly, XXXIV (1971), 317-36.

Headship which we give to the kings of England in relation unto the church'. (LEP 8.4.1.) The argument of the chapter takes the form of a response to a series of fundamental doctrinal objections raised against the royal headship by the pre-eminent Disciplinary-Puritan divine Thomas Cartwright.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, towards the end of the famous Admonition Controversy, in his Second Replie against Master Whitgifte's Second Answer, Cartwright had escalated the debate over the Royal Supremacy to a test of basic doctrinal orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup> He charged that the royal headship 'cut off quite/ that part off the Kingly office off Christ/ which consisteth in owtward governement off his Church...' (TC 2:441), that 'the title of Head off the Church [belongs] onley to our Saviour Christ' and therefore 'the cyvill magistrate is head of the comonwealthe/ and not of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cartwright was one of the leading Disciplinary or presbyterian ideologues of his generation. His life and works are ably portrayed by A. F. Scott Pearson in Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism (London, 1925). Cartwright has been accorded a certain degree of attention by more recent Elizabethan ecclesiastical historiography. See Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London, 1967) for a more recent study of Cartwright's role in the Admonition Controversy. Strangely little has been written by Hooker scholars on the subject of Hooker's polemical struggle with Cartwright despite the frequent appearance in the Lawes of the latter's arguments as representative of the Disciplinary-Puritan case. One significant exception is Rudolph Almasy's 'The Purpose of Richard Hooker's Polemic', Journal of the History of Ideas, 39 (1978), 251-270.

<sup>2</sup> See D.J. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy (New Brunswick, 1949) passim; also Patrick McGrath, Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I (London, 1967), 133ff., and M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939), 217-247.

church'. (TC 2:411) Cartwright objected that the assertion of the royal title of headship was inconsistent with Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy. He further challenged the Royal Supremacy as a contradiction of the keystone of reformed ecclesiological orthodoxy, namely the doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms' or 'Two Realms'<sup>1</sup> with their corresponding 'Two Regiments':

For to overthrowe this doctrine that Christe alone is Head of his Church/ this distinction is broughte/ that according to the inward influence off grace/ Christ onley is Head: but according to the owtward governement/ the being of Head is commen with him to others. For answer wherunto/ I referre my selfe in part to what I have written before/ of the absurd distinction between the governement of the Church by the mynisterie of men/ instituted of our Saviour Christ/ and his spiritual government. (TC 2:414)

Thus Cartwright elevated the controversy over the civil magistrate's claim to the title 'Head of the Church' to the level of a profound theological dispute over first principles. At stake in the controversy was a reputation for standing on the high ground of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy. A more radical attack on the established order of the Elizabethan church could hardly have been conceived.

Hooker's reply was as radical as the attack: he sought to demonstrate that the Disciplinarians were themselves doctrinally unsound in that their theology was not that of

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<sup>1</sup> The only treatment of Cartwright's version of the Reformation doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms' is to be found in A. F. Scott Pearson, Church and State: Political Aspects of Sixteenth-Century Puritanism (Cambridge, 1928) ch. 2.

the 'magisterial' reformation of John Calvin and was an attempt to introduce into England the ideas of the 'radical' reformation of the Anabaptists and Sectaries.<sup>1</sup> For Hooker, Cartwright's insistence on a conflict between the 'scepter of Christ's discipline' and the authority of the Crown in ecclesiastical 'affayres and causes' was grounded in a theology which was faulty by the test of strict Calvinist orthodoxy. Indeed, in the course of his argument, Hooker turned the challenge around full-circle to demonstrate that Cartwright's own arguments against the Royal Supremacy were inconsistent with a) Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy;<sup>2</sup> b) ecclesiological norms established by the magisterial reformers;<sup>3</sup> and, c) the famous distinction of the two realms and two regiments; and hence inconsistent with the entire structure of reformed soteriology.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Hooker very seldom employed the term 'Puritan' in referring to Cartwright, to Walter Travers, or to any of 'them that seeke (as they tearme it) the reformation of Lawes, and orders Ecclesiasticall, in the Church of England' (LEP Pref. 1.1). Much has been written on the origins of the term 'Puritan' and its polemical use is of some significance in the interpretation of Hooker's apologetic purpose, and for the question of his irenicism, concerning which see below 26 ff. See P. Collinson, 'A Comment concerning the Name Puritan', JEH 31(1980), which is itself a comment on a larger piece by P. Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts', JEH 31(1980), 463-482. Cartwright himself condemns the 'heresie off Anabaptistes/ Donatists/ or puritanes': TC 2: sig. )( )( i.

<sup>2</sup> LEP 8.4.6.

<sup>3</sup> LEP 8.4.7.

<sup>4</sup> LEP 8.4.8, 9 and 10.

common assumption which underlies the usual glib application of the label 'Erastian' to Hooker's argument is that he himself confounds temporal and spiritual authority.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the views of many modern commentators, we shall argue that Hooker viewed the Royal Supremacy as the principal means of securing and stabilising a right distinction between the spiritual and temporal realms.

In the first chapter of Book Eight, Hooker resorts to the categories and distinctions of systematic theology to explain the union of Church and Commonwealth 'in a free Christian state or kingdome'. (LEP 8.3.5; FLE 3:355) The whole purpose of the argument is to demonstrate how Church and Commonwealth together constitute a single 'state' or 'politique societie' and yet remain distinct from one another.<sup>2</sup> The difficult problem of how to unite these two forms of association in spite of their fundamental differences is treated by Hooker according to the ancient patristic categories of Christological discourse:

A Church and a Commonwealth we grant are things in nature [my italics] the one distinguished from the other, a Commonwealth is one way, and a Church another way defined... We may speake of them as two, we may sever the rights and causes of the one well enough from the other in regard of that difference which we graunt there is between them,

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see Claire Cross, The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church (London, 1969), 27-37.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Hooker never sets 'church' and 'state' in apposition. He views the 'state' as a 'personal subsistencie' which contains within it the Church and the Commonwealth as 'accidentales'. See LEP 8.1.5.

albeit we make no personal [my italics] difference. For the truth is the Church and the Commonwealth are names which import things really different. But those things are accidentes and such accidentes as may and should alwayes lovingly dwell together in one subject. (LEP 8.1.2, 5; FLE 3:318, 324)

The language of 'person' and 'nature' quite explicitly harks back to Hooker's careful survey in his fifth book of the terms and definitions of Christological orthodoxy. Indeed, in that book Hooker has taken great pains to outline the fourth-century development of the church's orthodox doctrine and to demonstrate that the crucial issue had been the manner in which the divine and human 'natures' are united in the one 'person' of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The Christological categories of person and nature, of subject and accident, are deployed throughout Hooker's examination of Cartwright's objections to the union of Church and Commonwealth in 'one politique society':

They [the Disciplinarians] hold the necessitie of personall separation which cleane excludeth the power of one mans dealing in both, we of naturall which doth not hinder, but that one and the same person may in both beare a principall sway. (LEP 8.1.2; FLE 3:320)

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<sup>1</sup> In his 'Dedication' of the fifth book of the Lawes, Hooker refers to the fourth-century Christological controversies: '...the waightiest conflicts the Church hath had were those which touched the head, the person of our Saviour Christ...' (LEP 5.Ded.3). See especially Hooker's discussion in LEP 5.53.1-4. See also LEP 5.42.13 where he defends the public recitation of the Athanasian creed: 'So manifestlie true is that which one of the ancient hath concerning Arrianisme, Mortuis authoribus hujus veneni scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur.'

By his studied use of these categories, Hooker invoked a powerful and traditional theological model for his defence of the Tudor constitution and, by implication, impugned the Disciplinary opposition to the union of Church and Commonwealth as itself doctrinally unsound. In the course of this essay we shall seek to demonstrate that this Christological paradigm, so clearly set forth in Book V, provides the key to the interpretation of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. (See LEP 5.51.1-5.56.13)

The most cursory perusal of these texts reveals that the terms of the controversy over the royal headship are basically theological in character. Cartwright and Hooker were each clearly agreed at least on one principal point, namely that the doctrine of Royal Supremacy was to be understood and judged within the categories of contemporary theological discourse. With both divines there is an assumption that political matters come within the special sphere of the trained theologian, and are to be argued theologically. Norman Sykes once remarked that: 'At this distance of time and amid such different conditions of ecclesiastical and political development, the Reformation apotheosis of "the godly prince" strikes an unfamiliar, if not actually uncongenial, note on our ears; and there is a strong resultant tendency to discount the prominence and centrality of this theme in the theology, no less than the

ecclesiology of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> To this one might well add not just that the theme strikes an unfamiliar note, but that a theological basis for political argument is quite alien to modern assumptions and beyond the competence of many political theorists. The most difficult task in our attempt to understand the full significance of Hooker's defence of the royal headship of the Church is to yield ourselves to the theological scope of his argument. A principal aim of this essay, therefore, is to strive for a sympathetic understanding of the alien mentalité of the late Elizabethan world of ecclesiological controversy.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Problem of Interpretation

So far as we have been able to ascertain, no thorough, critical study of this theological dimension of the Royal Supremacy has been undertaken by a modern Hooker scholar. At first this may appear quite remarkable, given the fame of this, the classic defence of the Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan period. The Lawes has attracted more attention than almost any other treatise of the time. Yet the fact remains, in the words of the late James Cargill Thompson,

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<sup>1</sup> Norman Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter (Cambridge, 1957), 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> In his article, 'Meaning and Understanding in History of Ideas', History and Theory, 8(1969), 8, Quentin Skinner discusses this important aspect of historical methodology.

one of the most respected students of Hooker's political thought, that:

Hooker has always been in many respects an inadequately studied figure. While he has never been neglected in the popular sense, he has tended to fall into the category of thinkers who are more written about than studied, and both as a theologian and as a political theorist he can hardly be said to have attracted the degree of attention which his eminence demands.<sup>1</sup>

This neglect of Hooker by modern critical scholarship has, of course, not been total. A small number of serious studies of Hooker's political thought have appeared in the past thirty years or so. A few of these have even devoted considerable attention to the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. Yet it is characteristic of nearly all modern commentators that they discount and tend even to dismiss the theological dimension of the Royal Supremacy debate, and thus the basic forms of Hooker's argument. Even Professor Cargill Thompson attempted to draw a clear line of distinction between Hooker the 'political theorist' and Hooker the 'theologian'. In the course of his useful summary of developments in the interpretation of Hooker's

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<sup>1</sup> W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The Philosopher of the "Politic Society": Richard Hooker as a Political Thinker', first appeared in Studies in Richard Hooker: Essays preliminary to an Edition of his Works, ed. W. Speed Hill, (Cleveland and London, 1972), 3-76; the article was republished in W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker, ed. C.W. Dugmore, (London, 1980). James Cargill Thompson's writings on Hooker and related subjects in the field of Reformation studies have provided considerable inspiration in my pursuit of this present enterprise. References to this essay are taken from the latter publication.

political theory in this century, he referred to Gunnar Hillerdal's Reason and Revelation in Richard Hooker.<sup>1</sup> Hillerdal's chief concern was with Hooker's soteriology, that is to say, with his doctrines of predestination, justification, and sanctification, as well as his treatment of the distinction of reason and revelation. Cargill Thompson dismissed this study with a revealing comment:

The philosophical and theological issues dealt with by Hillerdal are not directly relevant to the interpretation of Hooker's political ideas and, in consequence, lie outside the scope of this essay.<sup>2</sup>

This brief remark epitomises the central problem of the modern approach to Hooker's thought. It is simply assumed from the very outset by Cargill Thompson, and by most other Hooker scholars, that there are established barriers between the realms of political and theological discourse and thus two kinds of discourse. An assumption that theological issues will not be 'directly relevant' to the interpretation of Hooker's political theory must stand as the chief reason why a study like the present one has not been undertaken before now. Indeed, justification for a new assessment of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy is derived from an urgent need to look again at the assumptions and methodology of recent Hooker scholars. Its aim must be to understand Hooker as his contemporaries understood him and thereby to

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<sup>1</sup> (Lund, Sweden, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Cargill Thompson, 1980, 139.

discover something of his effectiveness as a thinker and controversialist.

Richard Hooker, and those to whom the argument of his treatise was addressed, lived in an intellectual world far removed from the assumptions and habits of critical thought which we in the twentieth century have inherited from the Enlightenment. For Hooker and his opponents, the metaphysical categories and distinctions of late medieval theology were accepted as determinative of the fundamental shape of political discourse. This essay will then seek to avoid an anachronistic tendency to impose modern intellectual categories upon the sixteenth century. To do so must involve, first and foremost, an attempt to reunite the spheres of political and theological discourse. As long as we continue to assume the separability of Hooker's theology from his political theory, our interpretation of his argument will inevitably emerge fragmented and incomplete. Furthermore, it will be virtually impossible to comment coherently on the subject matter of the fourth chapter of Book VIII, which is our starting-point, if we work from such an anachronistic assumption. The aim of this essay therefore is to interpret Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy as a chapter in Reformation 'political theology', and to restore Hooker himself to his status as 'political theologian'. While a separation of the spheres of political and theological discourse is common to most

modern approaches to Hooker's political thought, it is apparent that this methodological assumption leads on to great diversity of interpretation and an essential loss of coherence of argument.

This may be demonstrated by a survey of the way some recent scholarly studies have dealt with Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. In the article quoted above, James Cargill Thompson described the development of modern critical study of Hooker's political thought, as having four main phases.<sup>1</sup> In the first phase, roughly from the beginning of this century down to 1930, Hooker's reputation as a great political theorist was undisputed. The interpretation of his work did not vary greatly from one scholar to another and 'he was still regarded primarily as he had been in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as one of the forerunners of Locke and one of the originators of the doctrine of social contract.'<sup>2</sup>

Indeed a characteristic of the critical studies of this first phase was the manner in which they followed traditional Whig interpretation and limited the whole discussion to certain narrow constitutional themes. Locke himself in his polemical use of Hooker in his Second Treatise of Civil Government, had returned repeatedly to certain select passages in the Laws which suited his

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson, 1980, 133.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 132.

argument and simply ignored the essential theological themes of Hooker's argument.<sup>1</sup> As R. Eccleshall has pointed out,

...it has been eminently respectable to misrepresent Hooker ever since Locke juggled with some of his ideas in order to lend credence to his own theory, though Locke showed himself unacquainted with the substance of Hooker's thought and used it, rather, as a stick with which to beat Anglican royalists.<sup>2</sup>

This attention paid by Locke to Hooker's remarks on such constitutional themes as the balance between sovereign power and popular consent, the relation between coercive human or positive law and natural law, and the origins of human community in the state of nature, created a canon of pertinent texts for the study of Hooker's political theory.<sup>3</sup> His theory of the Royal Supremacy was interpreted by such as Sir Sidney Lee as though it were an aspect of Hooker's concept of social contract.<sup>4</sup> A similar interpretation is

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<sup>1</sup> For Locke's use of Hooker see George Bell, 'What did Locke borrow from Hooker?', Thought 7 (1932), 122-35. A.P. d'Entrèves, 'Hooker e Locke: Un contributo alla storia del contratto sociale' in Studi filosofico-giuridici, dedicati a Giorgio Del Vecchio nel XXV anno di insegnamento (1904-1929), 2 (Modena, 1930-31), 228-50.

<sup>2</sup> R. Eccleshall, Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1978), 129.

<sup>3</sup> The great majority of Locke's references to the Lawes cite the tenth chapter of Book I, in which Hooker treats the nature of 'humane lawes whereby politique societies are governed' and the origin of political community. See also Peter Munz, The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought (London, 1952), 205 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney Lee, 'The Last Years of Elizabeth', Cambridge Modern History (New York, 1906), III, 348.

found in the works of Ernst Troeltsch and Gottfried Michaelis.<sup>1</sup> Crucial to these earlier twentieth-century studies is their assumption that it was possible to separate these constitutional themes from their place in the overall argument of the Lawes. The focus was almost exclusively upon Hooker's 'theory of government' and 'theory of law', as contained in certain selected passages in Books I and VIII, and viewed apart from the explicitly doctrinal foundations upon which they were erected. This anachronism inevitably produced an abstract, fragmented portrait of Hooker's thought.

With the publication of Riccardo Hooker: contributo alla teoria e alla storia del diritto naturale in 1932, A. P. d'Entrèves initiated an important second phase in the interpretation of Hooker's political thought.<sup>2</sup> D'Entrèves proposed a radical revision of the traditional Whig stereotype, and he challenged the representation of Hooker as an early social contract theorist and precursor of

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (1911), trans. Olive Wyon, 2 vols., (New York, 1931), 637; Gottfried Michaelis, Richard Hooker als politischer Denker: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien in England im 16. and 17. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1933; reprinted Vaduz, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> Published in Turin, this first in-depth, critical study of Hooker's political thought is by and large a translation into Italian of A. P. d'Entrèves's D.Phil dissertation; see 'Richard Hooker: A Study in the History of Political Philosophy', Abstracts of Dissertations for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 6 (1934), 31-37; Bod. MS. D.Phil., d. 139.

seventeenth-century liberal principles of civil government. Over against this Whig search for the forerunners of the modern era d'Entrèves emphasized Hooker's intellectual debt to medieval scholasticism and especially to Thomas Aquinas.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Hooker's significance in the history of political thought came to be viewed through the lens of the thirteenth rather than the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Without entering further into discussion of the more specific difficulties and anachronisms which inevitably follow upon this interpretation, it is important to note rather what

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<sup>1</sup> Riccardo Hooker, 72ff., 'Le Fonti Medioevali della Filosofia Giuridica di Hooker'; see esp. 76: 'Nel suo deliberato ritorno all'insegnamento degli Scolastici, quanto nel porre la sua teoria della legge e del governo sulla base tradizionale della legge di Natura lo scopo dell' Hooker può dunque essere stato uno solo: quello di restaurare una filosofica abbandonata e interrotta'. See also d'Entrèves's The Medieval Contribution to Modern Political Thought: Thomas Aquinas, Marsilius of Padua, Richard Hooker (Oxford, 1939), chs. 5 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> The shift in emphasis to the medieval influences on Hooker's thinking is reflected by a number of other studies. In a lecture on 'Marsilius of Padua', Proceedings of the British Academy, 21 (London, 1935), 31-32, C.W. Previtè-Orton sparked a controversy of interpretation by his remark on Hooker's dependence on the Defensor Pacis of Marsilius in Book VIII of the Lawes. Hooker's supposed philosophical identification with both Aquinas and Marsilius precipitated the debate over the logical coherence of the Lawes, 'the most important development in the interpretation of Hooker's political theory since the publication of d'Entrèves's Riccardo Hooker' (Cargill Thompson, 1980, 138). For Hooker's debt to scholastic philosophy, see also G. H. Sabine, The History of Political Theory (New York, 1937), 439-42, where the Lawes is portrayed as 'the last great statement of the medieval tradition'. See D. W. Hanson, From Kingdom to Commonwealth: the Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought, (London, 1970), 279-80. This more recent interpretation emphasises the ambiguities of the medieval heritage implicit in Hooker's thought.

d'Entrèves held in common with those scholars whose stereotyped views he rejected. It is indeed quite remarkable to observe that the argument of Riccardo Hooker remains almost entirely within the strictly defined set of passages in Books I and VIII which together had constituted the Whig 'canon' of Hooker's political theory.<sup>1</sup> D'Entrèves restricts himself to the narrowly defined themes regarded by the traditional criticism as pertinent to the study of political theory. The starting-point for d'Entrèves was virtually identical with that of the Whig interpretation, namely an artificial separation of Hooker's political theory from its theological matrix.<sup>2</sup> A refusal to recognize the alien mentalité which lay at the centre of Hooker's political thought thus continued. The net result of this approach was d'Entrèves's ultimate avoidance of the crucial question underlying Hooker's thought. How was the supposed Thomism of the generic division of the forms of law in Book I, to be reconciled with the unmistakably reformed theological position argued throughout the rest of the Laws as well as in Hooker's various sermons and tracts? The

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<sup>1</sup> Their attention was concentrated especially on LEP 1.10, where Hooker discusses the origins of political community and human 'positive' law, and LEP 8.2.1-8.3.5, on the theory of government, sovereign power and popular consent.

<sup>2</sup> Riccardo Hooker, 44: 'Anche tralasciando qui l'aspetto puramente teologico della questione, possiamo tuttora chiederci quale sia esattamente il significato di questa rivendicazione razionalistica compiuta dell' Hooker'. (My italics)

methodological assumptions of his study inevitably beg this question. Subsequent attacks upon the coherence of Hooker's argument can be traced back to the same underlying problem of approach.

The next important shift of interpretation took place some twenty years later and can be viewed as a development of questions raised but unresolved in Riccardo Hooker. This third phase focused upon the question whether there was, in fact, any logical coherence to Hooker's political thought. This has been described as 'the most important issue that confronts the student of Hooker's political ideas today'.<sup>1</sup> The case for the logical incoherence of Hooker's political theory has been forcefully presented by Peter Munz and H. F. Kearney.<sup>2</sup> In his account of The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought, Munz started from d'Entrèves's thesis that Hooker's thought was formed principally by a medieval scholastic tradition. Munz indeed interpreted the first book of the Lawes as if it were a summary of the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>3</sup> Hooker's adherence to the Thomist

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson, 138.

<sup>2</sup> H. F. Kearney, 'Richard Hooker: A Reconstruction', Cambridge Journal 5(1952), 300-11. Following upon Previt -Orton's suggestion of the influence of Marsilius, Kearney argued that while Hooker's theory of law in Book I was grounded in 'Thomist rationalism', his defence of the Royal Supremacy in Book VIII was based on a proto-Hobbesian 'voluntarism'. Peter Munz, in his The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought, (London, 1952), argued much the same in a full-scale, monograph study.

<sup>3</sup> Munz, 49-57.

position was, however, viewed as characteristic only of the 'theoretical' first book. But when, in the later books of the Laws, Hooker came down to the serious business of providing an apologia for the Tudor constitution he was thought to have abandoned the principles of Aquinas and resorted to those of Marsilius of Padua.<sup>1</sup> Thus Munz argued for a fundamental inconsistency. The Royal Supremacy, as described in Book VIII, was irreconcilable with the Thomistic philosophical first principles outlined in Book I. In short, the theoretical and practical sides of Hooker's position fell apart:

[Hooker] had set out to interpret the Tudor State in terms of a Christian philosophy [viz. Aquinas's] and had thus endeavoured to show that a true Christian could not find fault with it. In order to carry that interpretation, however, to a successful conclusion he had been obligated, by various factors, to avail himself of a political theory [viz. Marsilius's] which was diametrically opposed to the principles of the Christian philosophy which he had expounded in the earlier part of the work.<sup>2</sup>

Hooker was thus unable to reconcile the Royal Supremacy with his own philosophical and theological first principles; and thus he went from Christian rationalism to secularised voluntarism, from speculative philosophy to pragmatic propaganda, from Thomism to Averroism, in short 'from St. Thomas to Marsilius'.<sup>3</sup> Munz's thesis explored to the limit

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<sup>1</sup> Munz, 96-111.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

- almost to the point of absurdity - the consequences of placing Hooker wholly in the mould of medieval scholastic thought. His study commenced with a schematic classification of the only three 'logically possible views as to the relation between natural and divine law or between reason and revelation, the two respective sources of the two sets of law'.<sup>1</sup> This wholly derivative scheme was originally conceived in the context of medieval Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>2</sup> Munz forced these categories upon his interpretation of Hooker without the least attempt to demonstrate whether this scheme was valid from the standpoint of Hooker's own doctrinal pronouncements. It is to Munz's credit that he allowed considerably more of a connection than his predecessors between theological discourse and political doctrine. Yet, his interpretation of Hooker according to the theological and metaphysical categories of Thomas Aquinas and Marsilius was extraordinarily artificial. The most cursory perusal of the Sermons and such tracts as On Predestination<sup>3</sup> or 'Grace and

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<sup>1</sup> Munz, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Munz derived this scheme from M. Grabmann, Studien über den Einfluss der aristotelischen Philosophie auf die mittelalterlichen Theorien über das Verhältnis von Kirche zu Staat, (Munich, 1934). The inappropriateness of this scheme is transparent, for it wholly ignores the intervening influence of the Reformation on the relation between grace and nature. This astonishingly blind premise on the part of Munz determined the entire shape of and conclusions reached in his study of Hooker.

<sup>3</sup> FLE 4:83-97.

Free Will' in the Dublin Fragments<sup>1</sup> would have revealed Hooker's undeviating adherence to the doctrines of the magisterial reformers.

The assessment of Hooker as 'a belated mediaevalist' reinforced by Munz, could only be argued for by ignoring the explicitly doctrinal statements. Thus our criticism of Munz's position is twofold: first, that he grossly over-estimated Hooker's debt to Aquinas and absurdly discounted Hooker's commitment to the theological principles of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy; and secondly, that his main thesis of the logical inconsistency between Hooker's 'theory of law' in Book I and his defence of the 'practical reality' of the Royal Supremacy in Book VIII rests on the same questionable hypothesis. Munz's positive contribution to the advancement of the interpretation of the Laws consisted in his taking seriously the relevance of some doctrinal issues to Hooker's political thought. We disagree, however, with his identification of Hooker's fundamental intellectual position with a scholastic metaphysic. This is an anachronism which must be overcome. It is the aim of this present study to demonstrate that there is a meaningful connection between Hooker's theological/metaphysical first principles, on the one hand, and his account of the royal headship of the Church on the other. Indeed the logical coherence of Hooker's political thought will be shown to

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<sup>1</sup> FLE 4:101-113.

derive from his continual appeal to the categories and distinctions of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy.

It remains only to consider the most recent contemporary approaches which reject the thesis of the logical incoherence of the Laws. This final phase in the critical development is represented by A. S. McGrade whose article, 'The Coherence of Hooker's Polity: The Books on Power'<sup>1</sup> was the first published response to the thesis of Kearney and Munz. This defence of the coherence of the Laws was limited by McGrade's self-imposed avoidance of inquiry into the theological and doctrinal elements of Hooker's argument. McGrade adopted the usual approach to the problem within the narrowly defined 'whig canon' of Hooker's political theory in the first and final books of the treatise. According to this account, the logical coherence of the theoretical principles with the apology on behalf of the Tudor power structure, including the Royal Supremacy, rested, in the end, principally upon Hooker's polemical purpose rather than on his commitment to upholding reformed doctrinal orthodoxy.

A similar approach was taken by James Cargill Thompson in his article, 'The Philosopher of the Politic Society'.<sup>2</sup> It began with a gesture of recognition that there were

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the History of Ideas 24 (1963), 163-82. See also A. S. McGrade, 'The Public and the Religious in Hooker's Polity', Church History 37 (1968), 404-22.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 1, p.9 above.

difficulties in adopting a purely political interpretation: 'Any discussion of Hooker's political ideas must start from the fact that Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity is only incidentally a work of political theory.'<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson at least set out to avoid the anachronism which had been characteristic of so much of modern critical commentary, whether of the 'scholastic autumn' or the 'whig spring' varieties. He discussed the Lawes as a livre de circonstance, and described Hooker's polemical purpose in the context of the ecclesiological debates of the 1570s and 1580s.<sup>2</sup> He defended the logical coherence of the treatise not as that of a carefully formulated and consistent doctrinal position, but rather as a skillful and well-designed piece of controversial writing. 'Throughout the Laws, Hooker was continually arguing to a brief, and he cannot easily be acquitted of the charge of subordinating his political ideas to the immediate needs of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson, 140.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 140: Of the Lawes he wrote: 'it is primarily a work of polemic designed to serve the same purposes as Whitgift's writings against Cartwright and the Admonitioners in the 1570s and the writings of Bridges, Bancroft, and a succession of Anglican divines in the 1580s and 1590s, whose aim was the refutation of Puritanism and the defence of the Elizabethan Settlement...neither Hooker's aims nor the types of argument which he used differed substantially from those of other Anglican apologists of the day.' This is also the view of Christopher Morris, Political Thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker, (London, 1953), 172-98.

controversy'.<sup>1</sup> In this almost structuralist account, Cargill Thompson appeared to argue that Hooker invented the theological and political edifice in order to justify the reality which was prior to the propaganda, namely the Tudor constitution in Church and State. Thus Cargill Thompson cast a shadow of skepticism upon Hooker's intellectual probity. His view upheld the logical unity of Hooker's polemic against the attacks of Kearney and Munz, but in the process it cast considerable doubt upon the stature of Hooker's philosophical achievement, a doubt which has continued up to the present.

Nonetheless, Cargill Thompson's emphasis on the polemical context of the Elizabethan ecclesiological debate was without doubt a positive development. At least, the anachronism of the 'medieval' Hooker was finally laid to rest.<sup>2</sup> But the problem with this approach was its reluctance to carry the emphasis far enough. And here we must return to our original point: that a valid interpretation of Hooker's political thought in general, and

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson, 140.

<sup>2</sup> One contemporary scholar has recently tried to raise the ghost of 'Hooker the scholastic', though without success. See Robert Faulkner's Richard Hooker and the Politics of a Christian England (London and Los Angeles, 1981). His attempt to find Hooker a place in the history of Aristotelian philosophy is a reworking of the out-dated theses of d'Entrevés and Munz. Employing the theme of Aristotle for his treatment of Hooker, Faulkner inevitably produces a patchy and disconnected portrait. He ignores the fundamentally eclectic character of Hooker's Renaissance education.

his theory of the Royal Supremacy in particular, requires a clear awareness of the alien mentalité of the late sixteenth-century ecclesiological debates. Cargill Thompson moved further in this direction than any other of the modern commentators. Yet his approach, for all its understanding of the political context, perpetuated an isolation of the 'political issues' in the Lawes from their 'theological context'. Thus, his article treats in turn all the usual themes, namely Hooker's theory of law, the origins of society and government, and, of course, the Royal Supremacy.<sup>1</sup> Yet all are discussed under the heading of 'political ideas', carefully set apart from any issues of fundamental theology.<sup>2</sup> Cargill Thompson mentioned in passing some of the influences upon Hooker's role as a theologian, but stopped short of exploring the importance of his theology for his treatment of political questions.<sup>3</sup> The critics who argued against the logical consistency of the Lawes had seen an inconsistency between Hooker's theology and his political theory. Cargill Thompson simply carried on an even older tradition of refusing to take seriously Hooker's stature and power as a theologian.

The argument of this essay is, then, that to make sense of Hooker's Lawes, and in particular his doctrine of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson, 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 147, 148.

Royal Supremacy, it is necessary to pay close attention to his theology. In brief, his apology for the ecclesiastical structures established under the Elizabethan Settlement cannot be understood without explicit reference to Hooker's appropriation of reformed divinity. This applies not only to his treatment of the title 'Head of the Church' in Book VIII, chapter four, but also to his discussion of the union and distinction of Church and Commonwealth in the first chapter. When, for example, Hooker defines the issue, he employs the precise language of systematic Christology:

They hold the necessitie of personall separation which cleane excludeth the power of one man's dealing in both [ie. Church and Commonwealth], we of naturall which doth not hinder, but that one and the same person may in both beare a principall sway. (LEP 8.1.2)

And again he maintains: 'The Church and the Commonwealth therefore are personallie one societie...' (LEP 8.1.4) The operative distinctions here of 'person' and 'nature' are imported directly from the Christological language of the patristic age. It is our aim to show that the manner in which Hooker employs these and other distinctions in his defence of the Royal Supremacy was designed to win the support of Puritans within the Establishment by appealing to an orthodoxy which could be considered both primitive and Calvinist.

Hooker's Disciplinary-Puritan critics themselves regarded the debate over ecclesiastical polity as fundamentally doctrinal. This is made clear in the only

published reply to the Lawes, A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants.<sup>1</sup> This anonymous tract, probably written by Andrew Willet, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and an associate of William Perkins, attacked the Lawes principally on theological grounds.<sup>2</sup> In it, Hooker was castigated on the grounds that he had forsaken the principles of reformed orthodoxy. His position on a series of key points of doctrine in the Lawes was compared unfavourably with extracts from the 39 Articles of Religion. Without examining this interesting tract further (at least in this present chapter),<sup>3</sup> it will suffice now to show that not only Hooker but also his principal opponents regarded this controversy over church polity as rooted in differences in the interpretation of points of basic doctrinal orthodoxy.

In his introductory discourse on method, Hooker

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<sup>1</sup> A Christian Letter (1599), (STC 4707) was included in Ronald Bayne's edition of Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity: The Fifth Book, (London, 1902). It is included, together with Hooker's marginal notes, in a copy at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in FLE 4:1-79.

<sup>2</sup> See John Booty's introduction to the fourth volume of FLE. For the question of authorship, see xvii-xxv. The author of A Christian Letter charged that Hooker's teaching was akin to 'popish doctrine'. See especially FLE 4:7.

<sup>3</sup> The criticisms of A Christian Letter, Hooker's marginal comments, and his fragments written in reply to the charges concerning his doctrinal orthodoxy will be considered below in our chapter on the controversy over theological 'first principles'.

discussed his own approach to the controversy as beginning with a study of 'first principles':

The statelnesse of houses, the goodlines of trees, when we beholde them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministreth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosome of the earth concealed: and if there be at any time occasion to search into it, such labour is then more necessary than pleasant both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers on. In like maner the use and benefite of good lawes, all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the groundes and first originall causes from whence they have sprong be unknowne, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the lawes which they should obey are corrupt and vitious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behooveth the very foundation and root, the highest welspring and fountaine of them to be discovered. (LEP 1.1.2)

His approach to the ecclesiological issues of his day was, then, a radical approach. It is radical in the sense that he sought to disclose the systematic foundations, both natural and supernatural, of the institutions of the Elizabethan Settlement. For this radical approach he is only apologetic: 'much of that we are to speake in this present cause, may seeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, darke, and intricate...yet this may not so farre prevaile as to cut off that which the matter it selfe requireth' (LEP 1.1.2). For too long the theological dimension of Hooker's defence of the Royal Supremacy has

indeed been treated as if it were too tedious, obscure, and intricate to merit attention.<sup>1</sup>

### Hooker's Apologetic Intention

Thinke not that ye reade the words of one, who bendeth him selfe as an adversarie against the truth which ye have alreadie embraced; but the words of one, who desireth even to embrace together with you the selfe same truth, if it be the truth, and for that cause (for no other God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burthensome labour of this painefull kinde of conference. (LEP Preface 1.3)

In order to clarify our own proposed approach to the subject, it is necessary to examine the polemical purpose behind Hooker's work. According to Rudolph Almasy<sup>2</sup> the significant difference between Hooker's intention and that of most other defenders of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson himself warned Hookerians to ignore the organic unity of Hooker's method at their peril, 'The Philosopher of the "Politic Society"', 190, 191. Unfortunately he ignored the unifying role played by Hooker's theology in the methodology of the Lawes.

<sup>2</sup> The most useful contemporary account of Hooker's basic method and the intentions behind his apologetic is by Rudolph Almasy. In his article 'The Purpose of Richard Hooker's Polemic', Journal of the History of Ideas 39, (1978), 251-70, he ably demonstrated that the Lawes as a whole should be read as a polemically inspired response to Thomas Cartwright's Second Replie, and thus as a late contribution to the series of tracts which belong to the so-called Admonition Controversy. While Almasy concentrated his attention on the second and third books of the Lawes, his general comments are equally applicable to Book VIII, where Cartwright's arguments are taken by Hooker as representative of Disciplinary opinion. See also R. Eccleshall, Order and Reason in Politics, 135.

establishment, for example, John Whitgift, Richard Bancroft, and Thomas Bilson, among others, was that the argument of the Lawes was intended actually to appeal to the consciences of his opponents.<sup>1</sup> Hooker thus abandoned the usual recourse to ridicule and personal abuse which was so characteristic of the vast majority of tracts on both sides, and which had reached a climax in the celebrated Marprelate Controversy. Rather, Hooker chose to speak directly to the theological assumptions of the establishment's Disciplinary critics. In his irenic desire to bring his opponents to conscientious obedience, he sought to demonstrate to them, in terms and categories mutually agreed upon, that the established order was wholly consistent with the core principles of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy 'so it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable just and righteous or no'. (LEP 1.16.1) Above all else, it was Hooker's apologetical purpose to secure obedience to the 'lawes...rites, customes, and orders of

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<sup>1</sup> For example, LEP Pref. 7.1: 'It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer glasse, then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeavor is to resolve the conscience, and to shewe as neere as I can what in this controversie the hart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgement, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection'. Compare with LEP 2.7.5. Hooker's irenicism was repudiated by Cargill Thompson who regarded the moderation of Hooker's tone as merely 'a conscious literary device', 'The Philosopher of the Politic Society', 141. The other side is taken up by Olivier Loyer in L'Anglicanisme de Richard Hooker, (Paris, 1979), 678: 'L'irenisme est real chez Hooker'.

Ecclesiasticall government' (LEP 1.1.3) for conscience sake, on the grounds that 'no lawe of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto bene alleaged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof'. (LEP Preface 1.2)

Hooker agreed with John Whitgift<sup>1</sup> that Cartwright and the Presbyterian sympathisers were deluded in their devotion to a scriptural ecclesiastical Disciplina which, in his view, was 'only by error and misconcept named the ordinance of Jesus Christ' (LEP Preface 1.2). Hooker's negative tactic was to impugn the soundness of the theological reasoning upon which the Disciplinary objections were built. On the affirmative side, he sought to assure his opponents of the consonance of the established ecclesiastical polity with 'true doctrine', that is to say, reformed orthodoxy.

It is clear that his tactic was to accept unconditionally the disciplinary premise that the doctrinal tenets and the pastoral aspirations of the Reformation had to be fulfilled in the polity of the Church of England. Hooker's purpose was to demonstrate that, on the one hand, the established ecclesiastical order was wholly in accord with reformed orthodoxy and that, on the other hand, it was a 'misconcept' which failed to admit this but went on urging a 'further reformation'. Numerous Anglican theologians and ecclesiastical historians since the

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<sup>1</sup> See WW 1:216.

nineteenth century have been blinded to this reformed character of Hooker's apologetic largely because they have insisted in reading back into his thought a so-called Anglican via media.<sup>1</sup> In their emphasis upon the peculiarity of the 'Anglican' position, the extent of Hooker's adherence to the theological mainstream of reformed orthodoxy has been severely played down, if not denied outright.<sup>2</sup> Much of the recent historiography of the period has continued to identify the Disciplinary Calvinists, whether moderate or

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<sup>1</sup> Numerous theologians and ecclesiastical historians have interpreted Hooker as representative of the via media of 'Anglicanism'. See Edward Dowden's chapter on Hooker in Puritan and Anglican: Studies in Literature, (London, 1900), 69-96; J. S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, (London and Sewanee, Tenn., 1963); V. H. H. Green's treatment of Hooker in From St. Augustine to William Temple: Eight Studies in Christian Leadership, (London, 1948), 103-25; H. C. Porter, 'Hooker, The Tudor Constitution, and the Via Media', in Studies in Richard Hooker: Essays Preliminary to an Edition of his Works, ed. W. Speed Hill, (London and Cleveland, 1972), 77-116; J.E. Booty, 'Richard Hooker', in The Spirit of Anglicanism, edited by W.J. Wolfe (Wilton, Conn., 1979), 1-48; also J. F. H. New, Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of their Opposition, 1558-1640, (London, 1964), 12, 22, 71. The tendency of these accounts of Hooker's 'Anglicanism' is to emphasize his independence of the theological norms established at the Reformation.

<sup>2</sup> The middle way is represented as between the 'reformed theology' of the Puritans and the 'catholic theology' of Rome. In this picture, common to much of the less critical, hagiographical commentary on Hooker as well, the Puritans are represented as the 'mainstream Protestants'. The inherent difficulty in this view is observed by Patrick Collinson in his The Religion of Protestants (Oxford, 1984), ix. See also Patrick McGrath, Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I (London, 1967), 13 and Owen Chadwick, 'The Sixteenth Century', in The English Church and the Continent, edited by R.R. Darlington and M.D. Knowles (London, 1959), 61.

radical, with the continental Protestant reformers. Hooker and the Elizabethan 'establishment' divines are seen as standing apart from continental norms of reformed orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> This interesting and controversial issue will be considered in the discussion of Hooker's theological first principles in our second chapter. Briefly, however, our aim is to demonstrate, first, Hooker's unmistakable reliance upon the theological principles of the so-called 'magisterial' reformers and, secondly, his conviction that the Disciplinary faction was inspired by the doctrinally heterodox 'radical' reformation.<sup>2</sup>

It was then an essential element in Hooker's argument to impugn the Disciplinary ecclesiology itself as incompatible with reformed orthodoxy. He aimed to show that the biblicalising attack on the authority of reason and human convention in ecclesiastical matters was evidence of the influence of the radical reformation. It must be remembered that although Hooker published the first volume of the Lawes

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<sup>1</sup> One of the more recent scholars to promote this view is Peter Lake in his Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (Cambridge, 1982); see especially the Introduction. See also P. Collinson, 'Towards a Broader Understanding of the Early Dissenting Tradition' in The Dissenting Tradition: Essays for Leland Carlson, edited by C.R. Cole and M.C. Moody (Athens, Ohio, 1975), 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> This distinction between a 'magisterial' and a 'radical' reformation is by now thoroughly established. See Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, vol. 2 'The Reformation', (Cambridge, 1978); cf. also George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation, (London, 1962) and P.D. L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers (London, 1981), 51ff.

in 1593, the treatise was undertaken in the later 1580s at the peak of the separatist challenge to the Establishment.<sup>1</sup> This was almost twenty years after the first salvoes of the Admonition Controversy had been fired, and more than ten years after Cartwright had published his last attack on Whitgift. It may thus very reasonably be wondered how Hooker could justify formulating his treatise as a response to Cartwright's Second Replie. The matter has been dealt with convincingly by Almasj, who argued that Hooker realised that Thomas Cartwright's writings in the 1560s were the intellectual seed-bed of the Separatist crisis of the late 1580s and early '90s.<sup>2</sup> Cartwright was certainly respected by radical and moderate Puritans alike. He had been praised in the Marprelate tracts, and this in itself justified Hooker's telescoping of the two Disciplinarian factions in his Preface.<sup>3</sup> Cartwright was, in fact, widely regarded as the pre-eminent Disciplinarian divine, and so in his response to the growing criticism of the ecclesiastical establishment in the late 1580s, Hooker purposely selected the writings of Cartwright as a prime example of the error

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<sup>1</sup> See J.F.H. New, 'The Whitgift-Cartwright Controversy', in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, LIX (1968), 203-11.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Purpose of Richard Hooker's Polemic', Journal of the History of Ideas, 39 (1978), 251-70.

<sup>3</sup> LEP Pref. 8, passim.

of those who pressed for 'further reformation'.<sup>1</sup> In providing a reply to Cartwright, he was addressing the entire contemporary Disciplinary faction, both the so-called 'moderate' Puritans and those who would not 'tarry for the Christian Magistrate'.<sup>2</sup>

Hooker was acutely conscious of his audience. The great majority were most probably divines, many of whom were uncomfortable with certain aspects of the established Church order, including the Royal Supremacy. Hooker perceived with great clarity that the moderate Disciplinary and the Separatist radicals or 'Brownists' were agreed in their essential argument and disagreed solely on whether to establish the Discipline, and thereby the 'scepter of Christ', with or without the leave of the Civil Magistrate. The Separatist challenge of the 1580s in effect rendered the Royal Supremacy the very focal point of the ecclesiological controversy, not only between the Establishment and its

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. An Admonition to the Parliament (1572), published in Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt, ed. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, (London, 1907), 19. For a discussion of the implications of the Puritan quest for 'further reformation', see the Preface to Patrick Collinson's The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, (London, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the treatise of the famous separatist Disciplinary, Robert Browne, A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for Anie, (Middelburg, 1582) reprinted by T. G. Crippen (London, 1903). For a thoughtful and interesting discussion of this treatise, see B.R. White, The English Separatist Tradition (Oxford, 1971), 20ff. Also see J.S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible (Oxford, 1970), 55-58, 61-63.

Disciplinarian critics, but also between the moderate and radical factions within the Disciplinarian party itself.<sup>1</sup> The Lawes, as a livre de circonstance, spoke directly to the radical protestant critics of the Elizabethan Church with the most forceful kind of argument they knew - theological argument. Hooker sought to demonstrate, by means of an examination of representative arguments taken from Cartwright's replies to Whitgift, that the ecclesiology of the 1559 Settlement was doctrinally sound and, indeed, theologically more consistent with the standards of reformed orthodoxy than the Disciplinarian alternative. This purpose of Hooker's apologetic must be borne in mind in the course of our examination of its application in the issue of the royal headship of the Church.

#### The Theological Elements of the Controversy and Division of Chapters

Finally, it is necessary to distinguish the principal elements in Hooker's theological apologia for the Royal Supremacy, for such an analysis will the better enable us to set out the subject matter of this essay in an orderly manner. In his own introductory discourse, which has

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<sup>1</sup> B.R. White explores the relation between the radical separatists and the more moderate Disciplinarians, op. cit., 20-43.

already been considered briefly above, Hooker makes some methodological comments which are worth keeping before us:<sup>1</sup>

I have endeavoured throughout the bodie of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that followe, and every later bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgements of men doe but holde themselves in suspence as touching these first more generall meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue: what may seeme darke at the first will afterwarde be founde more plaine, even as the later particular decisions will appeare, I doubt not more strong, when the other have beene read before. (LEP 1.1.2) [my italics]

This passage has been much commented upon, particularly by those scholars who have struggled with the question of the logical coherence of the Lawes. That Hooker at least intended his argument to be read as an organic, connected whole would seem to be indisputable. What has to be explained is what he meant when he wrote of the order of his argument and when he insisted that it moved from the 'general' to the 'particular'. We know that Royal Supremacy is the last 'particular' question of the ecclesiological controversy to be addressed in the Lawes, and it is important to understand that the argument of Book VIII, according to Hooker's stated intention, follows on and depends on all that has been treated before. Thus our essay must begin by identifying those 'general' doctrinal foundations upon which Hooker built as he constructed the

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<sup>1</sup> Cargill Thompson has noted the significance of this passage for the interpretation of Hooker's method. See 'The Philosopher of the "Politic Society"', 17, 76. See also McGrade, 'The Coherence of Hooker's Polity', 163-5.

edifice which culminated in his account of the Royal Supremacy. The aim will be to lay bare the manner in which the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy is built upon the 'somewhat darke, obscure, and intricate' theological foundations of Hooker's thought.

Two questions, vitally important to the divinity of the Protestant Reformation, had to be tackled before Hooker could move on to deal with the Royal Supremacy. In chapter one of Book VIII, he was concerned with the general question of the relation between the church and secular political community. In chapter four, he turned to the more specific issue of the Civil Magistrate's claim to the title 'Head of the Church'. It is the nature of Hooker's argument in the two chapters which offers the real challenge to recent critical theorizing. In his discourse on these two subjects it is possible to identify his fundamental 'elements' and then to discern the logical connection between basic doctrine and his theory of the Royal Supremacy.

In his discussion of the relation of the Church to secular political community, Hooker employs arguments from Christology and from ecclesiology. Fundamental to his thought is the appeal to the categories of orthodox Christology and to the patristic doctrine of the two 'natures' of Christ which existed in one 'person'. Indeed, it soon becomes apparent that the Chalcedonian formula and the systematic theology which developed from it are at the

heart of Hooker's thinking and provide it with its essential coherence. Certainly his language and categories are derived from it. In the course of his analysis of Thomas Cartwright's 'three kinde of proofes for confirmation of the foresayd separation between the Church and Commonwealth' (LEP 8.1.4. ff), Hooker returned again and again to the theme that the two may be united, in 'personall subsistencie' while remaining distinct in their natures. (LEP 8.1.4; FLE 3:323) This union, however, is neither necessary nor perpetual. In order that we may acquire a clearer sense of the full force of this doctrinally potent language, it will be necessary to investigate Hooker's systematic treatment of Christology contained in a series of chapters in Book V of the Lawes. These chapters were intended as a full introduction to his theology of the sacraments. Thus the Christological 'paradigm' is the indispensable key to an interpretation of Hooker's defence of the union of Church and Commonwealth, and this we shall seek to demonstrate in the chapters which are to follow.

The argument from ecclesiology is closely bound up with Hooker's definition of the church as a 'politique society'. His thesis that it is possible for the Church, thus defined, to come into union with the secular order 'in a free Christian State' (LEP 8.3.5) is critically dependent on the closely argued ecclesiology of Book III of the Lawes. Indeed, no interpretation of his doctrine of the Royal

Supremacy can avoid a close study of Hooker's ecclesiology or 'doctrine of the Church'. It is by no means restricted to Book III, but will lead us into a variety of theological matters discussed in Books II, IV, and V, as well as to certain of his sermons and tracts.

The other principal topic of Hooker's theological discourse on the Royal Supremacy, viz. the royal title of Headship in relation to the church, must now be examined in order to reveal its chief doctrinal elements. (LEP 8.4.1; FLE 3:356ff) The chapter opens with Hooker's review of Cartwright's 'four severall argumentes gathered by strong surmise out of wordes mervailous unlikely to have been written for any such purpose as that wherunto they are now urged'. (LEP 8.4.3) The initial point of significance is the manner in which Cartwright had drawn his objections from scripture. Thus one of the elements alluded to here is the dispute over the nature of Scriptural authority itself. Hooker devoted the whole of his Second Book to 'their first position who urge reformation in the Church of England: Namely, That Scripture is the onley rule of all things which in this life may be done by men'. (LEP 2.1.1.) In his discussion of the headship issue Hooker presupposed an argument already articulated at length earlier in his treatise concerning the relevance of sacred scripture to the determination of questions of Church government. This element of the controversy must be treated, if only briefly,

it being relevant also to our final discussion of the Royal Headship.

The remainder of the fourth chapter of Book VIII is devoted to Hooker's classification of Cartwright's various objections to Archbishop Whitgift's articulation of the 'Differences between Christs Headship and that which we give to Kinges'. (LEP 8.4.5) Cartwright opposed any such 'differences' on the grounds that Christ alone - solus Christus - was head of the Church. (TC 2:411) Three main theological elements provide the key to interpreting the principal components in the headship controversy. First, Cartwright had objected to Whitgift's distinction that the king was a 'subordinate head', under Christ. (WW 2:84, 85) In the course of his argument he had maintained that the 'faulte of this distinction is/ that yt confoundeth/ and shuffleth together the autoritie of our Saviour Christ/ as he is the Sonne off God onely before all worldes/ coequall with his father: with that which he hath gyven off his father/ and which he exerciseth in respecte he is mediator betwene God and us.' (TC 2:411) Thus the headship controversy was elevated into a test of Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy, and Hooker accepted the challenge and proceeded to treat it with the utmost doctrinal seriousness. In his argument he sought to demonstrate the 'manifest errour' of the Disciplinary logic on this the most fundamental ground of doctrinal orthodoxy. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE

3:367) Hooker's analysis of the relation between the divine and human natures in Christ(LEP 5.50-56), of the problem of Christ's 'ubiquity' or presence everywhere(LEP 5.55.1ff), of the 'communion of idioms' through their unity in his person(LEP 5.54.1ff), and of Christ's distinct offices of 'prophet, priest, and King' are all essential prolegomena to our study of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. Indeed an examination of where Hooker stands on these questions in relation to other reformed theologians is necessary to set the political thought of the Laws in a new light. Of particular interest is Hooker's relation to the authority of Calvin who was recognized as the pre-eminent 'magisterial' reformer by both Whitgift and Cartwright. We shall attempt to show that, contrary to received opinion, there is a sense in which Hooker was a closer follower of Calvin than the so-called Calvinist Disciplinarians of England especially when it came to promoting a strict patristic Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy.

One element stemming from the Christological issue, namely the manner of 'the personall presence of Christ everywhere', the so-called doctrine of 'ubiquity', is also ecclesiological in nature.(LEP 5.55.1) The royal title of headship over the Church depended, in Hooker's view, upon the ecclesiological distinctions a) between the mystical Church or body of Christ and the visible Church in the world, and b) between the universal, visible Church and the

visible Church in every 'Christian politique society'. (LEP 5.56.1-12; 3.1.1-14) These ecclesiological distinctions belong to a complex doctrine to which Hooker devoted a thorough, systematic treatment in Book III of the Lawes. This developed doctrine of the Church is assumed as a 'generall meditation' preparatory to his subsequent analysis of the 'particular decision' embodied in the Royal Supremacy. (LEP 1.1.2) Here again, the necessity of reviewing the doctrine of the Church as discussed in Book III and elsewhere is an indispensable preparation for our study of his doctrine of the 'power of Ecclesiasticall Dominion' in Book VIII. The polemical context of a struggle between the magisterial and radical versions of the reformed doctrine of the Church is crucial to the interpretation of this text. Hooker sought deliberately to align his ecclesiology with that of the magisterial reformers, and impugned Cartwright and the Disciplinarians for their radical ecclesiological heterodoxy.

The final theological element of the Supremacy debate arose out of 'the last and weightiest difference' between the authority of Christ and that of the Civil Magistrate, viz. 'the very kinde of their power'. (LEP 8.4.5; 8.4.8) Hooker's distinction between two principal kinds of power - i.e., mystical or spiritual power, on the one side, and external or coercive power, on the other - is grounded in

the very touchstone of reformed theological orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> This touchstone is none other than the doctrine of the 'two realms' and the 'two regiments'. This final theological element in Hooker's discussion of the Royal Supremacy, is perhaps best labelled 'soteriological', for the famous logic of the two realms in reformed divinity derives ultimately from what was then commonly called 'saving doctrine' or the theology of grace. This was indeed the keystone of reformed theology, and it drew a sharp distinction between the 'realms' of Law and Gospel, between the 'active' and 'passive' or the human and divine forms of righteousness. On this distinction was founded the so-called doctrine of the two realms or two kingdoms, and it came to be the cornerstone of the political theology of both Luther and Calvin, as it also became the touchstone of reformed orthodoxy. Hooker appealed to the magisterial reformers' distinction between the two kingdoms and their respective two regiments in support of the royal headship of the church. He spoke of 'two kindes of spirituall power', the one 'mystical', the other 'external': 'the one invisibly

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<sup>1</sup> On this important point, see W. D. J. Cargill Thompson, 'The "Two Kingdoms" and the "Two Regiments": Some Problems of Luther's Zwei-Reiche-Lehre', in Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker, (London, 1980), 42-59, first published in Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. XX(1969), 77-91. Cargill Thompson develops his view of the crucial importance of this theme further in The Political Thought of Martin Luther, (Brighton, 1984), 36-61. This is the critical meeting point between political discourse and the theology of the reformers. The same principle applies to our interpretation of the Lawes.

exercised by Christ himself in his own person, the other outwardly administred by them whom Christ doth allow to be the Rulers and guiders of his Church'.(LEP 8.4.9) The royal power of ecclesiastical dominion belonged to this 'second kinde of Spirituall regiment'.(LEP 8.4.9; FLE 3:378)

To understand Hooker's theory of the Royal Supremacy it is then first essential to examine his appropriation of the two kingdom doctrine of the magisterial reformers. Here the exposition of his teaching is to be found chiefly in his sermon on the reformed doctrine of justification and in various other tracts on grace and predestination.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps concerning this particular concept of the two regiments that Hooker made his most pointed attack on the doctrinal orthodoxy of Cartwright and the Disciplinarians. He argued cogently that the Disciplinarians had committed the cardinal error of confounding the 'two kindes of power'(LEP 8.4.8; FLE 3:374), namely the spiritual/mystical and the temporal/external powers, and thus confused the realms of active and passive righteousness. Repeatedly he emphasized the point that the polity established by the 1559 Settlement adhered more closely to the two kingdoms doctrine as taught by the magisterial Reformation than the platform

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<sup>1</sup> A Learned Discourse [on Habakkuk 1.4] of Justification, Workes, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrowne, etc., in HW 3:483-547. See also the Dublin Fragments for 'grace and freewill', FLE 4: 101-113, and 'The Tenth Article touching Predestination', FLE 4:123-167. Both tracts are incomplete replies by Hooker to the anonymous attack on the Lawes, namely A Christian Letter (1599).

of 'further reformation' urged by the Disciplinarians. Them he consigned to doctrinal heterodoxy and to that 'radical' wing of the Reformation which Calvin himself had sought to combat. On this point in particular, we believe that we can offer a substantial revision to the commonly received view of Hooker's place in the history of the Reformation.

The order of chapters in this thesis is then intended to show the theological foundations of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy by following closely the manner in which he himself chose to develop his argument. Therefore, we propose to commence with the most 'generall meditations' and to proceed by stages to the 'particular decisions' embodied in his defence of the union of Church and Commonwealth in one 'politique societie' under the unified sovereign authority of the Civil Magistrate. (LEP 1.1.2) Chapter Two will concentrate on an analysis of the relevant theological 'first principles', namely the principal features of Hooker's doctrine of the two realms and two regiments and its derivation from his reformed theology of grace. The question of Hooker's relation to the doctrinal standard of the magisterial reformers, and the bearing of this doctrine upon his own political theology will be addressed. In this, the most theoretical chapter, we shall also treat the fundamental themes of Hooker's dogmatic theology and in particular his Trinitarian and Christological doctrine. We shall attempt to define the logical connection between the

two realms theory and the Christological paradigm which underlies Hooker's mode of argument at almost every turn. We shall also discuss the question of the two realms and two regiments relative to the logic of Hooker's generic division of the forms of law in Book I. In Chapter Three, we shall treat Hooker's doctrine of the Church as a 'politique societie' with a view to showing the underlying pattern of logic which first emerged in his systematic doctrine and his soteriology. His ecclesiology constitutes the pivotal connection between his fundamental theological principles and his doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. The remaining chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy itself as presented by Hooker in Book VIII of the Laws. Finally, in our concluding chapter, we shall show how Hooker gathered together all these various theological concepts in his defence of the royal headship of the Church. Throughout this study our primary aim will be to reunite the theological and political elements of Hooker's argument which have hitherto been separated from each other in modern critical commentary on the Laws.

## Chapter II

**THEOLOGICAL FIRST PRINCIPLES:  
THE DOCTRINE OF THE 'TWO REALMS'**

The main purpose underlying our proposed reassessment in this chapter of Hooker's theological assumptions is twofold. First, there is the important consideration of the general apologetic intention of the Lawes. As was argued above in the introductory chapter, the main strength of Hooker's elaborate ecclesiological casuistry derives from his close adherence to the basic principles and formulae of Chalcedonian and reformed orthodoxy. Yet Hooker's appropriation of the theology of the reformers in particular is, as we shall see, much disputed. It will be necessary to examine Hooker's formulation of his doctrinal assumptions in his various sermons, tracts, and notes, the so-called opuscula, as well as in the Lawes. Given that the chief focal point of doctrinal controversy at the Reformation was the theology of grace or soteriology<sup>1</sup> and its consequence in

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<sup>1</sup> A large part of Hooker's theological writings is taken up by soteriological questions. In A Learned Discourse of Justification, the problem of salvation is described by Hooker as 'that grand question, which hangeth yet in controversy between us and the Church of Rome about the matter of justifying righteousness'. See HW 3:486. On the centrality of the theology of grace and salvation to the Protestant Reformation, both in controversies between the reformers and Rome as well as among the reformers themselves, see Deway D. Wallace, Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), vii-xiii.

the doctrine of the 'Two Realms' and 'Two Kingdoms', our attention will fall mainly in this direction. Our first aim, therefore, is to determine whether the interpretation of Hooker's fundamental theological orientation as 'reformed' is justified by the evidence.

The second principal aim of this chapter concerns the actual manner in which Hooker derives his ecclesiological and political principles from his fundamental theological premises. Our purpose is to demonstrate that Hooker's soteriology provides the essential intellectual matrix for his analysis of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. His doctrine of the church as a 'politique societie', his understanding of the relation between the church and secular political community, and his doctrine of power or 'Dominion' all depend upon a complex of soteriological distinctions. The underlying structure of Hooker's political thought derives from the dialectical pattern implicit in his soteriology. This pattern is reflected in Hooker's appropriation of the commonplace Reformation doctrine of the 'Two Realms'. The distinction of the two realms in turn constitutes the pivotal link between Hooker's fundamental theological premises, on the one hand, and his ecclesiology and political theory, on the other. Indeed, this same pattern of thought permeates the argument of the Lawes and connects one stage of the discourse to another like a golden thread. This conception of the two realms finds its

paradigmatic expression in Hooker's famous Christological discourse in Book Five of the Lawes. In sum, the argument of this present chapter will concentrate primarily on Hooker's soteriology in order to delineate the basic structure of his thought.

The order of discussion in this chapter will be as follows: first, modern critical opinion respecting the problem of Hooker's relation to reformed doctrinal orthodoxy will be reviewed. Hooker's adherence to the essential doctrine of the Reformation has been questioned by both his own contemporaries and by more recent scholarly criticism, and the resolution of this issue has a direct bearing upon our interpretation of the apologetic purpose underlying Hooker's defence of the Royal Supremacy. Secondly, there is the problem of defining the nature of the link between Hooker's fundamental theological assumptions and the more concrete issues of his ecclesiology and political thought. Finally, there will be an examination of Hooker's own explicit statements concerning his soteriological principles in order to determine whether his claim to justify the Elizabethan Settlement in general, and the Royal Supremacy in particular, according to the reformed theological assumptions shared by his opponents is well-founded.

From a modern perspective, the doctrines of 'the coeternitie of the Sonne, and proceeding of the holy ghost', of 'fayth and workes', and of 'Predestination' would appear

to have hardly any connection with the political struggle over the institutional structure of the Elizabethan church.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, to the anonymous authors of the sole published response to Hooker's Lawes, namely A Christian Letter<sup>2</sup>, these fundamental issues of systematic Christian doctrine and particularly of reformed soteriology clearly constituted the chief focus of their objections to Hooker's argument. In A Christian Letter, which was published just a year prior to Hooker's death on 2 November 1600, the author of the Lawes was accused of having deviated from the accepted norms of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy. The authors of the A Christian Letter declared themselves 'certaine English Protestantes, unfayned favourers of the present state of religion, authorised and professed in England' (FLE 4:6) and proceeded to impugn a series of Hooker's doctrinal observations and assumptions as incompatible with the Articles of Religion:

Wee happellie remembring your Preface that there might bee some other cause, opened at length our

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<sup>1</sup> FLE 4:10,19,26.

<sup>2</sup> The full title is A Christian Letter of Certaine English Protestantes, unfayned favourers of the present state of religion, authorized and professed in England: unto that Reverend and Learned man, Maister R. Hoo requiring resolution in certayne matters of doctrine (which seeme to overthrowe the foundation of Christian Religion, and of the Church among us) expressie contayned in his five bookes of Ecclesiasticall Policie. The Letter is printed in FLE 4, 1-79, together with Hooker's autograph, marginal notes taken from a copy of the Letter in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. For a full textual introduction, see FLE 4, edited by John Booty, xiii-xlvi.

heavie eyes, and casting some more earnest and intensitive sight into your manner of fight, it seemed to us that covertlie and underhand you did bende all your skill and force against the present state of an English Church: and by colour of defending the discipline and gouvernement thereof, to make question and bring in contempt the doctrine and faith it selfe.<sup>1</sup>

The Letter goes on to demand of Hooker that he justify his meaning on a series of substantial points of Christian doctrine: it treats in turn matters of systematic doctrine (specifically Trinitarian and Christological distinctions), the problem of the authority of Scripture, soteriology (justification by faith, predestination, etc.), ecclesiology and the various 'visible' means of grace, and finally, certain metaphysical and theological generalities. The method adopted in A Christian Letter was the comparison of a doctrinal statement from the Lawes with a passage from the Articles of Religion in order to indicate a discrepancy.<sup>2</sup>

Without going any further into the content of A Christian Letter, at least for the moment, it is pertinent to ask ourselves the more general question of the significance of such an attack having been mounted at all. The inescapable inference, as has been argued above in our introductory chapter, is that Hooker's own contemporaries recognised that the great controversy over the 'rites, customs, and orders of Ecclesiasticall government' (LEP

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<sup>1</sup> FLE 4:7

<sup>2</sup> FLE 4:7

1.1.3) was essentially theological in scope and substance. That there is an important link between the categories and distinctions of theological discourse, on the one hand, and the contemporary issues respecting the structure of ecclesiastical polity, in the other, is made abundantly clear by A Christian Letter. For these anonymous, late-Elizabethan Protestants, the practical and political arguments of the Lawes are viewed as the reflection of more fundamental theoretical and theological principles. And so also must we seek to view them.

Furthermore, A Christian Letter serves to highlight the nature of the underlying doctrinal dispute - as it were, the theological stakes. In Hooker's view, the Disciplinarian bid for 'further reformation' was founded upon theological 'misconceipte' (LEP Pref. 1.3), that is to say, on erroneous ecclesiological inferences from theological principles held in common by conformist and disciplinarian alike. In as much as it was Hooker's chief purpose to secure the conscientious submission of moderate Puritans to the established order by virtue of a demonstration of its orthodox reformed theological structure, it was thus natural that his opponents should have responded, as they did in A Christian Letter, to the theological substance of the argument of the Lawes. Both Hooker and his opponents saw that the wider ecclesiological debate involved a critical struggle between the two sides for the high ground of

reformed doctrinal orthodoxy itself. A Christian Letter, in short, confirms the importance to the contemporary viewer of the large body of theological assumptions which underlie the controversy. Our questions will be as follows: First, what more definite, internal evidence is there for the view that Hooker was in actuality committed to the theological first principles of reformed orthodoxy? Secondly, precisely how are these first principles linked to the more concrete problem of the Royal Supremacy? In keeping with our intention of entering, so far as possible, into the alien mentalité of this whole controversy, our inquiry into the institutional structures defended by Hooker will be predicated upon our findings with respect to his theological premises.

#### Hooker and Reformed Doctrinal Orthodoxy

Our first step in defining the contours of the doctrine underlying the Royal Supremacy leads us into the vexed question of Hooker's supposed 'Anglicanism'. In our introductory chapter, it was asserted that Hooker's apologetic was erected on the premiss of his firm commitment to doctrinal norms established by the magisterial reformers on the continent. In the eye of modern scholarship, however, Hooker's reputation for reformed doctrinal orthodoxy is anything but secure. Indeed, the consensus of numerous modern historians, theologians, and Hooker scholars

is in basic agreement with the view expressed by the authors of A Christian Letter. That is to say, Hooker's underlying intention in writing the Laws was, in fact, contrary to the spirit of the Reformation and its fundamental doctrinal formulae. The authors of A Christian Letter expressed their fear that Hooker's treatise promoted 'Romish doctrine'<sup>1</sup> at every turn. A modern critic such as W. Speed Hill, for example, has interpreted A Christian Letter as having correctly identified Hooker's doctrinal intent: '...it was the definition of the peculiar character of the English Church as neither Roman nor Genevan - at once historic and reformed - and thus distinctively "Anglican". It was toward this "middle way", or via media, that Hooker was moving even in his early work, and it was the doctrinal implications of this position - specifically its apparent proximity to Rome - that the authors of A Christian Letter feared and opposed.'<sup>2</sup> The assumption of Speed Hill, and numerous other scholars, is that Hooker, qua Anglican, and therefore proponent of a doctrinal via media between Protestantism and Catholicism, was not strictly committed to the principles of reformed theology. This interpretation of Hooker's doctrinal stance must be addressed, for it stands in direct opposition to our own analysis of Hooker's irenical

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<sup>1</sup> FLE 4:24, 36, passim.

<sup>2</sup> W. Speed Hill, 'Doctrine and Polity in Hooker's Laws', English Literary Renaissance, 2(1972), 175.

purpose, viz. to resolve the consciences of the Establishment's critics by demonstrating the consistency of the ecclesiastical status quo with the key assumptions of reformed theology. It will be necessary to examine the evidence of Hooker's doctrinal assumptions in parts of the Lawes, in certain of his sermons, and in the so-called Dublin Fragments. The latter are unfinished tracts written by Hooker in the last year of his life in response to the charges made in A Christian Letter. In the Dublin Fragments Hooker constructed his most extensive statement of his commitment to the orthodox reformed theology of grace. Before we proceed with the evidence of his basic doctrinal assumptions, however, attention must be paid to the considerable volume of scholarship on the subject of Hooker's theological outlook.

First, there is the general problem of the anachronistic label Anglican which is so commonly applied to Hooker. It has been pointed out that the term itself was the product of post-Restoration polemical historiography.<sup>1</sup> The first use of the term has been attributed to Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, in his Life of Dr. Henry Hammond.<sup>2</sup> The label Anglican is not only anachronistic, it

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England', J.E.H., 31(1980), 469.

<sup>2</sup> Christianson cites P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata: on the History of the Reformation (London, 1661), 92 for a comparable usage.

is also theologically very imprecise. It has been applied indiscriminately to Calvinist bishops of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church and to Arminians as well. Similarly, the term Puritan has been loosely applied to conformists, Disciplinarians, and Separatists, within or without the Church of England, who held to strictly reformed theological principles.<sup>1</sup> By this reckoning, Hooker might equally well be regarded as a Puritan. There is, nevertheless, the generally received opinion that Puritans were representative of the Protestant mainstream, while Anglicans, such as Hooker, deviated from the doctrinal norms of reformed orthodoxy in the direction of a 'peculiarly English' pragmatic compromise, usually termed the via media.<sup>2</sup> The portrayal of Hooker as an Anglican according to this traditional interpretation calls in question our hypothesis with respect to his irenic apologetic.

On the other hand, there has been a mounting trend of opinion critical of the traditional dichotomy of Anglican and Puritan. Patrick Collinson, for example, expressed a

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<sup>1</sup> For a full bibliography and reasonably sound discussion of the involved controversy over the validity of the terms 'Anglican' and 'Puritan', see Christianson's article cited above.

<sup>2</sup> For this traditional dichotomy, see D. Little, Religion, Order and Law: A Study of Pre-Revolutionary England (New York, 1969), 250ff.; J.F.H. New, Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of their Opposition, 1558-1640 (London, 1964); and H. C. Porter, 'Hooker, the Tudor Constitution, and the Via Media', in Studies in Richard Hooker, edited by W. Speed Hill (Cleveland, 1972), 77-116.

dislike of the term Anglican in his landmark study of The Elizabethan Puritan Movement.<sup>1</sup> Collinson labelled the term anachronistic and suggested that 'Protestant' would have to stand in place of 'Anglican'. The implicit lack of clarity in this alternative, however, gets quite out of hand in the virtual abolition of any distinction whatsoever between 'conformist' and 'disciplinarian' in the thesis of C.H. and K. George.<sup>2</sup> A more recent, and much more convincing treatment of the question is by Dewey D. Wallace, Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695.<sup>3</sup> Wallace examines the Anglican and Puritan theology of grace together, and comes to the conclusion that the labels themselves are highly misleading. He specifically warns against both reading later doctrinal differences back into an earlier period and denying all theological differences whatsoever.<sup>4</sup> It is only after 1620, in Wallace's estimation, that there emerges a distinctively Anglican theology.<sup>5</sup> Finally, there is the important

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, (London, 1967), 108.

<sup>2</sup> The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640 (Princeton, 1961).

<sup>3</sup> (Chapel Hill, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> See especially Wallace's Introduction, vii-xi.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 28, 37.

contribution of Nicholas Tyacke.<sup>1</sup> For Tyacke, 'Calvinist predestinarian teaching was...a crucial common assumption, shared by a majority of the hierarchy and virtually all its non-conformist opponents, during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods'<sup>2</sup>. Thus the weight of contemporary scholarly opinion has begun to shift perceptibly away from the 'the damaging mistake of writing the history of that church in the anachronistically dichotomous terms of an Anglicanism not yet conceived and an alien Puritanism not yet clearly disowned.'<sup>3</sup>

Now that the validity of the category 'Anglicanism' has been so radically called into question, it is inevitable that the traditional interpretation of Hooker's theology, which for so long has been viewed through the lens of that same quasi-confessional category, should itself be called into question. For the most part the application of these critical developments to the study of Hooker has not occurred. The myths concerning the Anglican character of Hooker's theology, promoted strongly by a multitude of hagiographers in the nineteenth century, have lingered on.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Puritanism, Arminianism, and Counter-Revolution', in The Origins of the English Civil War, edited by Conrad Russell (London, 1973), 119-43. See also Tyacke's recently issued Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (Oxford, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford, 1984), ix. See also Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, viii.

The problems encountered in the older, more general historiography of 'Anglicanism' are reflected by the larger part of modern critical studies of Hooker's theology. While the more recent historiography of sixteenth and seventeenth-century theology has tended towards a deliberate correction of past anachronisms, Hooker scholarship has not kept pace with the revision. The traditional stereotype of Hooker as an Anglican Father, and perhaps the classical exponent of the via media theology, has yet to be challenged in any serious way.<sup>1</sup> The received opinion that Hooker's theology, qua Anglican, deviates considerably from the essential doctrinal norms of reformed orthodoxy has been expressed in a variety of ways. First, there is the simple identification of Hooker's theology by some with the via media concept. Others have defined Hooker's theology as Thomist. Others still have regarded Hooker as an Erasmian humanist. In all cases, there is a deep-seated assumption that Hooker's fundamental doctrine is anything but reformed.

The classic nineteenth-century definition of the Anglican via media in theology was formulated, somewhat ironically, by John Henry Newman. In a particular tract, he

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<sup>1</sup> The problem has been at least identified. For the subtle influence of traditional Anglican image of Hooker on the way he has been treated by secular historians, see W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The Philosopher of the Politic Society', 132.

chose to get his point across in the form of a dialogue<sup>1</sup>:

- L. You separate then your creed and cause [i.e. of the Church of England] from that of the Reformed Churches of the continent?
- C. Not altogether; but I protest against being brought into that close alliance with them which the world now-a-days would force upon us. The glory of the English Church is that it has taken the via media, as it has been called. It lies between the so-called Reformers and the Romanists.

A few pages further on we read:

- C. A number of distinct doctrines are included in the notion of Protestantism: and as to all these, our Church has taken the via media between it and Popery.

Newman's formulation of the via media myth has been assumed by many Hooker scholars in their interpretation of the latter's theology. John Keble, the great nineteenth-century High Churchman and editor of Hooker's Works, portrayed Hooker as the originator of via media theology.<sup>2</sup> Ever since the influence of the anachronistic via media stereotype has been extraordinarily resilient.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.H. Newman, The Via Media of the Anglican Church Illustrated in Letters, Lectures and Tracts written between 1830-1841 (London, 1885), 28, 41.

<sup>2</sup> See HW 1: xcix; for a similar 'High Church' account; see Alfred Barry, 'Richard Hooker', in Masters in English Theology: Being the King's College Lectures for 1877 (London, 1877), 1-60.

<sup>3</sup> See Edward Dowden, 'Richard Hooker', in Anglican and Puritan: Studies in Literature (London, 1900), 69-96; Lionel S. Thornton, Richard Hooker: A study of His Theology (London, 1924), 28, 33, 74 and 77; F. J. Shirley, Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas (London, 1949), 91; J.S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (Sewanee, Tenn., 1963), 10, 38, passim; John E. Booty, 'Hooker and Anglicanism', Studies in Richard Hooker, edited by W. Speed Hill (London, 1972), 207-239, esp. 207-211.

In general, these studies represent Hooker's position as a theological via media because of his classic defence of the authority of reason and natural law, and of free will. These are, interestingly, the same areas of Hooker's teaching that produced protest from the authors of A Christian Letter. Such a defence of reason, according to this interpretation, was contrary to the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith alone, and inclined to 'Poperie'.(FLE 4:64ff.) Thus, the cornerstone of the reformed theology is identified as a vilification of reason, natural law, and 'the human' generally, in order to secure the rightful primacy of revelation, scriptural authority, and 'the divine'. As we shall see below, Hooker strongly resisted this simplistic dichotomising which, in his view, was the hallmark of the Disciplinarian-Puritan divinity and contrary to the magisterial version of Reformed orthodoxy. Furthermore, Hooker's soteriology, following the pattern already established by John Calvin, has a dialectical pattern which enables him to reconcile the authority of reason to the reformed precept of sola scriptura entirely within the doctrinal structure first established by the magisterial reformers.

Another body of critical opinion, including some supporters of the via media school, has placed great emphasis upon certain external similarities between Hooker's generic division of the forms of law in Book I of the Laws

and scholastic arguments, especially those of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>1</sup> Numerous historians of Hooker's political ideas, several of whom were mentioned in the introductory chapter, have been influenced by this alternative view of Hooker's theology as 'Thomist rationalism'.<sup>2</sup> Hooker's reliance upon the theological principles of Thomas Aquinas was thought to be reflected principally in his vision of a hierarchically ordered universe which mediates in a 'gradual order' between man and God. Such a Neoplatonic vision, some have argued, contradicted the reformed doctrine of an immediate and inward union between the soul and God through the action of imputed righteousness. This is in actuality the same argument encountered earlier in relation to the via media school, although this account is somewhat more subtle.<sup>3</sup> There is an interesting parallel, for example, between Gunnar Hillerdal's interpretation of Hooker's theology and Peter Munz's account of the political theory of the Lawes. Hillerdal regarded Hooker as having grounded his theology in

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<sup>1</sup> J.S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition, 90ff.; H. Baker, Wars of Truth, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, A.P. d'Entrèves, Riccardo Hooker; P. Munz, The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought.

<sup>3</sup> Similarities between the Lawes and the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas were noted early on by R. W. Church in his 'Introduction' to an edition of The First Book of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (Oxford, 1866); see also R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West: Political Theory from 1300 to 1600, vol. 6 (London, 1903-36), 350-57; Gunnar Hillerdal, Reason and Revelation in Richard Hooker (Lund, Sweden, 1962), 22-29.

a Thomistic understanding of the correlation of grace and nature; but later as having fallen into a Nominalistic dichotomy of these two principles,<sup>1</sup> in order that he might justify the structures of the Elizabethan Settlement. Thus the problem of 'logical coherence', which was until recently quite prominent in the commentary on Hooker's political thought, is also represented in theological criticism.<sup>2</sup> Such a parallel would seem to strengthen the case already presented for reading Hooker's theology and political theory together.

There is a third school of opinion which has identified Hooker's metaphysical-theological position as a species of Erasmian humanism. Here again there is some overlapping with the via media and Thomist labelling.<sup>3</sup> The identification of Hooker's theology with the Erasmian reform is yet another mode of expressing his distance from reformed orthodoxy. According to this account, Hooker's supposed Erasmianism consisted in a rejection of the key reformed

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<sup>1</sup> G. Hillerdal, Reason and Revelation, 30.

<sup>2</sup> See also L. Thornton, Richard Hooker, 77, for another angle on the logical incoherence of Hooker's theology: 'This mixture of Catholic and Protestant in Hooker is natural in one who belonged to a generation of transition between revolution and reconstruction. He was shedding his Protestantism as he went along; but the process was never completed and thus, as in the case of Saint Augustine before him, different elements in his system remained fitted together'.

<sup>3</sup> For example, J.S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition, 3-8.

doctrinal planks of sola gratia and sola fide. Erasmus's teaching on the freedom of man to cooperate with God's grace in the work of salvation is directly contrary to the orthodox reformed teaching of the total depravity of the natural human will, and of man's justification by grace through faith alone.<sup>1</sup> Herschel Baker portrayed Hooker as a 'Renaissance optimist' as opposed to a 'Calvinist pessimist'.<sup>2</sup> Once again, the theme emphasized was Hooker's humanistic balance between the powers of reason and grace. Baker regarded Hooker as having rejected the central tenet of the reformed theology of grace, namely the imputed, passive character of Justification by Faith. Again Hooker has been represented as having denied the touchstone of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy, sola gratia. Baker saw Hooker as a champion of a demi-Pelagian humanism in the Erasmian tradition by virtue of his securing the claims of reason and tradition against what he viewed as a biblicising Protestant voluntarism: 'ultimately [Hooker] was marshalling all the artillery of history, reason, and tradition against the heresy of Calvin. For Calvin had alienated nature from God, truth from goodness, piety from conduct, reason from theology; and the result in Hooker's view, was a universe

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<sup>1</sup> On the 'Erasmian via media', see M.M. Phillips, Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance (New York, 1950), 150ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wars of Truth: Studies in the Decay of Christian Humanism in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1952; reprinted Gloucester, 1969), chapter 1.

rendered unintelligible and therefore meaningless. The main lines of Hooker's rebuttal [of Calvin] are those laid down by Aquinas...'<sup>1</sup> Finally, some scholars have expressed the opinion that Hooker's soteriology was proto-Arminian, and that with respect to his predestinarian theology he deviated from reformed orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup>

The common theme which links the via media, Thomist-rationalist, and Erasmian-humanist labels as applied to Hooker is their insistence upon his deviation from the theological and doctrinal principles associated with the high ground of reformed orthodoxy. There would seem, therefore, to be a fairly substantial weight of opinion against the interpretation which we have begun to develop with respect to Hooker's polemical-doctrinal position. Before turning directly to examine the evidence of Hooker's writing on the pertinent topics of grace, justification, the freedom of the will, predestination, the authority of the

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<sup>1</sup> H. Baker, Wars of Truth (Cambridge, Mass., 1952; reprinted Gloucester, 1969), 93; Hooker's putative Erasmianism and his opposition particularly to Calvin, has been taken up by a number of other scholars, e.g. Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass: The Elizabethan Mind in Literature (New York, 1936), 24, 28; Basil Wilkey, 'Humanism and Hooker' in The English Moralists (London, 1964), 100-23; see Robert K. Faulkner, Richard Hooker and the Politics of a Christian England (Los Angeles, 1981), 24, for a more recent restatement of this interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> See H.R. McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1965), 357; also C.H. Sisson, The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker and the Birth of 'The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity' (Cambridge, 1938), 100.

divinely revealed law in scripture and the natural light of reason, and the like, there are some few studies yet to be mentioned which tend rather to uphold Hooker's adherence to the theological principles of the magisterial reformers.

It has been pointed out by Dewey D. Wallace that Hooker's doctrine of predestination was formulated 'in a manner consonant with Reformed theology' and that 'Hooker's departures from scholastic predestinarian Calvinism were more significant in tone than they were in departing from prevailing formulations.'<sup>1</sup> Other scholars, upon closer study of Hooker's treatment of the doctrine of predestination in the Dublin Fragments, have been inclined to agree with this assessment which places Hooker unequivocally in the camp of orthodox reformed doctrine.<sup>2</sup> It is a matter of particular significance that Hooker's formulation of the principal points of the doctrine at the conclusion of the 'Fragment on Predestination' correspond closely with the orthodox Calvinist Lambeth Articles of 1595.<sup>3</sup> Philip Edgcumbe Hughes approached the problem from

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<sup>1</sup> Puritans and Predestination, 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Michael T. Malone, 'The Doctrine of Predestination in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker', Anglican Theological Review 52, (1970), 103-17.

<sup>3</sup> FLE 4.166, 167. For the text of the Articles themselves, see WW 3:612, 13; and for a detailed historical account of the events which led up to this formulation of the predestinarian theology of grace, see H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), 315-90. See also Wallace, Puritans and

the angle of Hooker's doctrine of justification by faith. He came to the conclusion that Hooker adhered strictly to the reformed formula of imputed righteousness, and to the doctrine of justification by faith alone.<sup>1</sup> Hughes, along with Morrell and Schmidt, has emphasized Hooker's essential agreement with the magisterial continental reformers. While the number of studies which support Hooker's reputation for reformed orthodoxy is considerably smaller in number, these studies nevertheless focus more thorough attention upon the doctrinal evidence of Hooker's tractates and sermons. What is the evidence, then, for the assertion already made, viz. that Hooker's doctrinal assumptions are consistent with the norms established by the magisterial reformers? In the course of our examination of the evidence of Hooker's theological assumptions, another question might well be asked: why have so many interpreters of Hooker's theology seen in his principles a deviation from reformed orthodoxy?

The principal contention in this chapter is that Hooker's theology of grace does indeed conform in all essentials to the doctrinal principles of reformed

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Predestination, 66, 67.

<sup>1</sup> Faith and Works: Cranmer and Hooker on Justification (Wilton, Conn., 1982), 42-47; see also G.W. Morrell, 'Richard Hooker, Theologian of the English Reformation', in Christianity Today 10 (1966), 8-10; and Martin Schmidt, 'Die Rechtfertigungslehre bei Richard Hooker', Geist und Geschichte der Reformation (Berlin, 1966), 377-96.

orthodoxy. Our aim is to demonstrate Hooker's rightful place in the so-called 'Protestant Consensus' which has been clearly identified by recent historiography of the Elizabethan Church.<sup>1</sup> In doing so, our intention is to supersede the anachronistic myths and stereotypes of Hooker's theological principles. Further, we seek to bring the assessment of Hooker into step with more recent advances in the more general historiography of the doctrinal controversies of the period. As was the case in the sphere of Hooker's political thought, the scholarly assessment of his doctrine and theology has also long been subject to the distortion of anachronistic assumptions. It is necessary that the evidence of Hooker's fundamental theology as it appears in his sermons and tracts, as well as in parts of the Laws, be examined more closely and allowed to speak for itself.

#### The Magisterial Reformers: the 'Two Realms' Doctrine

It has been observed by numerous Luther scholars that the key to understanding that reformer's views on the doctrine of the Church, the relation between the church and the secular political order, and the theory of government,

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis has been set forth by Patrick Collinson in his 1979 Ford Lectures published under the title The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982) and by Christopher Dent, Protestants in Elizabethan Oxford (Oxford, 1980), 175.

etc., is contained in the complex of doctrines referred to as the Zwei-Reiche- and Zwei-Regimente-Lehre.<sup>1</sup> Luther's so-called 'Two Kingdoms' doctrine developed directly out of his reformulation of the doctrine of grace according to the principle of justification by faith alone.<sup>2</sup> His conception that the Christian believer existed simultaneously in two realms stemmed ultimately from the conviction that human nature was altogether corrupt.<sup>3</sup> For Luther, the depravity of the natural human will was such that salvation could only come to the individual as a totally unmerited divine gift. Justification was the result of the soul's union with Christ in such a manner that the total righteousness of the Saviour 'clothed' the sinner, or was 'imputed' to him.<sup>4</sup> The soul's

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<sup>1</sup> A most thorough and accessible account is by a Hooker scholar, W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The "Two Kingdoms" and the "Two Regiments": Some Problems of Luther's Zwei-Reiche-Lehre', Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. xx(1969), 164-85; the same article appears as a chapter in Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker, edited by C.W. Dugmore (London, 1980), 42-59. Cargill Thompson developed his thought on this problem in a monograph study of The Political Thought of Martin Luther, published posthumously and edited by Philip Broadhead (Brighton, 1984), esp. chapters I-III. A useful bibliography of the considerable quantity of literature on the Zwei-Reiche-Lehre is included in the notes to the article.

<sup>2</sup> Cargill Thompson, Political Thought of Martin Luther, 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> See Q. Skinner's discussion of the 'theological premises' of Luther's political thought in Foundations, vol. II, 5-8.

<sup>4</sup> F. Edward Cranz, An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law and Society (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 70; Cargill Thompson, Political Thought of Martin Luther, 20.

participation in this imputed righteousness of Christ was not by any human merit or action but, rather, entirely 'passive', that is to say 'by faith'. Thus, according to Luther, the mediaeval conception of justifying grace as an 'infused habit' of the soul and as a 'process' which involved the achievement of merit by works was overturned. Justification could no longer be viewed as process. The principal features of the reformed doctrine of justification were first the 'alien' or 'extraneous' character of imputed righteousness insofar as all righteousness remained 'in Christ alone'; and secondly, the wholly 'passive' manner of the Christian's participation in this alien righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Luther affirmed a second kind of righteousness which was neither 'alien' nor 'passive', but was 'habitual' and 'active'. As distinct from the antecedent 'imputed' grace of justification, this second consequent kind was 'infused'.<sup>2</sup> Through the latter the Christian was 'in process' of sanctification in the world through the active practice of the virtues. Thus Luther arrived at his famous formula of the Christian condition as simul justus, simul peccator. On the one hand, the Christian is totally justified by virtue of union with Christ through

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Luther, Two Kinds of Righteousness, translated by Lowell J. Satre in Luther's Works, vol. 31, edited by H. J. Grimm (Philadelphia, 1957), 293ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Luther's 'Lectures on Galatians' in WA, XL, 1 40, 11f., translated by Cranz, Development of Luther's Thought, 92.

an imputed, alien, and passive righteousness. On the other hand, the Christian is a sinner in the world, engaged in a dynamic process of overcoming his sinfulness by means of an infused, habitual, and active righteousness. It has been shown that Luther's dialectical treatment of the two kinds of righteousness, which is the core of his soteriological teaching, had profound implications for his ecclesiology and political theory. The pivotal link between his soteriology and his practical theology was his doctrine of the two kingdoms or the two realms.<sup>1</sup>

The two realms distinction is built squarely on the logical foundation of Luther's dialectical soteriology. The two realms correspond to the twofold division of the forms of righteousness or justice. On the one hand, the Christian lives in 'das geistliche Reich', the so-called realm of perfect or 'total' justice where the soul is spiritually united to Christ and participates passively, by faith, in an alien, imputed righteousness.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, he lives in 'das weltliche Reich', the realm of imperfect or 'dynamic' justice where the soul actively pursues, by

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<sup>1</sup> See Cargill Thompson, 20: 'Luther's political and social ideas are, in fact, fundamentally rooted in his theological ideas. They are not something separate, a special compartment of his thought, for Luther did not compartmentalise his thought, but a direct outcome of his basic theology'. It is somewhat ironic that the author should have allowed the connection between theology and political thought in Luther's case and yet retreated from applying the same principle to his interpretation of Hooker.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 42ff.

meritorious deeds, the perfection of a proper or habitual, infused virtue.<sup>1</sup> The whole character of Luther's social and political thought is predicated on this dialectical view of the two realms through which man is related to God. In this fashion, the doctrine of grace most profoundly influenced the more practical thought of the Reformation.

The same doctrine of the two realms underlies the theology of Calvin, although expressed, as one might expect, in a more systematic form.<sup>2</sup> Luther's distinction of the 'two realms' is reflected in the very structure of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion.<sup>3</sup> The treatise begins with this affirmation:

The entire sum of our wisdom, of that which deserves to be called true and certain wisdom, may be said to consist of two parts: namely the knowledge of God, and of ourselves. (Inst. 1.1.1.)

The Institutes is divided into four books. The initial two books are primarily concerned with the 'objective' knowledge of God. In the first book, Calvin treated the knowledge of God as Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the world, and in the second book he discusses God as he is revealed in Christ the

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<sup>1</sup> See same author, 'Problems of Luther's Zwei-Reiche-Lehre' (1980), 42-45. .

<sup>2</sup> The summary of Calvin's position here owes much to the work of Francois Wendel, Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought, translated by Philip Mairet (London, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> The edition employed is that translated by Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979) in two volumes. Hereafter the title of the work will be abbreviated to Institutes, and referred to in the notes as Inst.

Redeemer. The two final books address the manner in which fallen humanity comes to participate subjectively in the reconciliation wrought between God and man objectively by Christ. The structure of Calvin's treatment of the soteriological problem - that is to say, how the benefits of Christ's complete righteousness are communicated to men - relies utterly on the concept of the two realms. In Book Three, Calvin discussed the 'hidden work of the Holy Spirit'<sup>1</sup> and in Book Four he addressed the 'external and visible means' of that hidden work.<sup>2</sup> The close connection between Calvin's doctrine of grace and his theory of Christian institutions has been well attested. Francois Wendel, for example, observed that Calvin's discussion of the problem of predestination in the third book of the Institutes was in good part the result of a predominantly practical preoccupation. In Calvin's view, the problem of predestination 'was never to be discussed as an indulgence in metaphysical speculation, but to throw a fuller light upon the doctrine of justification by grace alone and give a theological basis for ecclesiology.'<sup>3</sup> (my italics)

The communication of grace to men was for Calvin, as for Luther, a dialectical process:

We receive and possess by faith, Jesus Christ, as

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<sup>1</sup> Inst. 3.1.1.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. 4.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> Wendel, 269; see Inst. 3.21.1.

he is given to us by the goodness of God, and by participation in him we have a double grace. The first is, that being reconciled to God by his innocence, instead of having a judge in heaven to condemn us, we very clearly have a Father there. The second is, that we are sanctified by his Spirit, to think upon holiness and innocence of life. (Inst. 3.11.1)<sup>1</sup>

Thus, for Calvin as for Luther, the Christian participates in 'two kinds of righteousness'. On the one hand men dwell 'in Christ' and are thus made wholly righteous before God, 'coram Deo'. On the other hand, Christ dwells 'in us', and thereby men are progressively sanctified in the world, 'coram hominibus'.<sup>2</sup> Calvin distinguished as sharply as Luther between a perfect, alien, imputed grace of justification and a dynamic, proper, infused grace of sanctification.<sup>3</sup> As with Luther, the two forms of grace, were not separate although they must be kept wholly distinct. (Inst. 3.11.11)

This careful logical treatment of the principal elements of soteriology is reflected in Calvin's understanding of the two kingdoms theory, his important distinction between the forum conscientiae and the forum externum.<sup>4</sup> Calvin argued that there is a twofold government with respect to men. First there is a spiritual government,

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<sup>1</sup> See Wendel, 241, 242.

<sup>2</sup> Wendel, 237-242.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>4</sup> See Inst. 3.19.15; 4.10.3-6.

which has its seat in the soul and 'by which the conscience is trained to piety and divine worship'. Secondly, there is a civil or external government whereby 'the individual is instructed in those duties which, as men and citizens, we are bound to perform'. (Inst. 3.19.15) The underlying distinction here is clearly the soteriological dialectic of passive and active, alien and habitual, imputed and infused, perfect and incremental righteousness. Just as in the soteriological context, Calvin's two realms or fora, must be kept distinct and 'unconfused':

Now these two (realms), as we have divided them, are always to be viewed apart from each other. When the one is considered, we should call off our minds, and not allow them to think of the other. For there exists in man a kind of two worlds, over which different kings and different laws can preside. (Inst. 3.19.15)

Calvin's distinction between the forum conscientiae and forum externum is introduced in the context of his consideration of Christian liberty in Book III of the Institutes.<sup>1</sup> That liberty is sustained, according to his argument, principally by the observance of the right distinction between the two realms. The distinction is presupposed throughout the argument of the fourth Book where he addresses the various external means of communicating inward spiritual gifts. Calvin makes a marked appeal to the dialectic of the two realms in his discussion of the power of the church to make law. (Inst. 4.10.13)

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<sup>1</sup> Inst. 3.10.1ff.

To summarise, Luther and Calvin, the two preeminent magisterial reformers, displayed in their respective theologies the pivotal link between the fundamental principles of the reformed doctrine of grace and a new understanding of the Christian's simultaneous existence in two distinct realms, whether they be termed by Luther, geistliches and weltliches Reich, or, by Calvin, forum conscientiae and forum externum. For both theologians, the two realms met together in Christ, the source of order in each, as well as in the souls of Christian believers. This 'personal' union of the two realms both in Christ and in the human individual was not to be the occasion for the confusion of their radically distinct 'natures'. The two realms are simultaneous in the Christian's experience yet altogether distinct:

There is the Christian's existence in Christ, and there is the Christian's existence in the world; yet there is only one Christian individual who exists in both realms. The two realms of existence are simultaneously real, but they must be precisely distinguished, for to confuse them is to destroy all Christian theology.<sup>1</sup>

#### Hooker's Soteriology and the 'Two Realms'

The doctrine of grace developed by Hooker in his sermons and tracts follows the pattern set by these magisterial reformers in all essentials. Indeed, in certain crucial respects, Hooker adheres to the precise formulation

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<sup>1</sup> Cranz, Development of Luther's Thought, xiv, 68, 69.

of soteriological doctrine set down by Calvin in the Institutes, as, for example, in the case of their common Christocentric emphasis. This aim has a direct bearing on the interpretation of Hooker's apologetical purposes. Secondly, Hooker's soteriology contains the fundamental structural elements of his thought. Our purpose is to investigate the soteriological aspect of Hooker's analysis of the two realms as a reflection of the two kinds of grace which, in turn, will provide a valuable instrument for the interpretation successively in our three remaining chapters of 1) his ecclesiology, 2) his view of the relation between church and secular political society, and, 3) his doctrine of headship.

The doctrine of salvation poses fundamentally a problem of mediation. The starting point for the theology of the reformers was the conviction of man's total corruption and sinfulness, which was the consequence of the Fall. An infinite gulf was said to divide an utterly depraved, fallen humanity from their infinitely righteous and perfect Creator. The problem of salvation was thus the problem of mediation between man and God across this gulf. Hooker's formulation of the doctrine of man's total depravity is unmistakably reformed:

And sinne hath twoe measures whereby the greatnes therof is judged. The object, God against whome: and the subject, that creature in whome sinne is. By the one measure all sinne is infinit, because he is Infinite whome sinne offendeth: for which cause there is one eternall punishment due in

justice unto all sinners...He leaveth us not as Adam in the hands of our own wills att once indued with abilitie to stand of our owne accord....because that abilitie is altogether lost'(FLE 4:140, 141) [my italics]

Hooker's conviction of man's unworthiness is wholly consistent with the usual reformed view. The problem of mediation is crucial. Man's fulfillment, happiness, and perfection is also, according to Hooker, infinite: 'No good is infinite but only God: therefore he is our felicitie and blisse'. (LEP 1.11.2) Salvation is nothing less than the bridging of the gulf between man's infinite wickedness and God's infinite goodness: 'Then are we happie therefore when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our soules are satisfied even with everlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united we live as it were the life of God'. (LEP 1.11.2)

How in Hooker's view is this complete union of man with God accomplished? How do men come to 'the participation of the divine nature'? (LEP 5.56.7) How is this mediation accomplished? His treatment of this problem of soteriological mediation is radically Christocentric, and in this respect he is a close follower of the theological approach of Calvin. Man's 'participation of the divine nature', according to Calvin, was objectively achieved in and through Christ's assumption of human nature in the Incarnation. (Inst. 2.12.1) The mediation between man and

God was possible solely through the God-man Christ.<sup>1</sup> For Hooker and Calvin both, man's participation in the divine nature was attained 'by Christ alone'. (HW 3:530) In his A Learned Discourse, Hooker argues forcibly for the doctrine of salvation by Christ alone. In that sermon, he was intent on a demonstration of 'how the foundation of faith is overthrown' (HW 3:483) by the addition of works to the attainment of justifying righteousness: 'Salvation only by Christ is the true foundation upon which Christianity standeth'. (HW 3:528) This union of man with Christ is a 'mysticall conjunction':

Wee are therefore in God through Christ eternallie accordinge to that intent and purpose whereby wee were chosen to be made his in this present world before the world it selfe was made...Wee are in Christ because he knoweth and loveth us even as partes of him selfe. No man actuallie is in him but they in whome he actuallie is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God hath not life. (LEP 5.56.7.)

Our union with Christ, according to Hooker, is the wholly indispensable condition for our salvation. This 'actual incorporation', insitio in Christum, is characteristic of orthodox reformed doctrine of salvation.

The problem of mediation has only just begun at this state. As Hooker observed in 'Grace and Free Will' in the

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<sup>1</sup> Wendel, Calvin, 215-32; Inst. 2.12.1. Hooker, like Calvin, placed considerable emphasis on traditional Christological doctrine as defined by the four Ecumenical Councils of the ancient Church. Both divines, as we shall show later, drew upon the dialectical formula of orthodox Christology to clarify matters ecclesiology and political theory as well as soteriology.

Dublin Fragments, 'In Grace there is nothing of soe great difficultie as to define after what manner and measure it worketh'. (FLE 4:111) The union may be viewed in two ways: 'Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Christ hath of us and wee of him, in such sort that ech possesseth other by waile of speciall interest propertie and inherent copulation'. (LEP 5.56.1) The union of fallen humanity with Christ is viewed dialectically by Hooker. On the one hand, there is union with Christ 'in God through Christ eternallie accordinge to that intent and purpose whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present world before the world it selfe was made'.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, 'our beinge in Christ by eternall foreknowledge saveth us not without our actuall and reall adoption into the fellowship of his Sainctes in this present world'.<sup>2</sup> Hooker has here distinguished a twofold participation of grace. First, humanity is united to God through Christ beyond time: 'God therefore lovinge eternallie his Sonne, he must needes eternallie in him have loved and preferred before all others them which are spirituallie sithence descended and spronge out of him'. (5.56.6) Yet, 'no man actuallie is in him but they in whome he actuallie is'. (5.56.7) Here Hooker emphasises union

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.56.7; compare Calvin, Inst. 3.25.5: 'Of those whom God has chosen as his children it is not said that he elected them in themselves, but in his Christ...' quoted by Wendel, 275.

<sup>2</sup> LEP 5.56.7.

here and now. Thus, this initial analysis of the 'mutual participation' between Christ and humanity reveals a tension between the realms of time and eternity which is characteristic of Hooker's soteriology.

This tension of realms is built up further in Hooker's analysis of the so-called ordo salutis, the order of salvation. The communication of grace to men is marked by important divisions.

But we say, our salvation is by Christ alone; therefore howsoever, or whatsoever, we add unto Christ in the matter of salvation, we overthrow Christ. Our case were very hard, if this argument, so universally meant as it is proposed, were sound and good. We ourselves do not teach Christ alone, excluding our own faith, unto justification; Christ alone, excluding our own works, unto sanctification; Christ alone, excluding the one or the other as unnecessary unto salvation. (HW 3:530)

The problem of soteriology for Hooker, as indeed for Reformation theology generally, was how salvation was wrought by Christ alone and yet did not, at the same time, paralyse men into total inaction. Hooker follows Calvin closely once again in his treatment of the 'modes' of grace.<sup>1</sup> Hooker and Calvin, both of them following Luther's lead, distinguish between the grace of justification and the grace of sanctification:

There are two kinds of Christian righteousness: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other Christian virtues...God

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<sup>1</sup> Compare HW 3:485 and Inst. 3.16.1

giveth us both the one justice and the other: the one by accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by working Christian righteousness in us. (HW 3:507)

These two modes of participation in Christ derive from the same source. Both are means whereby Christ alone works the salvation of humanity, yet in diverse modes. The two are distinct, yet always together. Hooker follows Calvin in his dictum that 'justifying Grace is not separate from regeneration although these are distinct things'. (Inst. 4.11.11) Thus, Hooker maintained, 'wee participate Christ partlie by imputation, as when those thinges which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partlie by habituall and reall infusion, as when grace is inwardlie bestowed while we are on earth...' (LEP 5.56.11) These two modes of grace, i.e. imputed or justifying grace, and infused or sanctifying grace, must not be confounded lest the 'foundation of faith be overthrown'. (HW 3:509) The affirmation of a 'righteousness of works' was not intended by Hooker to contradict the doctrine of justification by faith alone. The manner in which Hooker defined such a reconciliation of these two kinds of grace is of the utmost consequence for his ecclesiology and political thought. The distinct stages of this soteriological doctrine must therefore be set down clearly.

Justifying righteousness is the logically prior mode of grace. Calvin defined it as the 'principle of the whole

doctrine of salvation and the foundation of all religion'.<sup>1</sup> It is a 'perfect' righteousness. It is perfect because it is the righteousness of Christ himself. It is, however, extraneous to men, and not a spiritual quality or 'habit' of the soul. Hooker quotes the doctrine of Aquinas in the Summa Theologica as representative of 'the Romish doctrine' which he himself opposes. Aquinas regarded 'gratia justificans' as a 'qualitas quaedam supernaturalis' which is the root and principle of good works.<sup>2</sup> Hooker objected to the Thomist soteriology, enshrined in the decrees of the Council of Trent, on the grounds that it confounded the two modes of grace:

This grace [i.e. justification] they will have to be applied by infusion; to the end, that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, so the soul might be righteous by the inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increase; as the body may be more and more warm, so the soul more and more justified, according as grace shall be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. (HW 3:487, 488)

Against the Thomist view that justifying grace is infused as a habit of the soul, and is inherent, and dynamic, Hooker upholds the standard doctrine of reformed orthodoxy. For Hooker, because of man's total depravity, there is no capacity on the part of the soul to receive the

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<sup>1</sup> Sermon on Luke 1.5-10, in Opera omnia quae supersunt in Corpus Reformatorum, (Brunswick, 1863-1900), vol. 46, 23, quoted by Wendel, Calvin, 256.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Ia IIae, qu. 100 (Antwerp, 1612), vol. xi 253ff., quoted by Hooker in HW 3:487.

righteousness of justification as a quality or habitus:

The righteousness wherein we must be found, if we will be justified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful; for by faith we are incorporated into him. (HW 3:490)

For Hooker, as for Calvin, Luther, and the magisterial reformers generally, the principal controversy between the Church of Rome and her protestant critics, is viewed as hanging upon this crucial soteriological definition. The righteousness whereby a man is justified 'before God' is, for Hooker, perfect, alien, and wholly passive. It is 'perfect' because it is the righteousness of Christ himself. 'Such we are in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himself'. (HW 3:490) It is 'alien' since it does not 'inhere' in the sinful soul, but is 'imputed' to it as though it were perfectly righteous. It is 'passive' insofar as men participate in it entirely by faith. The grace of justification is altogether incapable of increase or decrease. At one point Hooker refers to justification as 'the external justice of Christ Jesus' as opposed to 'habitual justice'. (HW 3:508) The extraneous character of this mode of grace is of considerable significance. In the imputed righteousness of Christ, the soul finds its unity and stability altogether outside itself, 'in heaven' with Christ. (HW 3:490) This is the so-called 'realm of faith' which, for reformed soteriology, must be kept 'wholly

distinct from the secondary or consequent 'realm of activity'. To confuse the two realms or the two modes of grace is tantamount to the overthrow of salvation itself, the very fault, according to Hooker, of the unreformed doctrine of Rome.(HW 3:491, 509) Justifying grace must never be confused with inherent, habitual, or active righteousness.

Sanctifying righteousness, on the other hand, is defined, again according to the accepted formula of reformed orthodoxy, as 'inherent, but not perfect'.(HW 3:485) Hooker distinguished it 'as a thing in nature different from the righteousness of justification'.(HW 3:491) It is by its nature imperfect, habitual, and infused as against the perfect, alien, and imputed character of the first mode. The grace of sanctification, or regeneration as it is sometimes called, is 'Christ in us' as against the mode of 'ourselves in Christ'.(LEP 5.56.11) This second mode of grace is 'inherent' in that it is a gift of virtues, that is, 'habits' of the soul which contribute to a progressive, incremental regeneration of the will: 'the effects thereof are such actions as the Apostle doth call the fruits, the works, the operations of the Spirit'.(HW 3:491, 92) Thus while the Christian is totally justified by the imputation to him of Christ's perfect righteousness, at the same time he remains a sinner throughout his life. The sinner, having been justified by faith, is nevertheless engaged in a

dynamic process of becoming righteous. The error in the teaching of Rome was therefore 'not that she requireth works at their hands that will be saved: but that she attributeth unto works a power of satisfying God for sin; and a virtue to merit both grace here and in heaven glory'.(HW 3:531, 32)

This, then, is the central paradox of reformed soteriology. On the one hand, the Christian is totally righteous, and, on the other, he is becoming righteous. He exists in two completely distinct worlds. No longer, as in the unreformed scholastic soteriology, is there a progressive ascent from the imperfect realm of nature to the perfect realm of grace. Rather, man is at once present in both realms at once. He is already in the 'eschatological' realm of perfect righteousness by faith; yet, he continues to exist in a 'temporal' realm of dynamic righteousness. The Christian, by virtue of his simultaneous participation in these two modes of grace, participates in the two realms of incorruption and corruption, perfect justice and imperfect justice, imputed and infused grace. Most important of all is the need to keep these two modes distinct from each other, especially on account of their close association in the Christian 'person':

The want of exact distinguishing between these two ways, and observing what they have in common, what peculiar, hath been the cause of the greatest part of that confusion whereof Christianity at this day laboureth. (HW 3:601)

The two realms of passive and active righteousness are thus

sharply distinguished, yet continue unified and inseparable. They are united in that 'Christ, without any other associate, finished all the parts of our redemption, and purchased salvation himself alone'.(HW 3:531) They are distinct in the modes of their 'conveyance' to men: 'in the world to be called, justified, and sanctified: after we have left the world to be received into glory; Christ in every of these hath somewhat which he worketh alone.'(HW 3:531) Thus the logic of Hooker's soteriology is closely analogous to his remarkable discussion of the principles of Christology. As was the case with Calvin, the doctrine of the union and distinction of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, the doctrine of the so-called 'hypostatic union', provides a useful logical paradigm for the clarification of soteriological issues.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Christological Paradigm

The logic of reformed soteriology appears, at least initially, paradoxical. How can the grace of justification leave man still in the condition of a sinner? How can there be a perfect and immediate imputation of Christ's righteousness while, at the same time, man must acquire virtues towards a progressive sanctification? How do these two kinds of righteousness of the reformed theology of grace

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<sup>1</sup> See Wendel on Calvin's employment of Christological arguments in his refutation of the mystical speculations of Andreas Osiander: Calvin, 235ff.

remain wholly distinct, yet continue in unity both in the source, that is to say Christ, and in the souls of Christian believers? For Hooker, this is no paradox, but rather the very consequence of the manner in which the human nature of Christ is joined to his divinity. The hypostatic union, as we have already noted, is represented by him as the objective means of salvation. 'There is cause sufficient why divine nature should assume human nature, that so God might be in Christ reconcilinge to him self the world'.(LEP 5.51.3) For Hooker just as for Calvin, the manner of the perfect union between the two natures as defined by the orthodox Chalcedonian Christology had significant implications for the consequent manner of the union between Christ and fallen humanity as defined by reformed soteriology.

Following his discussion of the hypostatic union, Hooker devotes a chapter to an explanation of the continuing integrity of the human and divine natures such 'that by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ there groweth neither, gaine nor losse of essential properties in either'.(LEP 5.53.1) Christ's assumption of human nature does not abolish or destroy the 'naturall properties' peculiar to that nature. Union subsists at the level of 'personhood', not at the level of the 'natures' themselves:

The sequell of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ is no abolishment of naturall properties appertaininge to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one

substance into an other, finallie no such mutuall infusion as reallie causeth the same natuall operations or properties to be made common unto both substances, but whatsoever is naturall to deitie the same remayneth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever naturall to manhood his deitie thereof is uncapable. (LEP 5.53.1)

Thus also in Christ's soteriological union with fallen humanity, there is 'no abolishment of the naturall properties' which constitute that nature.(5.53.1) This doctrine is invoked by Hooker in his marginal notes on the accusation of A Christian Letter to the effect that he taught the doctrine of free will.(FLE 4:17) The issue concerns the relation between divine grace and human free will. Hooker had argued in the first book of the Lawes that 'there is in the will of man naturallie that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuse anie particular object, whatsoever being presented unto it'.(LEP 1.7.6) In the margin of A Christian Letter Hooker penned a quick response:

There are certaine woordes as Nature, Reason, Will and such like which whersoever you find named you suspect them presently as bugs wordes, because what they mean you doe not in deed as you ought apprehend. You have heard that mans Nature is corrupt his reason blind his will perverse. Whereupon under coulor of condemning corrupt nature you condemn nature and so in the rest. (FLE 4:17) [my italics]

The response is developed in the Dublin Fragment on 'Grace and Free Will'. (FLE 4:101-113). Hooker asks 'must the will cease to be itselife because the grace of God helpeth it?' (FLE 4:101) Just as Christ's assumption of human nature

does not destroy the essential properties belonging to that nature, so also grace, when communicated to fallen humanity, does not destroy the 'naturall powers'. On the contrary, they are made regenerate by it. Thus, according to Hooker,

Freedom of operation wee have by nature, butt the abilitie of vertuous operation by grace, because through sinne our nature hath taken that disease and weaknes, whereby of itselfe it inclineth only unto evil. The naturall powers and faculties therefore of mans minde are through our native corruption soe weakened and of themselves so averse from God, that without the influence of his special grace, they bring forth nothing in his sight acceptable, noe nott the blossoms or least buds that tende to the fruit of eternal life. (FLE 4:103) [my italics]

The union between fallen humanity and Christ is thus not a transmigration out of the one nature into the other. According to the Christological paradigm, the human is regenerated and sanctified. The doctrine of the two kinds of righteousness is thus grounded in Christological teaching. By the grace of justification, man is 'in Christ', and shares in his divine perfection; by the grace of sanctification, Christ works 'in man' and thus the human is brought by degrees to perfection. Yet man and Christ must never be confused in this account of union. Hooker's brief rule concerning the questions about the union of natures in Christ thus provides a useful insight into the logic of his doctrine of grace:

Of both natures there is a cooperation often, an association alwayes, but never any mutual participation whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. (LEP 5.53.3; compare HW 3:612)

### The Doctrine of the 'Two Regiments'

The crucial link between Hooker's defence of the doctrine of Royal Supremacy and his most fundamental theological assumptions is set in sharp relief by his treatment of the problem of the 'two kindes of power', or the 'two regiments'<sup>1</sup> as they were often termed in the ecclesiology of the reformers. Hooker introduced the distinction of the two regiments in the course of his analysis of the royal title of headship in relation to the Church. In response to the Disciplinarians' claim that Christ alone was capable of the role of headship, Hooker argued that there were distinct species of Dominion or headship. On the one hand, there was a 'mystical' or 'ghostly regiment' exercised 'inwardly' and 'invisibly' by Christ himself in his own person. On the other hand, there was a distinct power, 'an external regiment of outward actions' administered 'by them whom Christ doth allow to be the Rulers and guiders of his Church'. (LEP 8.4.8,9) Christ, by this argument, was Head of the Church according to the 'inward influence of his Grace', while the Civil Magistrate was Head through an external and visible power.(8.4.8) Christ of course ruled through both regiments, but immediately 'in our hartes' in his 'spiritual' regiment, and by the mediation of human

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 8.4.5,8.

representatives in his 'external' regiment.(8.4.9) Hooker's distinction between the 'two kindes of power' was thus the basis of his defence of two species of Headship, and hence of the Royal Supremacy.

The logic which governs the distinction and relation between the two regiments in Hooker's argument is very closely connected with his theology of grace and salvation. Indeed, his account of the soteriological pattern of the two realms, together with their respective kinds of power, the two regiments, is a most important instance of the concrete application of his soteriological assumptions to problems in the sphere of ecclesiology and political order. There was nothing particularly novel or original in this close association of the doctrine of power with the basic principles of his doctrine of grace. On the contrary, the link between soteriology and ecclesiology was a commonplace of Reformation thought.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of this soteriologically grounded doctrine of the two realms, the very keystone of orthodox reformed political theology, constitutes the central issue in the Elizabethan ecclesiological controversies addressed

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<sup>1</sup> See P.D.L. Avis, The Doctrine of the Church in the Theology of the Reformers (London, 1981), 1, 36-44; F. Edward Cranz provides a clear and detailed exposition of the derivation of Luther's ecclesiology and political theory from his doctrine of justification in An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 13 ff. I am indebted particularly to Cranz's researches for my understanding of the basic logic of Luther's position.

by Hooker. The two realms to the Royal Supremacy debate emerged with great clarity out of the Admonition Controversy. Hooker depended to a considerable degree on the formulation of this theological issue by the chief protagonists in that controversy, namely Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift. Thus, throughout Hooker's analysis of the doctrine of Royal Supremacy, there is continual reference, implicitly and explicitly, to the opposed formulations of the doctrine of the 'two realms', by these two divines.

Whitgift's formulation most nearly realised the orthodox reformed view for Hooker. In his Defence of the Answer to the Admonition (1574), Archbishop John Whitgift charged Thomas Cartwright with promoting a confusion of 'the spiritual and the external regiment of the church'. (WW 2,85) The charge was made in response to Cartwright's assertion of one of the key planks in the Disciplinary platform, namely the equality of 'ministers of the gospel'. (TC 1:61ff) Cartwright had argued that it was 'unlawful for any man to take upon him, those titles which are proper to our Saviour Christ', that Scripture had attributed such a title to Christ alone as one of the proper titles of his mediation, and therefore it could not be 'without bold presumption applied unto any mortal man'. (WW 2.82,83) In response to this Disciplinary opposition to the concept of ecclesiastical hierarchy, Whitgift appealed to the doctrine

of the two regiments:

In the spiritual regiment Christ is only the Pastor; and all other be his sheep: in the external regiment there be many other pastors. In the spiritual regiment Christ is only the Archbishop, and governeth all, to whom all other must make their account; but in the external government there be many archbishops, as the state of every church requireth. In the spiritual government Christ is only the Prince, the King, the Judge, and in respect of him all others be subjects; but in the external government there be several countries, several kings, princes, magistrates, judges. Again, in the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and regiment of his church, there is no respect of persons, but all be equal: in the external regiment and government there is and must be degrees of persons. To be short, in respect of Christ and his spiritual government, there is neither magistrate nor archbishop, etc.; but in the respect of men, and the external face of the church, there are both, and that according to Christ's own order. (WW 2.83,84)<sup>1</sup>

Whitgift's distinction between 'spiritual regiment' and 'external regiment', as has been demonstrated, was a commonplace of reformed ecclesiology. The former was characterized as an inward, invisible, and hidden operation of the Spirit 'reigning in the consciences of the faithful' (WW I,6); the latter was an outward, visible, and manifest administration by men of the 'visible means of Grace'. Christ was viewed as the source of both regiments, one of which was exercised immediately through 'ghostly' means, while the other was mediated by Christ's visible representatives.

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<sup>1</sup> See also WW 1:6: 'It is to be understood that there is a double government of the church, the one spiritual, the other external...'

Cartwright's 'confounding' of the two regiments was thought by Whitgift to derive mainly from his faulty definition of spiritual regiment. For Cartwright and the Disciplinarians held that 'the externall government off Christ in his church is spirituall.' (TC 2.410) Thus, Whitgift's distinction was for them 'full of disorder and hath nothing sound':

First yt faulteth in that yt rendeth a sunder thinges which can not be seperated/ and that two waies: one in separating the government of the church by pastors/ doctors/ etc. from the spirituall. For when the ecclesiasticall ministrie hath respect to the sowle/ and conscience: when yt is called the mynisterie off the spirite/ spirituall: when they which execute yt are called mynisters in the kingdom off heaven: when the owtward preaching/ excommunication/ and other discipline which they use/ be spirituall: this seperation off the owtward government off the church from the spirituall/ and making off them opposite members/ doth not distinguishe but destroie the government off Christe...(TC 2:409,410)

For Cartwright, Whitgift's distinction between two species of regiment cannot be allowed. In direct opposition to Whitgift, he insisted that the 'owtward' government of the Church, the so-called Disciplina itself, was indistinguishable from the true spirituall regiment, whereas the Archbishop treated such mediated authority as proper to external regiment. The ecclesiological controversy between the Establishment and its Disciplinarian critics thus boiled down to a disagreement over the orthodox interpretation of the reformed doctrine of the two regiments and, by implication, their corresponding two realms.

For Hooker, the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy hinges ultimately upon the orthodoxy of Whitgift's interpretation of the doctrine of the two regiments. Throughout the fourth chapter of Book Eight, Hooker refers repeatedly to passages in Cartwright's Second Replie which address this theological problem of definition, namely, 'What, in fact, is "spiritual" regiment'? Following Whitgift, Hooker distinguished 'two kindes of power', the 'externall regiment of outward actions in the Church', on the one hand, and 'the secret inward influence of [viz. Christ's] grace', on the other. (LEP 8.4.8) There are thus two kinds of Dominion: 'Christ is Head as being the fountaine of life and ghostly nutriment, the welspringe of spirituall blessinges powred into the body of the Church'; the title of Head is mediated 'to other governours' who are 'Heads' in the sense of 'beinge his [namely, Christ's] principall instrumentes for the Churches outward government'.(LEP 8.4.8) Hooker then refers to Cartwright's opposition to this distinction of 'two kindes of power' as it appears in his unanswered Second Replie:

For to overthrowe this doctrine that Christe alone is head of his church/ this distinction is browghte/ that according to the inward influence off grace/ Christe onely is head: but according to the owtward government/ the being of head is common with him to others. For answer wherunto/ I referre my self in parte to that I have written before/ off the absurde distinction betwene the government off the churche by the mynisterie off men/ instituted off our Saviour Christ/ and his spirituall governemente....(TC 2:414)

Hooker clearly regards Cartwright's fusion of the external Disciplina of the Church with Christ's 'spirituall governemente' as contrary to the orthodox interpretation of the two regiments doctrine upheld by Whitgift. In an irenical gesture, however, Hooker seeks to reconcile the opposing camps by clearing up the 'mist of ambiguitie' attached to the 'name' of Spiritual regiment:

To make thinges so plaine that henceforth a Childes capacitie may serve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the Spirituall regiment of Christ to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in thinges spirituall. Of this generall we make two distinct kindes, the one invisibly exercised by Christ himself in his own person, the other outwardly administred by them whom Christ doth allow to be the Rulers and guiders of his Church. (LEP 8.4.9)

In this manner Hooker both upholds the substance of Whitgift's original distinction and, at the same time, makes a further effort to 'resolve the consciences' (LEP Pref. 7.1) of his Disciplinary opponents. He thus refines Whitgift's teaching concerning the two regiments into a distinction of 'two kindes of Spirituall regiment' (LEP 8.4.9). 'We doe not therefore vainly imagine but truly and rightly discerne a power externall and visible in the Church exercised by men and severed in nature from that spirituall power of Christes own regiment, which power is termed spirituall because it worketh secretly inwardly and invisibly: His, because none doth or can it personally exercise either besides or together with him.' (8.4.9)

By his appeal to the orthodox reformed doctrine of the

two regiments as expounded by Whitgift, Hooker sought to demonstrate that the Disciplinary opposition to the Royal Supremacy was grounded in a significant error of theological judgement. In the argument of his Second Replie, Cartwright had dismissed Whitgift's appeal to the doctrine of the two regiments as an 'absurde distinction' (TC 2,414). For Hooker, however, precise logical distinction here, as elsewhere in the Lawes, was of the greatest consequence. Doctrinal orthodoxy depended critically upon such distinction. The problem of the two regiments reflects a consistent theme which runs throughout the treatise and connects one stage of Hooker's argument to another like a golden thread. Hooker's insistence upon the need for precise 'distinction' at the outset of his treatment of the doctrine of the Church in Book III, is pertinent to this analysis of the two regiments doctrine. In a discussion of the need to distinguish the 'matters of discipline' and 'matters of fayth and salvation', Hooker remarks:

The mixture of those thinges by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by conceipte of minde to sever thinges different in nature, and to discerne wherein they differ....(LEP 3.3.1)

This consistent drive for clarity in the right identification of 'thinges different in nature' is in some sense the very hallmark of Hooker's method. The question of the two regiments is treated by Hooker according to the

soteriological paradigm. On the one side, there is a distinction between the 'two kindes of power'; one operates through the secret inward influence of grace 'in our hartes' while the other works by the external regulation of 'outward actions'. On the other side, both powers are 'spiritual' with respect to their source, i.e. Christ, although the one is mediated through 'visible means' and the other is immediate and direct on the strength of 'ghostly motions'. In short, the problem of the two regiments is predicated on the deeper, underlying soteriological distinction between the two realms. For Hooker, the overriding necessity at every turn in the ecclesiological controversy between the Establishment and its Disciplinary critics is to secure a strict adherence to the right distinction between the spiritual realm and the external realm. The structure of ecclesiastical regiment must be in accord with the soteriological distinction of the two realms.

## Chapter III

## ECCLESIOLOGY: THE DOCTRINE OF THE 'TWO CHURCHES'

Following the example of the magisterial reformers, Hooker looks at the theory of political community, and especially the relation between religion and politics as closely connected with a comprehensive view of human nature and its participation in divine grace.<sup>1</sup> Our attention to the central theological premises of Hooker's political thought in the previous chapter is not by itself, however, sufficient preparation for our analysis of the argument in Book VIII in defence of the royal headship of the church. We must first examine in some depth Hooker's treatment of the central issues of reformed ecclesiology. For it is only by means of a thorough understanding of his doctrine of the Church as 'politique societie' that we can hope to unravel the full significance of the Royal Supremacy. The subject of the present chapter thus serves to join Hooker's fundamental theological and philosophical principles to his account of the practical reality of the institutions of the Elizabethan Settlement. This order of treatment, as argued

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<sup>1</sup> This interlocking of the doctrine of justification and the political thought of the reformers is given particular prominence by Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, vol. 2: The Age of Reformation (Cambridge, 1978), 3-19; for the political implications of Luther's theological revolution, cf. W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, The Political Thought of Martin Luther (Brighton, 1984), 16-35.

above in several places, intentionally mirrors Hooker's own acknowledged method<sup>1</sup>. It will thus be an important part of the argument of this chapter to identify and define the character of these connections between Hooker's fundamental theology and his ecclesiology. Further, we must keep continually in view the relevance of his definition of the Church to the controversy over the Royal Supremacy. Finally, we shall continue to develop further our thesis that Hooker has consciously assumed the role of defender of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy, and specifically in this chapter on the more concrete level of ecclesiology.

We propose to divide the subject matter of this chapter in the following manner. First we shall examine the central theme of reformed ecclesiology, namely the dialectical opposition and connection between the Church as 'corpus politicum' and as 'corpus mysticum'. Secondly, we shall turn to examine Hooker's own treatment of the doctrine of the Church, set down principally in the third book of the Laws.<sup>2</sup> Under this heading we must attend to the manner in

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<sup>1</sup> Hooker's insistence on the observance of right order in argument is a prominent feature of the Laws. See LEP 1.1.2; cf. also LEP 2.1.3: 'In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed things most generall are most strong: Thus it must be, in as much as the certaintie of our perswasion touching particulars dependeth altogether upon the credite of those generalities out of which they growe.'

<sup>2</sup> LEP 3.1.1: 'Albeit the substance of those controversies whereinto wee have begun to wade be rather of outward thinges appertayning to the Church of Christ, then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth, yet because the subject or matter which this

which Hooker aligns his fundamental ecclesiological principles with those held by the magisterial reformers. Particular attention will be paid to Hooker's appeal to the 'Christological paradigm' in the clarification of his principles. Thirdly, we shall consider Hooker's critique of the Disciplinary-Puritan doctrine of the Church, as represented by Thomas Cartwright. As we shall see, the burden of Hooker's argument in the context of this problem of ecclesiology is to demonstrate Cartwright's departure from the mainstream of reformed doctrinal orthodoxy. This third section of our argument will itself be divided into three subsections corresponding to the three major fronts of Hooker's argument in Book III: a) the problem of the 'marks' of the visible Church; b) the authority of Holy Scripture in the establishment of ecclesiastical polity and discipline; and c) the problem of the divine sanction of authority, the so-called ius divinum in matters related to the external government of the Church. Finally, in the following chapter, we shall attempt to draw together these several inquiries in order to evaluate the political implications of Hooker's ecclesiological position and to show its particular relevance to our main quarry - the problem of the Royal Supremacy.

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position concerneth is, A forme of Church government or Church-politie, it therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for mens more cleare and plaine understanding in what respect lawes of politie or government are necessarie thereunto.'

The Problem of the Church in Reformation Theology

The ecclesiological basis of the controversy over the Royal Headship of the Church was clearly before Cardinal Reginald Pole when in a pamphlet he addressed himself to Henry VIII:

Your whole reasoning comes to the conclusion that you consider the Church a corpus politicum...Great as the distance is between heaven and earth, so great is also the distance between the civil power and the ecclesiastical, and so great the difference between this body of the Church, which is the body of Christ, and that which is the body politic and merely human.<sup>1</sup>

Pole rightly perceived that the Royal Supremacy implied an identification of the Church and the secular political order. He staunchly resisted the notion of an affinity between civil and ecclesiastical power whereby the latter could be viewed as in any sense merely human. If the Church is the 'body of Christ' then it followed, for Pole, that the Church could not be a 'body politic'.

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<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Pole, Ad Enricum VIII...pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, in Juan T. Rocaberti, Bibliotheca maxima pontificia (Rome, 1698), XVIII, 204, quoted after A. Passerin d'Entreves, 'La teoria del diritto e della politica in Inghilterra all' inizio dell' eta moderna', R. Universita di Torino: Memorie dell' Istituto Giuridico (Ser. II, No. IV, 1929), 27, n. 15: 'Tota tua ratio concludit te Ecclesiam existimare corpus politicum esse quod si ita est: equidem hac in parte crimine malitiae te libero, sed idem perniciose ignorantia obcaecatum esse dico. Quantum enim distat caelum a terra, tantum inter civilem potestatem, et ecclesiasticam interest: tantum hoc corpus Ecclesiae, quod est corpus Christi, ab illo, quod est politicum, et mere humanum differt.' Translated by E. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, 1957), 229.

Here we have the elements of the ecclesiological problem of the Reformation. For Hooker, the entire edifice of the Elizabethan Settlement rested upon the concept of the Church as a corpus politicum. Equally, it might be said, the whole case for both moderate Disciplinary and Separatist resistance to the Settlement was based on a rejection of this same concept. Ironically, both Cardinal Pole and Thomas Cartwright were agreed in condemning the lay headship of the Church on the grounds that it confused the spiritual and temporal powers, that it mixed together the heavenly and the earthly, the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural. Thus we can begin to see already how closely the problem of the Church is connected with the doctrine of the two realms treated above in chapter two. It is therefore necessary for the development of our argument that we view Hooker's position on these matters in the wider context of the ecclesiology of the Reformation.

The problem of the Church was a crucial concern for all the reformers.<sup>1</sup> From the very outset of the Reformation the

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<sup>1</sup> For this general discussion of the main features of Reformation ecclesiology, we are indebted to the following accounts: P.D.L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers (London, 1980), ch. I-V; T.F. Torrance, Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1956); J. Tonkin, The Church and the Secular Order in Reformation Thought (New York and London, 1971); Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1978), 10, 11, 27-65; H.F. Woodhouse, The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology: 1547-1603 (London, 1954); R.E. Davies, The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers (London, 1947); J.T. McNeill, 'The Church in Sixteenth-Century Reformed

existence of the external, visible institution of the Church was highly problematical. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the magisterial reformers' doctrine of grace was built upon a radical rejection of the external means of salvation provided through the visible order of the Church and the sacraments. For Luther, God was primarily in the world through his presence in the inner man by faith. The relation of the individual to the world was thus wholly secondary to this interior union of God and the soul. We have already examined the formulation of the idea of the two realms of Christian existence which developed as a consequence of the altered doctrine of grace and salvation. Our present purpose is to examine the application of the two realms logic to the doctrine of the Church.

Whereas Cardinal Pole (and upholders of the late-medieval ecclesiological position in general) saw the visible Church as a 'super natural' institution - and thus essentially different from the merely natural secular political order - the distinct feature of early reformed ecclesiology is its emphasis on the 'merely human' aspect of the Church. Luther, for example, approaches the doctrine of the Church in accordance with the logic he established in

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Theology', Journal of Religion, 22 (1942), 251-69; and Geddes MacGregor, Corpus Christi: The Nature of the Church According to the Reformed Tradition (Philadelphia, 1958).

relation to the two realms.<sup>1</sup> For Luther, the Church, like the individual christian, exists in two radically distinct realms. Just as the true believer was simultaneously 'in heaven' (coram Deo) with Christ, saved, and totally justified, and 'in earth', (coram hominibus) a sinner, gradually being sanctified; so also the Church has a twofold character - it too, one might say, is simul justus et peccator. In its primary and antecedent form the Church is placed altogether in the realm of total justice; in its secondary and derivative form, the Church has lost its divine character. Thus, for Luther the visible Church in the world is a natural, earthly institution, and therefore subject to human custom, tradition, and positive law.

The first stage in this doctrine of the Church corresponds to the stage of imputed righteousness in the doctrine of salvation. From this initial standpoint there is a complete negation of the external, institutional structure of the Church, just as there is of human power in the doctrine of the total depravity of the natural will. Thus the Church is viewed in the first instance as wholly

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<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of this central aspect of Luther's thought, cf. W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The "Two Kingdoms" and the "Two Regiments": Some Problems of Luther's Zwei-Reiche-Lehre', in Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker, ed. C.W. Dugmore (London, 1980), 42-59; cf. also, by the same author, The Political Thought of Martin Luther (Brighton, 1984), esp. chs. II and III. Another clear and thoughtful account is by F. Edward Cranz, An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law and Society (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 115-153.

other-worldly; membership in the Church is imputed to men in as much as they are deemed to be 'in Christ' by faith. In this aspect, the Church is altogether distinguished from any external, visible form of association. On the other hand, Luther does not rest simply with this extremely spiritualised concept of the Church. Just as faith must be made 'incarnate' in good works in order to be 'lively', so also the Church must become 'incarnate' as a human institution:<sup>1</sup> 'The Church does not exist without body and location, and yet body and location are not the Church and do not pertain to it.'<sup>2</sup> Luther firmly resisted, therefore, any tendency to regard the Church as a merely spiritual, supernatural association. There are, according to this distinction, then, two Churches:

The first one, which is natural, primary, essential and true, let us call a spiritual, inward Christendom. The second, which is artificial (gemacht) and external, let us call bodily, outward Christendom. We do not of course wish to separate them one from the other; it is just as when I speak of a man and call him spiritual according to his soul and bodily according to his body, or when the Apostle speaks of the inner or the outer man (Romans vii, 21). So also the Christian assembly, according to the soul, is a communion in accord with one faith;

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<sup>1</sup> Cranz, The Development of Luther's Thought, p.135; I am considerably indebted throughout this summary of Luther's ecclesiology to the account given of the same by Edward Cranz in his Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society, as well as to W.D.J. Cargill Thompson's essays and book on Luther's political thought cited above, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, Ad librum Ambrosii Catharini Responsio (1521), WA VII, 720, 2, quoted by Cranz, 135.

even though it cannot be assembled according to the body in one place, yet every group (of it) is assembled in its own place.<sup>1</sup>

Luther's theology of the 'two Christendoms' or 'two Churches' is a natural development of his soteriology. The logical formulation of his ecclesiology is unmistakably derived from the more fundamental principles of his soteriology and the corresponding doctrine of the two realms. It is the crux of his teaching that these two aspects of the Church - its eschatological-mystical-supernatural reality and its temporal-external-natural form - should never be confused. The Devil, says Luther, constantly seeks to confuse the two realms which, for salvation's sake, the individual christian must always keep distinct.<sup>2</sup>

The first phase in Luther's ecclesiology involves a negation of the external structure of the Church. The second phase constitutes an equally strong affirmation of an external ecclesiastical order, though wholly distinct from the former. The third and final stage of this ecclesiological argument moves beyond the distinction of the natures of the Church in order to affirm its essential

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<sup>1</sup> Luther, Von dem Papstum zu Rom (1520), WA VI,296,39; cf. Cranz, 132; this work is discussed by J. Heckel, '"Die zwo Kirchen", Eine juristische Betrachtung uber Luther's Schrift "Von dem Papstum zu Rom"', Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung 10(1956), 221-26.

<sup>2</sup> Luther, Sermons on Matthew V-VII (1530-32), WA XXXII,301,3; Cranz, Luther's Thought, 171.

unity. There are, in fact, not two Churches, but rather one Church in two aspects, one Church existing in two realms.<sup>1</sup> It is the extreme tension between these two completely distinct, yet simultaneously existing concepts of the Church which shaped the character of the reformation tradition of ecclesiology.<sup>2</sup> For the reformers the Church is at once corpus naturale and corpus mysticum.<sup>3</sup> Fundamentally the same ecclesiological principle inspires Calvin's<sup>4</sup> analysis of the problem:

I have observed that the Scriptures speak of the Church in two ways. Sometimes when they speak of the Church they mean the Church as it really is before God - the Church into which none are admitted but those who by the gift of adoption are sons of God, and by the sanctification of the Spirit true members of Christ...Often, too by the name of the Church is designated the whole body of mankind scattered throughout the world who profess<sup>5</sup> to worship one God and Christ, who by baptism are initiated into the faith...In this Church [i.e. visible] there is a very large mixture of hypocrites, who have nothing of Christ but the name and outward appearance...As it is necessary to believe the invisible Church, which

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<sup>1</sup> Cranz, 140; cf. also Cargill Thompson, The Political Thought of Martin Luther, 121-4.

<sup>2</sup> Torrance, Kingdom and Church, 53ff.

<sup>3</sup> Luther, Dictata super Psalterium (1513-16), WA IV, 289. See Torrance, Kingdom and Church; ch. 11, 52ff.

<sup>4</sup> For Calvin's ecclesiology, see H. R. Percy, The Meaning of the Church in the Thought of Calvin (Chicago, 1941), passim; F. Wendel, Calvin: the Origins and Development of his Religious Thought (London, 1965), esp. 291-311; B.C. Milner, Calvin's Doctrine of the Church (Leiden, 1970) passim; Torrance, Kingdom and Church 113ff.; J. Tonkin, The Church and the Secular Order, ch. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LEP 3.1.4; 5.68.6.

is manifested to the eye of God only,<sup>1</sup> so we are also enjoined to regard this Church which is so called with reference to man, and to cultivate its communion.<sup>2</sup>

Calvin developed this doctrine of the Church out of his own distinction of the twofold government in man, an argument wholly consistent with the doctrine of the two realms previously established by Luther.<sup>3</sup> In his well-known discussion of 'Christian liberty' in the Institutes,<sup>4</sup> Calvin stresses the need for a clear and careful distinction between the forum externum and the forum conscientiae.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. LEP 5.68.8.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7. Compare Luther's remark: 'And so it is true, that the church is pure and that sin is removed, but take care that you distinguish rightly. We are such with reference to Christ (quoad Christum) but with reference to ourselves (quoad nos) we struggle perpetually with the devil and the flesh and with all sorts of vice and evil...', Disputationen (1538) WA XXXIX,491,15, translated by Cranz, Luther's Thought, 141.

<sup>3</sup> J. Courvoisier 'La dialectique dans l'ecclesiologie de Calvin', Revue d'histoire de philosophie religieuse, 44, (1964), 348-63.

<sup>4</sup> Calvin, Inst. 3.19.1ff.

<sup>5</sup> Calvin, Inst. 3.19.15; cf. also 4.10.2,3: 'My intention here then is, to impugn constitutions of this description; constitutions enacted for the purpose of binding the conscience inwardly before God, and imposing religious duties, as if they enjoined things necessary to salvation. Many are greatly puzzled with this question, from not distinguishing, with sufficient care, between what is called the external forum and the forum of conscience'. In the French, 'entre le siege judicial de Dieu, qui est spirituel, et la justice terrestre des hommes', and 4.10.5 't de fait, tel a ete le sens de cette distinction vulgaire qu'on a jeune par toutes les ecoles; que c'est autre dioses des juridications humaines et politiques, que de celles qui touchent a la conscience.'

Like Luther's, Calvin's ecclesiology is founded upon the principle of a sharp distinction between two realms of Christian existence. Calvin resisted the tendency of medieval ecclesiology which confused the external institution of the Church with the true mystical body of the elect 'in Christ'. Membership in the true Church, in the corpus Christi, is known to God alone;<sup>1</sup> thus membership in an external ecclesiastical order takes on a new significance. In a similar, perhaps even more striking manner than Luther, Calvin affirms the 'incarnate' aspect of the Church in his unequivocal statement - Nulla salus extra ecclesiam:<sup>2</sup>

But as it is now our purpose to discourse of the visible Church, let us learn, from her single title of Mother, how useful, nay, how necessary the knowledge of her is, since there is no other means of entering into life unless she conceive us in the womb and give us birth, unless she nourish us at her breasts, and, in short, keep us under her charge and government, until, divested of mortal flesh, we become like the angels (Matth. xxii, 30). For our weakness does not permit us to leave the school until we have spent our whole lives as scholars. Moreover, beyond the pale of the Church no forgiveness of sins, no salvation, can be hoped for, as Isaiah and Joel testify (Isa. xxxvii.31; Joel ii.32).[my italics]<sup>3</sup>

Thus, external, finite, human means are employed in the economy of salvation. Calvin is adamantly opposed to the

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<sup>1</sup> Torrance, Kingdom and Church, 155ff.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.4.

<sup>3</sup> Calvin, 'Commentary on Isaiah', Corpus Reformatorum, (Brunswick, 1863-1900) vol. 88, 643ff. (Italics mine).

Anabaptist tendency to spiritualise the visible Church by seeking to found an association of 'visible saints'.<sup>1</sup> Calvin sees the Church under two aspects which must be held in a stable, balanced relation such that the true, invisible and mystical body of Christ never comes to be confused with the external structure of the visible Church, whether by an externalising of the supernatural body of Christ, or by a spiritualising of the visible association of Christians. The aim of Calvin's argument is thus to steer a middle course between the ecclesiological extreme of Rome and the radical Reformers:

Now, these two (temporal and spiritual jurisdiction) as we have divided them, are always to be viewed apart from each other. When the one is considered, we should call off our minds, and now allow them to think of the other. For there exists in man a kind of two worlds, over which different kings and different laws can preside. By attending to this distinction, we will not erroneously transfer the gospel concerning spiritual liberty to civil order, as if in regard to external government Christians were less subject to human laws, because their consciences are unbound before God, as if they were exempted from all carnal service, because in regard to the spirit they are free.<sup>2</sup>

Here then is the theological basis of the twofold character of the Church in the thought of Calvin. For both Calvin and Luther, and for the magisterial reformers

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<sup>1</sup> See Wendel, Calvin, 140.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, Inst. 3.19.15.

generally,<sup>1</sup> the Church is simultaneously supernatural and natural, invisible and visible, divine and human. Yet there are not two Churches, but rather one Church with 'two natures', according to the analogy of the Christological paradigm.<sup>2</sup> The union between Christ as mystical head and Church as mystical body is achieved through the union of the divine and human natures in Christ. The doctrine of the Church is to be interpreted on the basis of the Christological paradigm, namely the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. The two aspects of the Church, like the two natures in the person of Christ, must never be confused, but remain wholly distinct, and yet, at the same time, unified and inseparable. Thus the Church in its external, visible aspect comes to be distinguished radically from the supernatural, invisible character of the true body of Christ. As a consequence of this reformed theology of the Church, there is a process of rationalising or humanising with respect to the visible ecclesiastical order. The visible church is viewed as built up by human agency in so far as it belongs to the forum externum, and is

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<sup>1</sup> P.D.L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers, 14-35.

<sup>2</sup> Wendel, whose work on Calvin places great weight on the centrality of Christology in the overall logic of the Institutes, notes the 'Christocentric' emphasis in Calvin's doctrine of the Church: cf. Calvin, 311. On the Christological paradigm as applied to both Calvin's and Luther's ecclesiology, cf. Tonkin, The Church and the Secular Order, 61-73 and 96-112; cf. also Avis, The Church, ch. 1; Torrance, Kingdom and Church, 139.

thus subject to the regnum politicum which corresponds to that external realm.<sup>1</sup>

### Hooker's Reformed Doctrine of the Church

It is in the light of this theological basis of the principles of reformed ecclesiology that we are now able to approach Hooker's treatment of the doctrine of the Church in the Lawes. While the main body of Hooker's ecclesiology is contained in Book III of the Lawes, there are important discussions of these principles in his Sermons and Tracts.<sup>2</sup>

The strategy of Hooker's argument in Book III is identical with that in the two earlier books.<sup>3</sup> First of all, he concentrates his fire on the Disciplinarians by

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<sup>1</sup> Torrance, 155; Calvin, Opera Selecta (Munich, 1926-52), vol. 1, 223, 233: Sic autem Regnum Christi invaditur, sic libertas ab ipso fidelium conscientiiis data, opprimitur penitus ac disiciitur.

<sup>2</sup> In a sermon preached in the first year of Hooker's mastership of the Temple there is a discussion of the problem whether the Church of Rome was a true arm of the visible Church: 'A learned Discourse of Justification, Works, and How the Foundation of Faith is overthrown', in HW 3: 483-569. Hooker carried on a dispute with Walter Travers on the ecclesiological and soteriological issue of whether there was hope of salvation, for 'thousands of our fathers living under popish superstitions', ibid., 501. Travers penned A Supplication made to the Council, first printed (Oxford, 1612) and contained in HW 3:548-569. Hooker replies with 'An Answer to the Supplication that Mr. Travers made to the Council', HW 3:570-596. For a full account of the controversy, see R. Bauckham, 'Hooker, Travers, and the Church of Rome in the 1580s', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 29 (Jan. 1978), 37-50. Cf. also P.D.L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers, 68-73.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p.116, n.1.

treating Thomas Cartwright as the representative of their position.<sup>1</sup> His own doctrine of the Church is developed through a critique of Cartwright's contribution to the Admonition Controversy.<sup>2</sup> Rudolph Almasy argues in favour of the essential irenicism of Hooker's approach and demonstrates convincingly that Hooker was intent on leading the opponents of the Establishment to conformity.<sup>3</sup> Our contention is that Hooker's advocacy of the Settlement was grounded in the firm conviction that conformity was more completely in tune with the substance of reformed doctrine,

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<sup>1</sup> Hooker's polemical methodology is the subject of an article by Rudolph Almasy, 'The Purpose of Richard Hooker's Polemic', Journal of the History of Ideas, 39(1978), 251-70. This article is devoted to a discussion of the methodology employed in Book II, but does provide more general insights into the pattern of argument in the Laws as a whole. Almasy supports the view that Hooker's aim was fundamentally irenical.

<sup>2</sup> Almasy gives a series of good reasons why Hooker seized upon Cartwright's Replies to Whitgift as the distillation of the 'opposition case': First, since 1574 the Presbyterians had made good propaganda out of the fact that neither Whitgift nor his followers had answered the Second Replie; Thomas Cartwright had been active in the ecclesiastical debates throughout Elizabeth's reign; he held the respect of radical and moderate puritans alike; his writings were constantly appealed to in the polemics of the 1580s and early 1590s; and, as Hooker had shown in Book II of the Laws, Cartwright's exposition of the authority of Holy Scripture continued to provide the basis for attacks on the Book of Common Prayer, the Episcopate, and the Royal Supremacy.

<sup>3</sup> Cargill Thompson maintains another view of Hooker's polemic. He does not allow the irenical and casuistical purpose of the Laws, but that Hooker's aim was 'to prejudice his readers against the Puritans' and that he 'adopts smear tactics in order to undermine the credit of the Puritans'. See 'The Philosopher of the Politic Society', Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker (London, 1980), 142, 151.

particularly so with respect to ecclesiology, than the so-called 'further reformation' of the Puritan Disciplina.

Before Hooker set himself to a close dissection of Cartwright's ecclesiological presuppositions, he commenced Book III with an exordium which was evidently intended to cut through to the underlying source and root of error in the Disciplinary ecclesiology. The aim of this exordium in the first chapter is twofold. First, Hooker wishes to demonstrate to his opponents in the clearest of terms that the chief principles of his ecclesiology are the same as those of the magisterial reformers. Secondly, he aims to show that Cartwright's objections to the Settlement ecclesiology were founded upon a doctrinally heterodox conception of the nature of the Church. The secondary purpose is to win over moderate dissent by heightening the identification of Disciplinary principles with the radical Separatist threat. Thus, our attention must turn to Hooker's discussion of the issue of first principles.<sup>1</sup>

Hooker's analysis of the nature of the Church is first introduced in Book I in the context of the generic division of laws. On the one hand, the Church is in the realm of

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 1.16.1: 'Is there any thing which can eyther be thoroughly understoode, or soundly judged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth bee made manifest?' See also 2.1.3: 'In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed things most generall are most strong: Thus it must be in as much as the certaintie of our persuasion touching particulars dependeth altogether upon the credite of those generalities out of which they growe.'

supernatural or divine law in so far as it is a supernatural association of God, angels, and saints; on the other hand, the Church belongs to the realm of natural and positive law by virtue of being a 'politique society':

The Church being a supernaturall societie, doth differ from naturall societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate our selves, in the one are men simplye considered as men, but they to whome wee be joyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holie men. Againe the Church being both a societie and a societie supernaturall, although as it is a societie it have the selfe same original grounds which other politique societies have, namely, the naturall inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certaine bond of association, which bond is the lawe that appointeth what kinde of order they shall be associated in [the very issue of the Disciplinarian controversy]: yet unto the Church as it is a societie supernaturall this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their association which belong unto the Church of God, must be a lawe supernaturall, which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him.(LEP 1.15.2) [my italics]

Both aspects of the Church have a divine character in the sense that both the divine, revealed law which concerns the economy of salvation, and the natural law, its derivative, and human positive law, are understood to stem jointly from a single, unified 'aeternal law'.(LEP 1.2.1-6; 1.3.1) Thus God's twofold government of the world embodies a pattern similar to the doctrine of the Church. Hooker had maintained earlier in Book I that God's government of the world could be viewed in two ways. On the one hand it was

single and undivided - the so-called 'second aeternal law'.<sup>1</sup> This law was unitary in respect of its author. On the other hand, the 'second aeternal law' is manifold in relation to men. There is a primary twofold division between natural and revealed law within the so-called 'second aeternal law'. By analogy, the Church is to be viewed as 'both a societie and a societie supernaturall', with two distinct 'natures' corresponding to the twofold character of God's world government, and as fundamentally one 'personal subsistence' in Christ, the common divine source of both regiments. This argument is present in Book I in a highly compact form. It is necessary, therefore, to turn now to the principal ecclesiological book of the Lawes, Book III, where we can trace the contours of Hooker's position more closely.

Hooker regards the whole controversy between conformity and disciplinarian resistance to conformity as chiefly concerned with the 'out-ward things appertayning to the Church of Christ'.(LEP 3.1.1) While these are the objects of dispute - specifically ceremonies, church polity, and the relation of Church and Commonwealth - there is a more fundamental disagreement about the relation of the outward things of the Church to their hidden, underlying spiritual

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 1.3.1: 'I am not ignorant that by law eternall the learned for the most part do understand the order, not which God hath eternallie purposed himselfe in all his works to observe, but rather that which with himselfe he hath set downe as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the severall condition wherwith he hath indued them.'

substance. Thus the ecclesiological principles which must be examined concern the relation of the outward, visible aspect of the Church to its inward, invisible aspect. As we shall see below in our examination of Cartwright's ecclesiological presuppositions,<sup>1</sup> the substance of Hooker's critique throughout is that the Disciplina 'spiritualises' the external aspect of the Church. The main thrust of Hooker's argument is that Cartwright's doctrine of the Church confuses the proper distinction between the natural and supernatural realms, between the forum externum and forum conscientiae. Here, then, we can begin to see the full force of Hooker's intention to persuade Cartwright and the Disciplinary party to accept conformity in conscience as being more thoroughly consistent with the principles of reformed doctrinal and ecclesiological orthodoxy.

Book III opens, as noted above, with a discourse intended to clarify the first principles upon which the doctrine of the Church must be founded. In this passage Hooker unmistakably aligns his position with that of the magisterial reformers. Indeed, by constant reference throughout his critique of Cartwright's ecclesiology to the theological doctrinal principles presupposed by him, Hooker intends to impugn the orthodoxy of the Establishment's

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<sup>1</sup> Namely 'the notae ecclesiae, the authority of Holy Scripture, and the ius divinum'. Below, pp.138-159.

opponents. The focus of the discussion is the twofold nature of the Church:

For lacke of diligent observing the difference, first betweene the Church of God mysticall and visible, then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, the oversights are neither fewe nor light that have beene committed.(LEP 3.1.9.)

The point of critical importance is that while there is but one Church, with two distinct aspects, there must be no confusion or mixing of those aspects in the necessary affirmation of their essential unity. Hooker places special emphasis on the logical character of the problem:

The mixture of those things by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by concept of minde to sever thinges different in nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if wee imagine a difference where there is none, because wee distinguish where we should not, it may not bee denied that we misdistinguish. The onely tryall whether wee doe so, yea or no, dependeth uppon comparison betweene our concept and the nature of thinges conceived.(LEP 3.3.1) [my italics]

Throughout his examination of the doctrine of the Church Hooker adheres strictly to the Christological paradigm with respect to distinction between, though by no means a final separation of, the two natures of the Church.

First we shall consider his own definition of each of the two natures of the Church; then we shall examine the manner of their union despite their distinction. On the one side, Hooker affirms the definition of Church as an invisible, spiritual reality, a corpus mysticum:

That Church of Christ which we properly terme his body mysticall, can be but one, neither can that one bee sensible discerned by any man, in as much as the partes thereof are some in heaven alreadie with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their naturall persons bee visible) we doe not discern under this propertie, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Onely your mindes by intellectuall conceipt are able to apprehend, that such a reall body there is, a body collective, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body misticall, because the mysterie of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense.<sup>1</sup> [my italics]

Following Calvin's distinction, this 'body mystical' is the Church as manifest to the eye of God only and therefore concerns only the wholly inward relation between God and man.<sup>2</sup> Within this aspect of Christ's Church there is contained a subsidiary distinction, namely, between those 'in heaven alreadie with Christ', and 'the rest that are on earth' who are true believers. In this sense, the mystical Church is seen as both 'triumphant' and 'militant' forms as the communio sanctorum and the congregatio fidelium. In this view of the 'hiddenness' of the elect or the true Church, Hooker's position coincides with both Luther's and Calvin's. This sharp distinction between the eschatological reality of the 'Church of the Elect' and the temporal reality of the 'mixed Church' displays the strongly

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 3.1.2. Compare Inst. 4.1.3: 'We are not enjoined here to distinguish between elect and reprobate (this belongs not to us, but to God only)...'

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7. See pp.109,110 above.

Augustinian strain in Hooker's ecclesiology.<sup>1</sup> Hooker's definition of the Church as 'body mysticall' corresponds to Luther's geistliches Reich and Calvin's forum conscientiae.<sup>2</sup> The members of the mystical body are known 'onely unto God, who seeth their heartes and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest.'<sup>3</sup> The unity of this invisible body consists in attachment to its head, Christ, through faith.<sup>4</sup> In this association there is for Hooker a radical inwardness: 'they who are of this societie have such markes and notes of distinction from all others, as are not object unto our sense.'<sup>5</sup> In this affirmation of the invisibility of the true Church Hooker meticulously follows the lead of the magisterial reformers.

On the other side, the Church is 'a sensiblie known companie'.(LEP 3.1.3) The characteristics of the Church,

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<sup>1</sup> For Hooker's use of Augustine, see J.B. Mozely, A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination (London, 1883), 386-89.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Luther, Von dem Papsttum zu Rom (1520) WA VI, 296,39, quoted by Cranz, 132; and Calvin, Inst. 3.19.15; 4.10.3-6.

<sup>3</sup> LEP 3.1.2; cp. Calvin's reference to the Church as 'the elect of God' (Inst. 4.1.2) and the Church as an object of faith (Inst. 4.1.7): '...it is necessary for us to believe the invisible Church, which is manifest to the eye of God only....' See also LEP 5.68.8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LEP 5.56.7.

<sup>5</sup> LEP 3.1.2. Cp. Calvin, Inst. 4.1.3: '...in order to embrace the unity of the Church in this manner, it is not necessary, as I have observed, to see it with our eyes, or feel it with our hands.'

'with reference to man', as Calvin puts it, belong to the external realm.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the mystical body is the actual body of the elect, the true Church known to God, the visible Church consists of those who profess Christ:

The unitie of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformitie, which all severall persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that one Lorde whose servants they all professe them selves, that one faith which they all acknowledge, that one baptism wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those thinges, which supernaturally appertaine to the very essence of Christianitie, and are necessarily required in every particular christian man. (LEP 3.1.3, 4)

This is the Church in the weltliches Reich of Luther or forum externum of Calvin. This aspect of the Church is also 'one bodie', although its unity does not derive from the inward hold of the soul upon Christ the head, but rather from the 'outward profession' of that membership.<sup>2</sup> Hooker's emphasis on outward profession as the main foundation of the visible association of the Church is of crucial importance to his analysis of the so-called 'marks' of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is discussed by Avis, The Doctrine of the Church, 68ff., who takes the contrary view, viz. that Hooker represents a 'reformed catholicity' substantially distinct from the ecclesiology of the 'magisterial' reformers.

<sup>3</sup> The argument that 'outward profession' is the basis of the unity of the visible Church appears in various passages of Hooker's Sermons. See 'A Learned Discourse of Justification, Works, and How the Foundation of Faith is Overthrown', ss. 9, 16, 17, 27, HW 3:495ff. See also 670ff.

The visible Church is distinguished from the mystical body of Christ by its mixture of 'sound and corrupted' membership. Whereas the mystical body contains 'the elect', 'the godly', 'the faithful' and 'the saved', the Church visible includes 'impious idolators, wicked heretiques, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbitie'.(LEP 3.1.7) Indeed, the visible Church contains 'imps and limmes of Satan' so long as they profess outwardly the substance of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> 'If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ'.(LEP 3.1.7)

The manner of the relation of these two extremely opposed definitions of the Church is for Hooker, as for the magisterial reformers generally, a matter of the utmost consequence. Indeed, the manner of their relation is the whole substance of the ecclesiological controversy between Hooker and Cartwright, between the Establishment and her critics. The problem is to understand how the Church, like the Christian individual as discussed in the previous chapter, can exist simultaneously in these two realms while preserving the necessary and difficult distinction between them.

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 3.1.8.; cf. 5.68.6: 'Church is a worde which arte hath devised thereby to sever and distinguish that societie of men which professeth the true religion from the rest that professe it not.'

The initial stage of Hooker's discussion of the principles of ecclesiology thus focuses upon the double character, or double existence of the Church. In this Hooker simply reiterated the chief articles of the magisterial reformed doctrine of the Church. Just as in the case of the principal magisterial reformers, Hooker's purpose was to distinguish with the greatest possible clarity between the wholly spiritual, transcendent reality of the Church as mystical body of Christ, and the temporal, external character of the Church as a 'publique Christian societie'; and as we have seen, this central distinction of his ecclesiology is grounded firmly in the soteriological pattern of the two realms of Christian existence. The Church, according to the analogy of the individual Christian, exists simultaneously in two realms. Just as the individual is simultaneously 'in heaven', totally justified by the imputed righteousness of Christ and yet is still 'in the world' undergoing the gradual process of sanctification, so also the Church exists both spiritually 'in Christ' and externally 'in earth'. Hooker, following Luther, Calvin, and the other magisterial reformers, spoke of a twofold grace.<sup>1</sup> Through these two kinds of righteousness - that of

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.56.11: 'Thus wee participate in Christ partelie by imputation, as when those thinges which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partlie by habituall and reall infusion, as when grace is inwardlie bestowed while wee are on earth and afterwards more fullie both our soules and bodies made like unto his in glorie...From hence it is that they which belonge to the

faith, and that of works - the Christian is viewed as an inhabitant of two sharply distinct realms or spheres of reality. In accordance with this principle of the two realms and the double character of righteousness, the Church too has a double existence. By the grace of justification, or 'imputed' righteousness, individuals are taken by God as 'in Christ'. There is, by analogy, an aspect of the Church - the mystical body - which is similarly distinguished by its being 'in Christ'. Conversely, by the grace of sanctification, or 'habitual' righteousness, Christ is 'in us'. The visible Church is the association of those who partake of this immanent side of righteousness.<sup>1</sup> Within the visible Church there is a further distinction between those inwardly in process of sanctification, and those who merely profess the faith.

Thus the tension between the two opposed definitions of the Church reflects the tension of the two kinds of grace. There is for Hooker, as for the magisterial reformers, a

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mysticall bodie of our Savior Christ and be in number as the starres of heaven, devided successivelie by reason of their mortall condition into manie generations, are notwithstandinge coupled everie one to Christ their head.' [my italics]

<sup>1</sup> This same tension of the Church 'in Christ', and the Church as Christ 'in us' is expressed by Luther, Disputationen (1538) WA XXXIX,1,493,14: 'And so it is true, that the Church is pure and that sin is removed, but take care that you distinguish rightly. We are such with reference to Christ (quoad Christum) but with reference to ourselves (quoad nos) we struggle perpetually with the devil and the flesh and with all sorts of vice and evil...'

close interlocking of soteriology and ecclesiology. Just as it was the cardinal principle of the reformed doctrine of salvation to distinguish very sharply between the justice of faith and the justice of works;<sup>1</sup> so also in the doctrine of the Church it was essential to make this division between the mystical and visible natures of the Church. Indeed, the whole thrust of Hooker's critique of the ecclesiology of Cartwright and the Disciplinarians arises from the over-riding necessity for the preservation of the distinction between the corpus mysticum and the corpus naturale or politicum of the Church, while at the same time, acknowledging their unity. It is the union of the two sides which is particularly problematic. Just as grace, while manifest in its distinct forms of justification and sanctification, is one in its divine source; and as the individual Christian lives simultaneously in the two realms but continues one person; so also the Church, both mystical and visible, continues to be one Church through this distinction. Just as Calvin had proclaimed nulla salus extra ecclesiam,<sup>2</sup> for Hooker also 'our being in Christ by eternal foreknowledge saveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowship of saintes in this

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<sup>1</sup> Cranz, Luther's Thought on Justice, 65-67.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.4.

present world.'<sup>1</sup> The problem of the union and distinction of two Churches ultimately turns on the relation of both to Christ. Through Christ man comes to a 'participation in the divine nature', (LEP 5.56.7) and in this sense the problem of the union of visible-external-human aspect of the Church with the invisible-mystical-divine aspect is very closely analogous to the paradox of the Incarnation. We shall attempt below to examine more closely the relevance of Hooker's Christological discourse to the matter in hand.

#### The Christological Paradigm

It has been said that the section of the Lawes dealing with Christology 'is like a central tower' round which the whole argument of the treatise is constructed.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as the Incarnation signifies the union of the divine nature with human nature, it is useful to examine Hooker's doctrine of the Church through the categories of his Christology. It was, of course, commonplace to supply the analogy of

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.56.7; cp. 5.50.1: 'The Church is to us that verie mother of our new birth in whose bowels wee are all bredd, at whose brestes wee receyve nourishment.' This statement is remarkably similar in tone to Calvin's remarks on the visible Church as 'mother', Inst. 4.1.4.

<sup>2</sup> Lionel Thornton, Richard Hooker: A Study of his Theology (London, 1924), 54. The centrality of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in Hooker's thought has been remarked by George W. Morrel in his article 'Richard Hooker, Theologian of the English Reformation', Christianity Today 10 (September, 1966): 8-10.

Christology to the interpretation of the Sacraments.<sup>1</sup> The thrust of Hooker's argument was to apply it vigorously to ecclesiology.

The Church is, in its most fundamental nature, the 'body of Christ', who is its divine Head. The body, like the head, has two natures - one divine, the other human. Whilst the Church is twofold, it is not two Churches, just as Christ, who is both divine and human, is neither two Christs, nor two persons. In Hooker's own discussion of Christological doctrine, Christ is 'truly' God; 'perfectly' human; 'indivisibly' one individual 'person'; but finally, his two 'natures' remain altogether distinct within his indivisible 'person'. (LEP 5.54.10) The great Christological heresies of the early Church involved denial of one or other of these principles. Thus the Arians denied Christ's deity; the Apollinarians denied his full humanity; the Nestorians asserted that Christ was two persons; and the Eutychians

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, see Calvin's condemnation of the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation as a manifestation of Eutychianism, viz. a failure to distinguish between Christ's human and divine natures, 'and insisting only on the unity of person, he converted God into man and man into God. What madness, then, is it to confound heaven with earth, sooner than not withdraw the body of Christ from its heavenly sanctuary'. Inst. 4.17.30. Luther employs a Christological paradigm to explain the relation of Faith and Law in his Commentary on Galatians (1531), WA XL,1,427,1: 'Ut si dico de Christo homine, tamen duae naturae distinctae: ...Dico: humanitas non est divinitas et tamen homo est Deus. Sic lex non est fides. In concreto et composito kommen sie zusammen.' For a discussion of Luther's use of the Christological paradigm, see F.E. Cranz, 63,93; for Calvin's Christocentrism see Wendel, passim, esp. 311. See also E.D. Willis, Calvin's Catholic Christology, (Leyden, 1966), 18-74.

confused the two natures in their affirmation of the unity of his person.<sup>1</sup> Hooker upholds the Chalcedonian condemnation of these Christological heresies just as Calvin does in his Institutes.(2.14.1-8) Hooker also understands the relation of the 'mysticall' and 'politique' bodies of the Church according to this same logical pattern of orthodox Christology. The Church, like Christ its head, is an invisible, supernatural, divine community. As the mystical communion of saints, the totality of the elect, it is altogether hidden. Like God and Christ, it is an 'object

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.54.10: 'To gather therefore into one summe all that hetherto hath bene spoken touchinge this pointe, there are but fower thinges which concurre to make compleate the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ, his deitie, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other beinge joyned in one. Fower principall heresies there are which have in those thinges withstood the truth, Arians by bendinge them selves against the deitie of Christ; Apollinarians by maiminge and misinterpretinge that which belongeth to his humane nature; Nestorians by rentinge Christ asunder and devidinge him into two persons; the followers of Eutiches by confoundinge in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have bene fower most famous ancient generall Councils, the Council of Nice to define against the Arians, against Apollinarians the Council of Constantinople, the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians, against Eutichians the Chalcedon Council. In fower wordes ἀληθῶς, τελῶς, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἰσχυρῶς, truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly; the first applyed to his beinge God, and the seconde to his beinge man, the third to his beinge of both one, and the fowrth to his still continuinge in that one both, wee may fullie by way of abridgment comprise whatsoever antiquitie hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian believe or in refutation of the foresaid heresies. Within the compasse of which fower heades I may trulie affirme, that all heresies, which touch but the person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these later days [my italics], or in any age heretofore, may be with great facilitie brought to confine them selves.' See also LEP 5.42.13.

of faith'.<sup>1</sup> Its essential divinity consists in being known only to God. In this divine aspect, the Church is subject solely to the operation of the supernatural law, that is to say, to the rule of the Gospel in matters belonging to salvation and faith.(LEP 1.15.1)

On the other hand, the Church, like Christ, has become incarnate. In this aspect, the Church is a visible, natural, human association. The external body of believers, like Christ the Son of Man, is not hidden, but manifest. As distinct from Christ's body as God sees it, the Church is defined as it appears to us. The Church in this aspect is not ordered by the rule of the Gospel, but rather by positive human laws as derived from the law of nature. Just as God chooses to reveal himself in human form, so also the Church is manifest as a human institution. Hooker formulates this concept succinctly: 'Grace hath use of nature'.(LEP 3.8.6)

There are thus two natures ascribed to the Church analogous to the two natures of Christ. Discourse concerning the Church, just as in the doctrine of Christology, must observe certain rules as to the manner of the relation between the 'mysticall' and 'politique' bodies, that is to say, how they are connected and how distinguished. Just as in the discourse concerning the manner of the relation between the divine and human natures

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.4.

in the person of Christ there was considerable room for confusion and disagreement, so also in the doctrine of the Church. As Hooker observes at the outset of his Christological inquiry, 'there is no union of God with man without that means betwene both which is both..' and for that reason he proceeds to consider 'how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us'.(LEP 5.50.3) Similarly in relation to the doctrine of the Church, there is no participation by men in the divine nature without membership in Christ, and hence participation in his body the Church. This body may be viewed in two fashions: first, as it is in Christ and known in God, i.e. mystically; and secondly, as it is discerned externally in the world, and known to men, i.e. institutionally. The complexity of Hooker's ecclesiology unfolds when the nature of the connections between these two aspects of the Church is discussed. In its logical complexity the problem of ecclesiology mirrors Hooker's Christological discourse.

First we must examine the character of the union between the two natures of the Church in order to see clearly how an association which is on the one hand invisible, supernatural, mystical, in short divine, and on the other hand visible, natural, secular, or human, can be simultaneously, and thus indivisibly, one Church. Secondly, we must consider the manner in which these distinctions are preserved within a primary unity. Finally, we shall look

beyond the general theory of Hooker's doctrine of the Church to concrete instances wherein the rule is applied in order to provide a vivid contrast between the rival ecclesiologies. The whole thrust of Hooker's analysis of the Church is to demonstrate to his Disciplinary opponents the grave implications of theological error in their case. Throughout Hooker aligns his stance with the orthodoxy established by the magisterial reformers; the assumptions of Cartwright's Disciplina are shown to display the unorthodox marks of the radical reformers.

First, the necessary union or conjunction of the invisible and visible aspects of the Church must be considered. Just as Christ is a single, undivided person while being both God and man, so also his body the Church is fundamentally one Church existing in two realms:

Our being in Christ by eternall foreknowledge saveth us not without our actuall and reall adoption into the fellowship of his saintes in this present world.(LEP 5.56.7)

In this Hooker merely follows reformed ecclesiological orthodoxy. Christians must have recourse to visible means of grace, as the Scripture itself reveals.(LEP 5.56.7) Thus Calvin:

Because my present intention is to speak of the visible Church, let us learn, if only from her title of mother, how much the knowledge of this same is useful, and indeed necessary...outside the bosom of the Church we can hope for no remission of sins nor any salvation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.4.; compare LEP 5.50.1

Hooker's discussion of the 'visible means of grace' rests upon the 'necessitie of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ'.(LEP 5.57.1) Thus membership in the 'mysticall bodie' of the Church is tied to participation in the external, visible institution of the Church. In parallel fashion, the Godhead is revealed to man through the mediation of Christ's assumption of the human nature. There is thus, by analogy, an ecclesiological 'communication of idioms' between the mystical and institutional Churches, just as in Christology between the human and divine natures.<sup>1</sup>

In the Christological controversies of the early Church, Hooker observes that stress upon the union of the two natures led in time to their confusion or conflation:

So Eutyches of sound believe as touchinge their true personall copulation became unsound by denyinge the difference which still continueth betwene the one and the other nature.(LEP 5.52.4)

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<sup>1</sup> Hooker speaks of the 'communication of idioms' in 5.53.4. Here the notion of a union of two natures without their confusion is made specially clear. 'A kinde of mutuall commutation there is whereby those concrete names God and Man when wee speake of Christ doe take interchangablie one an others roome, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether wee saie that the Sonne of God hath created the world and the Sonne of man by his death hath saved it, or els that the Sonne of man did create and the Sonne of God die to save the world. Howbeit as oft as wee attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claymeth, or to man what his deitie hath right unto, wee understand by the name of God and the name of man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ in whome both natures are.' [my italics].

It was thus paramount to orthodox Christology to 'keepe warilie a middle corse shunninge both the distraction of persons wherein Nestorius went awrie, and also this later confusion of natures which deceived Eutyches.'<sup>1</sup> By analogy in the doctrine of the Church, the mystical and external aspects of the Church's life must be kept distinct so 'that there groweth neither gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either';(LEP 5.53.1) yet they are not separate for all that. While membership in the mystical body is attainable only through the visible means, it is essential to the preservation of fundamental doctrinal orthodoxy that there be no confusion or mixture of the sign with the signified, of the finite with the infinite, of the human with the divine:

The sequell of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ is no abolishment of naturall properties apperteininge to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into an other, finallie no such mutuall infusion as reallie causeth the same naturall operations or properties to be made common unto both substances...(LEP 5.53.1)

The 'naturall operations and properties' which belong to the mystical or spiritual nature of the Church must not be 'infused' into the life of the external, political community of the Church.

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.52.4; See also Calvin, Inst. 4.17.30,; 2.14 passim. E.D. Willis, in his book on Calvin's Catholic Christology, (Leyden, 1966), argues that Calvin was intentionally unoriginal in his Christology, 63, and that his aim was to be faithful above all to the orthodoxy of the Christological definitions of the Council of Chalcedon, 66.

Finally, there is a communion of idioms between the two natures of the Church whereby the human positive laws governing the external polity have the force of divine ordinance:

So that lawes humane must be made according to the generall lawes of nature, and without contradiction unto any positive law in scripture. Otherwise they are ill made. Unto lawes thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the bosome of that Church, must not thinke it a matter indifferent either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience...It doth not stand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly father, that to ordinances of our mother the Church we should shew ourselves disobedient. Let us not say we keepe the commandements of the one, when we breake the law of the other: For unlesse we observe both, we obey neither.(LEP 3.9.3) [my italics]

For Hooker, there is therefore an explicitly divine basis for the human, positive laws and external institutions of the Church. These laws are by nature wholly distinct from the divine, revealed law, but are nonetheless divine in a certain mediated fashion:

Yea that which is more, the lawes thus made God himselfe doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them is to despise in them him.(LEP 3.9.3)

The proper distinction of the two aspects of the Church is not such as to enforce a complete and unbridgeable separation of the external-human authority from the mystical-divine authority. Rather, by the 'grace of union', the distinction is preserved while, at the same time, divine authority is mediated through human means. As in the case of Hooker's Christology, as regards the union of the two

natures in Christ, 'of both natures there is a cooperation often, an association alwayes, but never any mutuall participation whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other'.(LEP 5.53.3) That is to say, Christ is both God and man without the confusion of Godhead with humanity. Thus also, the Church is a 'mysticall' and 'politique' body without the confusion of the former with the latter. The authority exercised by Christ in the 'body mysticall' is unmediated; the authority he exerts over the 'body politique' is mediated by external and visible representatives. It is precisely this question of this mediation of authority which divides Hooker from his Disciplinary opponents.

Hooker's critique of the Disciplinary concept of the Church in the rest of Book III is based on this Christological view of the relation between the Church as 'body mysticall' and 'body politique'. As pointed out previously, Hooker's ecclesiology is developed in response to the arguments of Thomas Cartwright, who is taken as representative of the Disciplinary position.<sup>1</sup> There are three main topics of ecclesiology within which Hooker deals with Cartwright's objections to the established order. These are first, the problem of the 'marks' of the Church, notae ecclesiae; secondly, the authority of Scripture in the constitution of Church government; and thirdly, the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p.115, n.2.

character of the divine sanction for ecclesiastical order, that is to say, the problem of ius divinum in matters of Church government. In each of these three instances, Hooker seeks to demonstrate that the Disciplina violates the orthodox doctrine of the Church through a radical spiritualising of the external Church. Christologically considered, the kernel of Hooker's argument is that Cartwright infuses the properties or idioms proper to the 'body mysticall' into the 'body politique', thereby mixing and confusing the two realms or two natures of the Church. This confusion and mixture of the distinct natures of the Church, of the distinct categories of discourse (namely reason and tradition as against scripture), and of Christ's twofold sovereignty (as Redeemer and King) is, in each instance, an abandonment of the high magisterial ground of reformed ecclesiological orthodoxy and an unmistakable shift towards the unorthodox ecclesiology of the 'radical' reformers.

#### Hooker's Critique of Disciplinary Orthodoxy:

##### (i) The Marks of the Church

First of all, what are the notae ecclesiae, the so-called 'marks' of the Church?<sup>1</sup> Briefly, they are the

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<sup>1</sup> The problem of the notae ecclesiae is discussed fully by P.D.L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers, ch. 4; cf. also Norman Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter: The Anglican Attitude to Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Papacy since the Reformation (Cambridge,

means whereby the true visible Church is discerned. They constitute the substance or esse of the Church, that part of the visible church through knowledge of which membership in Christ's mystical body is attained. The notae ecclesiae are of crucial significance in the overall doctrine of the Church in so far as they are the meeting point of the mystical and external aspects of the Church. As the magisterial reformers held that there was no salvation outside the Church, it was a matter of the greatest moment to be able to recognize the true visible form of Christ's Church.<sup>1</sup> This recognition of the true Church was the ordinary means to salvation. Calvin is particularly clear on this matter.<sup>2</sup>

As it is necessary to believe the invisible Church, which is manifest to the eye of God only, so we are also enjoined to regard this Church which is so called with reference to man, and to cultivate its communion. Accordingly inasmuch as it was of importance to us to recognize it, the Lord has distinguished it by certain marks, and as it were symbols...Hence the form of the Church appears and stands forth conspicuous to our view.

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1957), 1-57. See also A.F.S. Scott Pearson, Church and State: Political Aspects of Sixteenth-Century Puritanism (Cambridge, 1928) 116ff.; Helmut Kressner, Schweizer Ursprünge des Anglikanischen Staatskirchentums (Gutersloh, 1953), 94, 95, 117-119.

<sup>1</sup> See P.D.L. Avis, '"The True Church" in Reformation Theology', Scottish Journal of Theology, vol. XXX (1977), 319-45. For example, see Calvin, Inst. 4.1.4.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. Milner, Calvin's Doctrine of the Church (Leiden, 1970), 133; the marks reveal the substance of the Church in Calvin's view; cf. also H. Quistorp, 'Sichtbare und unsichtbare Kirche bei Calvin', in Evangelische Theologie, 9(1949-50), 83-101.

Wherever we see the word of God sincerely preached and heard, wherever we see the sacraments of Christ, there we cannot have any doubt that the Church of God has some existence.<sup>1</sup>

Cartwright, Travers, and the authors of An Admonition to the Parliament<sup>2</sup> had adopted the view that, in addition to word and Sacrament, a scripturally revealed form of Church polity, delivered to the Apostles directly and immediately by Christ, was a third mark of the true visible Church:

May it therefore please your wisdoms to understand, we in England are so far off from having a church, rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. For, to speak of that wherein all consent, and whereupon all writers accord, the outward marks whereby a true Christian Church is known, are preaching of

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7-9; the same doctrine is stated in the Augsburg Confession (1530): 'Est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta'. Cp. Article XIX of the Articles of Religion, 'De Ecclesia': 'The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same'. See N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter, 8,9.

<sup>2</sup> WW 3:314: 'Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England? is discipline meet for Scotland? and is it unprofitable for this realm? Surely God hath set these examples before your eyes, to encourage you to go forward to a thorough and a speedy reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and piece, nay, rather go backward, and never labour or contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole antichrist, both head, body, and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and that severity of discipline which Christ hath commanded and commended to his church.'

the word purely, ministering of the sacraments sincerely, and ecclesiastical discipline....<sup>1</sup>

The major controversy over the notae ecclesiae centres upon the inclusion of Discipline as a third essential sign of the existence of the true visible Church.<sup>2</sup> This debate over the marks was by no means restricted to the Disciplinary controversy in England. It can be said with some accuracy that the debate between the Disciplinary and Conformists on the doctrine of the Church reflected the two main traditions of ecclesiology upheld by the continental reformers.<sup>3</sup>

Martin Bucer was among the first of the reformers to argue that ecclesiastical discipline, in addition to the 'true preaching of the word' and 'right administration of the Sacraments' belonged to the substance (esse) of any true Church.<sup>4</sup> Wendel considers Bucer as the source of the view

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<sup>1</sup> W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, Puritan Manifestoes (London, 1907), 9; see also WW I:90.

<sup>2</sup> D.J. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy (New Brunswick, 1949), chs. 4&5; McGinn views the issue of the notae ecclesiae as central to the dispute.

<sup>3</sup> See Paul Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts', J.E.H., 31(1980) 463-482. See Lecler, Toleration and the Reformation, trans. T. L. Weston, vol. 2 (London & New York, 1960), 396. Whitgift's opposition to Cartwright is compared to the ecclesiological differences between Zürich and Geneva. See also Kressner, Schweizer Ursprünge, 73-99.

<sup>4</sup> 'De Regno Christi', in Scripta Anglicana (Basle, 1577), 36 (quoted by Wendel, Calvin, 301): 'Partes vero huius sacri ministerii, Doctrina Christi, Sacramentorum eius dispensatio, et discipline eius administratio'. J. Courvoisier, La Motion d'Eglise chez Bucer (Paris, 1933),

that 'ecclesiastical organisations are not subject to human arbitrament; that they are of Divine right because they are dictated by the Holy Spirit'.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Calvin himself, while incorporating Bucer's fourfold ministry into the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques, altogether rejected the view that any form of government could be a mark of the Church, and belong therefore to the esse of the Church.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, Calvin saw the marks of the Church as necessary to salvation, and therefore binding upon the conscience.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the government of the Church belongs to the forum externum.<sup>4</sup> Calvin's remark concerning the chief error of the Papal theory of ecclesiastical authority might equally well be directed at the very heart of the Bucerian teaching on the notae ecclesiae:

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146,147: 'Bucer gave to Calvinist theology the theory of the visible Church considered as a divine institution, and the theory of the ministries exercised in this Church, in which, fundamentally, lies what is generally considered the Reformed idea of the Church'. [my italics] In the argument of this chapter, Bucer may be viewed as the author of the radical as against the magisterial reformed idea of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Wendel, Calvin, 142, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 300ff.

<sup>3</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7-9.

<sup>4</sup> 'Commentary on I Corinthians 11.2', Corpus Reformatorum (Brunswick, 1863-1900) vol. 77,473: 'For we know that every Church has the freedom to frame for itself a form of government that is apt and useful for it, because the Lord has not prescribed anything definite', quoted by Torrance, Kingdom and Church, 140.

My intention here then is, to impugn constitutions of this description: constitutions enacted for the purpose of binding the conscience inwardly before God, and imposing religious duties, as if they enjoined things necessary to salvation.<sup>1</sup>

To teach that a particular form of Church-discipline or government is a mark of the Church, confuses the forum conscientiae with the forum externum, thereby violating the central reformed tenet of Christian liberty.<sup>2</sup>

Calvin, together with Luther,<sup>3</sup> Melancthon, and the Zurich divines<sup>4</sup> compose a loose group whom, for our present

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, Inst. 4.10.2.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. 3.19.15; for the 'indifferent' character of ecclesiastical polity, cf. Inst. 4.12.1. Discipline is not a mark of the Church; it belongs to man's education in morals rather than to his salvation, 4.1.5.; 4.11.1. Cp. Inst. 4.10.27: 'First, then, let us understand that if in every human society some kind of government is necessary to insure the commonpeace and maintain concord, which public decency, and hence humanity itself, require us not to disregard, this ought especially to be observed in Churches, which are best sustained by a constitution which is well ordered, and without which concord can have no existence. Wherefore, if we would provide for the safety of the Church, we must carefully attend to Paul's injuncton, that all things be done decently and in good order (I Cor. 14.40)...secured by the addition of ordinances, as a kind of bonds. In these ordinances, however, we must always attend to the exception that they must not be thought necessary to salvation, nor lay the conscience under a religious obligation; they must not be compared to the worship of God, nor substituted for piety.' [my italics]

<sup>3</sup> See Jaroslav Pelikan, Spirit versus Structure: Luther and the Institutions of the Church (London, 1968); F.E. Cranz, Luther's Thought on Justice.

<sup>4</sup> Melancthon, 'Locis Communes' (1555), in Melancthon on Christian Doctrine, ed. Manschreck (New York, 1965); J.W. Baker, Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: the Other Reformed Tradition (Athens, Ohio, 1940), esp. ch. 5; Andre Bouvier, Heinrich Bullinger (Neuchatel and Paris, 1940); H. Kressner, Schweizer Ursprünge, see n.1, p.138 above; G.R.

purpose, we have termed the magisterial reformers.<sup>1</sup> They hold in common the view that Word and Sacraments constitute the essential marks of the Church. Over against this established principle of ecclesiological orthodoxy we may set Bucer's view that Disciplina or Church-government constitutes an additional mark of the true Church. P. D. L. Avis<sup>2</sup> categorises a tradition of ecclesiology, extending from Bucer both to the Puritans and to the Anabaptists and the Separatists which attempted to avoid the anomalies manifested when the reformers tried to come to terms with the position of Rome, not by broadening but by narrowing the definition of the Church, tightening its circumference by making discipline essential to its very existence. The watchword of this school is found in Bucer's remark of 1538: 'Where there is no discipline and excommunication, there is no Church' (Wo kein Zucht und Bann ist, ist auch kein Gemein).<sup>3</sup> It is this school of opinion which was promoted also in Geneva and elsewhere after Calvin's death by

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Potter, Zwingli (Cambridge, 1976); R.C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy (Toronto, 1967); also by Walton, 'The Institutionalisation of the Reformation at Zurich', Zwingliana, XIII (1972), 497-515.

<sup>1</sup> For this usage, see Q. Skinner, Foundations vol. 2, esp. part 1.

<sup>2</sup> P.D.L. Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Avis, p. 45. See Martin Bucer, Commonplaces, ed. D. Wright, (Appelford, 1972), 31.

Theodore Beza<sup>1</sup>, Walter Travers, Thomas Cartwright, John Knox, and many others of the disciplinarian persuasion.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in the Admonition Controversy of the 1570s, it is John Whitgift, explicitly following Calvin, who assumes the role of defender of the magisterial reformers teaching on the marks, while Cartwright adopts the more radical teaching promoted by Bucer, Beza, and the Heidelberg Calvinists.<sup>3</sup> Hooker, following Whitgift, aligns himself with Calvin's teaching on the notae ecclesiae.

Invoking the authority of Beza, Cartwright holds that discipline belongs to the esse or definition of the true Church in such a way as to be on an equal level with the traditional marks of Word and Sacrament.<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Whitgift, in his Answer to the Admonition upholds the magisterial reformers' opinion concerning the distinction between the 'essential' matters of faith and salvation, embodied in the two traditional marks, on the one hand, and, on the other, the 'indifferent' matters of external

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<sup>1</sup> T. Maruyama, The Ecclesiology of Theodore Beza: the Reform of the Church (Geneva, 1978); W. Nijenhuis, Ecclesia Reformata: Studies in the Reformation, (Leiden, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> See Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London, 1967), 109, for the influence of Beza on the disciplinarian controversy. Cf. also W. Pauck, Das Reich Gottes auf Erden, eine Untersuchung zur Englischen Staatskirche des 16. Jahrhunderts (Berlin & Leipzig, 1928), esp. 159-70.

<sup>3</sup> See Kressner, Schweizer Ursprünge, ch. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See TC 2:53; see also TC 3:32ff.

government and discipline.(WW 1:180) To this Cartwright replied:

But you say that in matters of faith and necessary to salvation it holdeth: which things you oppose after and set against matters of ceremonies, orders, discipline, and government; as though matters of discipline and kind of government were not matters necessary to salvation, and of faith...you, I say, distinguishing or dividing after this sort, do prove yourself to be as evil a divider as you shewed yourself before an expounder; for this is to break in pieces, and not to divide.<sup>1</sup>

The essential point of this disagreement over 'distinguishing and dividing' is whether a particular form of Church-government is to be regarded as a 'matter of faith' and thus 'necessary to salvation', viz. whether Discipline is to be a 'mark' of the Church. Whitgift, following Calvin,<sup>2</sup> rejects the concept of any particular form of external government as belonging to the esse or definition of the Church on the grounds of due separation of 'things indifferent' from the 'essentials' of Christian faith. Both the doctrine of the adiaphora and of 'Christian Liberty' are at stake. The former refers to the christian's freedom in the forum externum, the latter to his freedom in the forum

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<sup>1</sup> WW 1:180,181. The fullest and best account of Cartwright's ecclesiology is in A.F.S. Scott Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism (London, 1925); and, by the same author, Church and State: Political Aspects of Sixteenth-Century Puritanism (Cambridge, 1928); in the latter, chapter 2 on Cartwright's interpretation of the doctrine of the two kingdoms examines the spiritualising tendency of his teaching on the notae ecclesiae, see 9-40.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Calvin, Inst. 4.1.7-9.

internum. It is worth quoting Whitgift at length on this crucial point in the ecclesiological debate:

There are two kinds of government in the church, the one invisible, the other visible; the one spiritual, the other external. The invisible and spiritual government of the church is, when God by his Spirit, gifts, and ministry of his word, doth govern it, by ruling in the hearts and consciences of men, and directing them in all things necessary to everlasting life: this kind of government indeed is necessary to salvation, and it is in the church of the elect only. The visible and external government is that which is executed by man, and consisteth of external discipline, and visible ceremonies practised in that church and over that church, that containeth in it both good and evil, which is usually called the visible church of Christ...But to be short, I confess that in a church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the second [external] kind of necessity; but that any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny; and the reasons that move me so to do be these: The first is, because I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the scriptures to the church of Christ; which no doubt should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the church. Secondly, because the essential notes of the church be these only; the true preaching of the word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments.<sup>1</sup> [my italics]

Whitgift concludes this passage with explicit references to Calvin's writings and to the Helvetic Confession as his authorities. It is clear from Whitgift's argument that the problem of marks of the Church is at bottom concerned with Christian liberty, the rule for ordering 'things

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<sup>1</sup> WW 1:183-185. See note 2, p.143 above for a comparison of Calvin's application of the same principle.

indifferent' and the due separation of the realms appropriate to each. The clash here is between two opposed ecclesiologies. According to the magisterial reformers' view, the external government of the visible Church cannot be a mark of the Church without confusing the mystical and external realms. Whitgift has aligned the Establishment with this view, and entailed in support the authority of Augustine, Calvin, Peter Martyr, Zwingli, Rudolph Gualter, Wolfgang Musculus, and Heinrich Bullinger.<sup>1</sup>

Hooker's own argument concerning the marks takes up the thread of the Admonition Controversy where Cartwright had left off:

...so herein for two thinges we are reprovved, the first is misdistinguishing, because matters of discipline and Church-government are (as they say) matters necessarie to salvation and of faith, whereas we put a difference betweene the one and the other; our seconde fault is injurious dealing with the scripture of God as if it conteyned onely the principall pointes of religion, some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the forme and fashion of it. (LEP 3.2.2)

Hooker follows Whitgift in his identification of the Disciplinary doctrine of the notae ecclesiae as contrary

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<sup>1</sup> WW 1:223-259; also WW 2:236, 237. For an historical account of Whitgift's role in the controversy, see McGinn, Papists and Puritans, 205-338; also P.M. Dawley, John Whitgift and the English Reformation (New York, 1954), esp. chs. 5&6; V.J.K. Brook, Whitgift and the English Church (London, 1957); for the strong influence of the Zurich divines on Whitgift's ecclesiology, see H. Kressner, Schweizer Ursprünge, 99-134.

to received reformed orthodoxy with respect to the doctrine of the two realms:

The mixture of those thinges by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by concept of minde to sever thinges different in nature, and to discerne wherein they differ...I somewhat marvayle that they especially should think it absurde to oppose Church-government, a plaine matter of action unto matters of fayth, who know that themselves devide the Gospell into Doctrine and Discipline.(LEP 3.3.1, 2) [my italics]

Hooker follows the magisterial reformers in upholding a sharp distinction of matters of faith and matters of action, between what Luther termed the realms of 'passive' and 'active' justice.<sup>1</sup> Church-government is a 'matter of action', properly in the external forum of 'works', and

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<sup>1</sup> See Cranz, Luther's Thought on Justice, p.65; LEP 5.68.6: 'Religion beinge therefor a matter partlie of contemplation partlie of action, wee must define the Church which is a religious societie by such differences as do properlie explaine the essence of such thinges, that is to saie by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon because the onlie object which separateth oures from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whome none but the Church doth beleve and whome none but the Church doth worship, wee finde that accordinglie thapostles doe everie where distinguish hereby the Church from Infidels and from Jewes, accomptinge them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church. If we goe lower, wee shall but add unto this certaine casuall and variable accidentes, which are not properlie of the beinge, but make onlie for the happier and better beinge [i.e. bene esse] of the Church of God, either in deed, or in mens opinions and conceiptes. This is the error of all popish definitions that hitherto have bene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentiallie is, but by that wherein they imagin their own more perfect then the rest are.'

cannot be regarded as anything other than 'accessorie' to salvation.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up the problem of the marks of the Church, the context of the English controversy was a part of a more wide-spread dispute between two schools of ecclesiological opinion. The first school, which we have termed 'magisterial', and which includes Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the Zurich divines, taught that there were two essential signs of the true visible Church, namely Word and Sacrament. Against this view there grew up a dissenting opinion among some of the reformers that a scriptural form of Church-government was also a mark of the true Church, and therefore that its realization was essential to a 'true reformation'. This opinion was first enunciated by Bucer, was taken up by Beza,<sup>2</sup> and from thence exported to England and Scotland, where it was promoted by the so-called Disciplinarians. Hooker's position on the marks of the Church is a conservative defence of the magisterial reformers' ecclesiological orthodoxy against the innovative radicalism of Cartwright and other Disciplinarians. Hooker's purpose is to restate the main themes of the

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 3.3.3: Hooker appeals to the concept of the adiaphora: 'But as for those thinges that are accessorie hereunto, those thinges that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way, then a path is changed by altering onely the uppermost face thereof...'

<sup>2</sup> On this point see W. Nijenhuis, Ecclesia Reformata, 130-138.

reformed doctrine of the Church according to the orthodox principle of the due distinction of spiritual and external realms, and to impugn the confusion of these two realms which is implicit in the spiritualising of the visible Church in the Disciplina. His polemical goal is to win over moderate opposition to the Settlement by a demonstration that the ecclesiology of the Church of England is indeed fully and truly reformed.

(ii) The Authority of Scripture<sup>1</sup>

Just as Hooker upholds the doctrine of adiaphora in the question of the marks of the Church, and opposes the spiritualising of the visible Church implicit in Cartwright's view, so also in relation to the authority of Scripture Hooker attacks the confusion of the realms of discourse involved in the assertion of a scriptural prescription of Church-government. The disciplinarian authors of An Admonition to the Parliament (1572), Thomas Wilcox and John Field, had demanded the completion of the reformation through the establishment of the authority of

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<sup>1</sup> The problem of the authority of Scripture is treated extensively by J.S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible (Oxford, 1970), passim see also R.E. Davies, The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers (London, 1946) and see also A. Passerim d'Entrèves, Riccardo Hooker: Contributo alla teoria e alla storia del diritto naturale (Torino, 1932), 34.

Scripture in the external ordering of the Church.<sup>1</sup> The controversy here, as in relation to the marks, is one of applying the doctrine of the two realms. For Archbishop Whitgift, the controversy depends on 'what it is to be agreeable to the word of God'.(WW 1.93)

Since the government of the external visible Church cannot by nature belong to the realm of 'things necessary to salvation', there is therefore no need for a scripturally prescribed form of ecclesiastical discipline. On the contrary, while sola scriptura is a central tenet of reformed orthodoxy, scriptural authority is not the same in foro externo as in foro conscientiae. For Hooker,

Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessarie, as hath beene set downe, and that it is no more disgrace for scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, then for nature to have left it unto the wit of man to devise his own attyre.(LEP 3.4.1)

The radical or Disciplinarian ecclesiology, as Hooker terms it, confuses the two realms of discourse, namely reason and scripture, as well as their respective realms of authority. In matters essential to salvation, scripture is a primary and perfect authority; in external matters, however, the 'wit of man' must rule. The transfer of the primacy of scriptural authority to external matters only 'accessorie to

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<sup>1</sup> WW 1:290: 'The proposition that these libellers would prove is, that "We in England are so far from having a church rightly reformed according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same."' [my italics]

salvation' undermines the magisterial reformers' doctrine concerning the authority of scripture.<sup>1</sup> For the magisterial reformers, the visible Church is a 'society natural', subject to both natural and positive law.<sup>2</sup>

Hooker's strong affirmation of the authority of human reason has been interpreted by many critics as a sign of Socinianism, Erasmian humanism, neo-Thomism, and quite generally as a repudiation of Reformation principles.<sup>3</sup> This interpretation fails to take adequate account of Hooker's two realms doctrine. Along with Luther, Calvin, and other reformers, Hooker upholds the doctrine of sola scriptura. Together with them he qualifies this doctrine according to the valid distinction of two realms of discourse: 'The absolute perfection of scripture is seene by relation unto that end wherto it tendeth.'(LEP 2.8.5) Therefore, 'Unto the word of God being in respect of that end, for which God ordeined it, perfect, exact, and absolute in it selfe, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maime or defect

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<sup>1</sup> See Inst. 4.10.30; see note 73 above.

<sup>2</sup> Wendel, Calvin, 302.

<sup>3</sup> See Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass: The Elizabethan Mind in Literature (New York, 1936); R. Hoopes, Right Reason in the English Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), esp. 123-32; S.R. Jackson, 'Richard Hooker: An Approach to the Renaissance', The Manitoba Arts Review 2 (Spring, 1940), 22-33; J.S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (London, 1963); H.J. MacLachlan, Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1951).

therin..'(LEP 3.8.10) Scripture teaches 'saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation';(LEP 3.8.13) however, sola scriptura as a soteriological principle does not, indeed, cannot abrogate the authority of reason in the external realm, a view upheld by the magisterial reformers.<sup>1</sup> In sum, Hooker regards the disciplinarian biblicising tendency as an improper confusion of the categories appropriate to one realm of discourse with another, separate sphere, as it were 'a mixture of those thinges by speech which by nature are divided'.(LEP 3.3.1) Their perception of the conflict between the authorities of reason and of scripture is nothing more than a confusion of the two realms. The reformed doctrinal principle of sola scriptura refers primarily to the substance of saving doctrine, and hence to the essential means to membership of the mystical body. Thus for Hooker:

Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiencie of holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schooles of Rome teach scripture to be so insufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not conteine all revealed and supernaturall truth, which absolutely is necessarie for the children of men in this life to know that they may be in the next saved. Others justly condemning this opinion growe likewise unto a daungerous extremitie, as if scripture did not onely containe all thinges in that kinde necessary, but al thinges simply, and in such sorte that to doe any thing according to any other lawe were not onely unnecessary, but even opposite unto salvation, unlawfull and sinful. (LEP 2.8.7) [my italics]

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Calvin, Inst. 2.2.13.

In short, the Disciplinarians err according to the rule of the two realms theory by their assertion that the principle sola scriptura refers to both the mystical economy of salvation and to the external sphere of Church order:

A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authoritie of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to mans reason. For which cause they never use reason so willinglie as to disgrace reason. (LEP 3.8.4)

Hooker insists that secular knowledge ought not to be rejected simply 'as if the waye to be ripe in faith, were to be rawe in wit and judgement' (LEP 3.8.4); it is necessary to distinguish the end which a given form of discourse serves. This distinction of end or purpose pertains to the separation of the spiritual goal of salvation and the external aim of public social order in ecclesiastical affairs.

(iii) The Doctrine of IUS DIVINUM

The reason why we are bound in conscience to be subject unto all such powers is because All powers are of God. (Rom. 13.1) They are of God either instituting or permitting them. Power is then of divine institution when either God himself doth deliver or men by light of nature finde out the kinde thereof ... Subjection therefore is due unto all such powers inasmuch as they are of Godes own institution even when they are of man's creation ... (LEP 8.6.9; FLE 3: 398)

The third and final topic of Hooker's critique of Cartwright's ecclesiology addresses the problem of the divine basis of Church-government. This particular aspect

of the ecclesiological controversy is logically pivotal in the transition from the doctrine of the Church to the doctrine of jurisdiction, and thus to the Royal Supremacy itself. On the one hand, it sums up all that has gone before in the discussion of the doctrine of the Church, and focuses the issues in the symbol of Christ's sovereignty. On the other hand, it looks forward to the whole issue of the exercise of human power and authority in the Church and to the relation of secular political order to religion in general.

As in the issues of the marks of the Church and the proper sphere of the authority of divine revelation, Hooker perceived yet another spiritualising tendency in Thomas Cartwright's view of the immediacy of the divine rule over the Church.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Disciplinary assertion that Christ himself is the direct and immediate source of an immutable form of ecclesiastical government constitutes a kind of ultimate justification for their prior arguments on the notae and the authority of Scripture:

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<sup>1</sup> WW 3:314, 315. Whitgift gives Cartwright's argument in the Replie as follows: 'By this humble suit and earnest desire which we have for further reformation, we are so far from unthankfulness unto her majesty, that we thereby desire the heap of her felicity, and the establishment of her royal throne amongst us; which then shall be most sure and unremoved, when our Saviour Christ sitteth wholly and fully, not only in his chair to teach, but also in his throne to rule, not alone in the hearts of every one by his Spirit, but also generally and in the visible government of his church, by those laws of discipline which he hath prescribed.' [my italics]

The last refuge for prooffe that divine lawes of Christian Church-politie may not be altered by extinguishment of any olde or addition of new in that kinde, is partly a marveillous strange discourse that Christ (unlesse he would show himselfe not so faithfull as Moses, or not so wise as Lycurgus and Solon) must needes have set downe in holy scripture some certaine complete and unchangeable forme of politie.<sup>1</sup>

Hooker regarded this assertion of Christ's immediate authority for the external Church order as the ultimate confusion of the mystical and external aspects of the Church. It is by means of this spiritualising of the corpus politicum of the Church that the Disciplinarians came to reject the fundamental affinity of nature between Church and Commonwealth, and thus came to resist the Royal Headship of the Church. The Disciplinarian identification, or rather confusion, of visible Church with the spiritual, mystical realm in this manner prevented their recognition of the unity of ecclesiastical and secular political community in the external, human 'realm'.

For Hooker, the Church is a human 'politique societie', subject to the 'yoke of human power'. There is indeed a divine basis for ecclesiastical authority; it is, however, mediated divine authority. Laws need not be taken directly from scripture in order to be divinely sanctioned.<sup>2</sup> Human,

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 3.11.17.

<sup>2</sup> LEP 3.9.2,3; for the Christological analogy of this principle, see LEP 5.54.5: 'Finallie sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turninge it into him selfe, yeat by makeinge it his owne inseparable habitation, wee cannot now conceive how God should without man either exercise

positive law thus has the authority of divine sanction by a kind of 'communication of idioms', according to the Christological paradigm. Thus, the Church as a 'politique body' is grounded in ius divinum in the same manner as the commonwealth - mediately, through the divine sanction of humanly devised laws. Hooker thus demonstrates to the Disciplinarians that the sovereignty of Christ over the Church is threatened neither by the definition of the 'politique societie' (and hence the upholding of the magisterial doctrine of the notae) nor by the limiting of the authority of Scripture. Furthermore, Christ's immediate authority is that which works mystically and inwardly through his mediatorial, priestly function. This is the proper realm of the authority of the revealed, supernatural law in Holy Scripture. On the other hand, Christ's authority in relation to the Church operates within the distinction of forum externum from forum conscientiae. Thus for Hooker the external government of the Church is divinely sanctioned, but not through any confusion of the two realms of authority:

The light of naturall understanding wit and reason is from God, he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there procede from us any thing afterwarde corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our owne darknes, neither doth it procede from any such cause whereof of God is the author. He is the author of all that we thinke or doe by vertue of

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divine power or receive the glorie of divine praise. For man is in both an associate of Deitie.' See also LEP 7.9.10.

that light, which himselfe hath given. And therefore the lawes which the very heathens did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God his selfe doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from him selfe, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hartes. (LEP 3.9.3)

## Chapter IV

**SUPREMUM CAPUT: HOOKER'S THEOLOGY OF HEADSHIP**

We are accused as men that will not have Christ Jesus to rule over them, but have wilfully cast his statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed, and made subject to the scepter of his discipline. (LEP 1.3.1)

The essentially theological character of Hooker's approach to the problem of the Royal Supremacy is nowhere more explicit than in his discussion of the 'title of Headship which we give to the Kings of England in relation unto the Church' in the fourth chapter of Book VIII. The structure of the argument in this chapter follows the general pattern of Hooker's methodology throughout the treatise. He begins by setting down a summary of certain principal objections raised by the Disciplinary reformers as represented by the writings of Cartwright. As in the preceding books of the Laws, Hooker concentrates his attention upon Cartwright's Second Replie written in response to Archbishop Whitgift's Defense of the Answer to the Admonition. In this final chapter, our aim is to examine Hooker's defence of the royal headship of the Church in the light of his theological principles. As we shall see, his adherence to the received, orthodox formulations of systematic doctrine, especially on Trinitarian and Christological points, together with his views on hermeneutical, ecclesiological, and soteriological doctrine

are crucial to the coherence of his argument. The chapter begins with an examination of Hooker's analysis of the principal theological elements of the headship debate. There follows a brief consideration of the polemical background of the debate in the Admonition Controversy. Finally there is a discussion of Hooker's response to Cartwright's theological objections to the royal headship. This response breaks down into the following major headings: first, the Trinitarian problem, secondly the Christological problem, thirdly the ecclesiological problem, and finally the problem of the species of regiment.

Cartwright's initial objection to the royal headship is grounded in what Hooker in Book II refers to as a 'negative argument' from Scripture.<sup>1</sup> The title 'Head of the Church' is applied exclusively to Christ in Scripture, from which Cartwright infers that as such it 'cannot be without bold presumption applied unto any mortall man'. (WW 2:82; LEP 8.4.2). He defends his objection by an appeal to the prescriptive authority of divine revelation in matters

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<sup>1</sup> See especially LEP 2.5.7. where Hooker quotes Cartwright's argument in TC 2:81, viz. 'the argument of the scriptures negatively holdeth, not only in doctrine and ecclesiasticall discipline, but even in matters arbitrarie and variable by the advice of the Church.' The whole intent of Book 2 of the Lawes is to show the limits of scriptural authority. For a full and clear discussion of the problem see J.S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible (Oxford, 1970), ch. I. See also Egil Grislis, 'The Hermeneutical Problem in Richard Hooker', Studies in Richard Hooker, ed. W.S. Hill (London, 1972) 183-198.

concerning the structure of ecclesiastical government.<sup>1</sup> It is the heart of Cartwright's position that Christ's title of headship as defined by Scripture precludes the possibility of any other claim to the title whatsoever. Scripture affirms the title solely in relation to Christ; therefore no other affirmations outside the bounds of Scriptural authority can be allowed. This follows the so-called 'negative' argument from the authority of Scripture: that which scripture does not positively affirm

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<sup>1</sup> See LEP 8.4.2, 3 for Hooker's summary of the principal scriptural reasons urged against the royal headship. Hooker refers chiefly to the following passage in Cartwright's Second Replie (TC 2: 411, 12):

Here remaineth onely to prove/ the title Head off the church/ to belonge onely to our Saviour Christe... If Christe be onely head: then that I set downe/ that the cyvill magistrate is head of the comonwealthe/ and not of the church/ standeth. But if the magistrate be head off the church: then Christe is not onelie. Howbeit having for feare off the owtcry off all/ made a litle curtesie unto the truthe: he [i.e. Archbishop Whitgift] forthwith lifteth up his heele againste it/ and will have the civill magistrate head also off the church/ wherupon muste followe infynite absurdities. Firste the doctrine off the Apostle is by this means cleane overthrowen/ which sheweth that this tytyle Head of the church/ was gyven to our Sav[iour] Christe/ to lifte him above all powres/ rules/ and domynions/ ether in heaven/ or earth. Where if this title belonge also unto the cyvill magistrate: then yt ys manifeste/ that there is a powre in earth/ wherunto our Saviour Christe is not in this pointe superior. And by the same reason that he maie gyve the cyvill magistrate this title/ he maye gyve him also that he ys the fyrste begotten of all creatures/ the fyrste begotten off the dead/ yea the redemer of his people which he governeth....Againe if the church be the bodie of Christe/ and of the cyvill magistrate/ yt shall have two heades: which being monsterous is to the great dishonour off Christe and his church. [my italics] See also TC 3: 153 and WW 3:189.

concerning the polity of the Church must therefore be denied.

Having broached the general nature of the controversy over the royal headship, Hooker proceeds to an analysis of the specific scriptural reasons alleged against a finite, territorial and visible headship distinct from Christ's infinite, universal and invisible rule. Cartwright appeals to the authority of St. Paul for whom Christ's title of headship signifies His elevation above 'all powres/ rules/ and domynions' (TC 2:411; LEP 8.4.2); thus to term Christ 'Head' of the Church is to acknowledge the special character of his power as 'divine' and therefore as above all derivative or created powers. Hence on this view the royal claim to the headship of the Church imposes an external limitation upon a universal power which by its very nature cannot admit of any external limits whatsoever. For Cartwright, the title 'Head of the church' is identified precisely with what distinguishes Christ's infinite, divine power from all finite, human powers. (TC 2:411) Secondly, he asserts the exclusive application of the title of headship of Christ on the grounds of what he considers to be doctrinally impossible consequences which necessarily follow from the appropriation of the same by an earthly prince. For by doing so the prince would appear to arrogate to himself certain corollary powers associated by Scripture with the title of head - for example, the titles 'first

begotten of all creatures', 'the Redeemer of his people', 'the consubstantial Word of God'.(LEP 8.4.3; TC 2:411ff.) Thus Cartwright identifies Christ's title of headship itself with his peculiar dignity as the Redeemer.<sup>1</sup> Cartwright therefore represents the Royal Supremacy as a denial of Christ's proper sovereign power in relation to the Church. Thirdly, Cartwright argues that St. Paul refers to Christ as sole head of the Church.(TC 2:412) Hence the communication of the title of headship to the civil magistrate implies a limitation of the absolute universality of Christ's presence with the whole body of his people. For Cartwright, Christ does not need a 'subordinate/ and mynisteriall head off the church': 'Christe is never severed from his body/ nor from any parte off yt/ and is able/ and doth performe that wherfore he is called head/ unto all his church.' (TC 2:413)

Among those quoted by Cartwright in support of his assertion of Christ's 'sole' claim to the headship of the Church is John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and Hooker's one-time patron. Jewel, as is well known, preferred the title of 'Supreme Governor' to 'Head of the Church' when applied to the royal power of ecclesiastical dominion, and

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<sup>1</sup> See esp. TC 2: 417. 'Let it be considered first that our Sav. Christe is in one respect creator and preserver of mankinde/ and in another redeemer, and upholder of his church. For he created once/ and preserveth daily as God co-equall with his Father and Holy Spirite: but he both redeemed once and daily gathereth his church/ as mediatour of God and man ...'

was at some pains to argue the unsuitability of the title of headship in relation to the Queen.<sup>1</sup> With a certain evident pleasure Cartwright was able to quote in his controversy with Whitgift that 'Cyprian saith/ there is but one head off the church. The bishop off Salsburie affirmeth the same. Apol.2.2'.(TC 2:413) According to Jewel, such a title for princes was 'not to be found in Holy Scripture'.<sup>2</sup> It was perhaps to be expected that in the heat of battle Cartwright should choose not to include a reference to Jewel's proviso immediately following this remark:

And, notwithstanding the name of Head of the Church belong peculiarly and only unto Christ, as his only right and inheritance, (for, as the Church is the body, so Christ is the head); yet may the same sometimes also be applied in sober meaning and good sense, not only to princes, but also unto others far inferior to princes.<sup>3</sup>

It is Hooker's purpose in Book VIII to explore more deeply 'in sober meaning and good sense' the manner in which the title of headship may lawfully be ascribed to the civil magistrate, according to principles of orthodox theological reasoning acknowledged by both parties to the dispute. This aim must be interpreted within the context of the argument of the Lawes as a whole. As it is Hooker's general purpose

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<sup>1</sup> The Works of John Jewel, ed. John Ayre, PS, (Cambridge, 1845-50) iv, 974. Compare WW 2:89. See John E. Booty, John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England (London, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> Jewel, PS 4: 974.

<sup>3</sup> Jewel, PS 4: 975.

in each of the earlier books to demonstrate the essential agreement of various aspects of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical settlement with the precepts of reformed doctrinal and ecclesiological orthodoxy, so this same governing principle can be seen in the construction of his argument in defence of the doctrine of the lay ecclesiastical headship.

Having challenged the underlying assumption of Cartwright's objections - namely, that it is necessary to argue 'negatively' from the authority of Scripture and thereby to restrict the application of the title of 'Head of the Church' to Christ alone - Hooker proceeds to distinguish and analyse three basic differences between the title of headship as applied on the one hand to Christ, and as applied on the other to the Civil Magistrate.<sup>1</sup> For Hooker, the title is not inherently 'univocal', but rather 'equivocal'; what is required, in Hooker's view, is an analysis of the logic governing the application of the title. The title may be applied to both Christ and earthly princes so long as the theological difference between the 'two kinds of Headship' is made clear and upheld. For Hooker, there is a threefold distinction between the 'two kinds of Headship' which follows a rigorous logic; they correspond to the categories of 'order, measure, and kind'. (LEP 8.4.5) These three modes of distinction

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 8.4.5.

correspond, as we shall see, to three principal branches of theological discourse, namely systematic doctrine, ecclesiology, and soteriology. In making the case in favour of a difference in 'order' between Christ's headship and the ecclesiastical headship of earthly princes, Hooker appeals to the distinctions of fundamental Trinitarian and Christological doctrine. The introduction of a difference of 'measure' or 'degree' of power raises fundamental issues of an ecclesiological nature, with special reference to the distinction between the mystical and visible Churches. Finally, the question of the 'two kindes of power' raises the prominent soteriological issue of the Reformation, namely the doctrine of the two realms and two regiments.

According to Hooker's first category of distinction between the two 'orders' of headship, Christ is said to be head of the Church according to his participation of divine nature, whereas the headship of the prince is according to a finite, human 'order':

It is not simplie the title of Head which lifteth our Saviour above all powers, but the title of Head in such sort understood, as the Apostle himself ment it, so that the same being imparted in an other sense unto others [i.e. the Civil Magistrate] doth not any way make those others therin equalles in as much as diversitie of thinges is usuall to be understood, even when of wordes there is no diversitie and it is only the adding of one and the self same thing unto diverse persons which doth argue equalitie in them. Yf I terme Christ and Caesar Lords yet this is no equalling of Caesar with Christ, because it is not thereby intended. To terme the Emperour Lord (sayth Tertullian) I for myn own part will not refuse so that I be not required to term him Lord

in the same sense that God is so termed.(LEP 8.4.3)

The power which Christ holds as head of the Church is understood by Hooker, in the first instance, relative to his participation in the divine substance:

God hath given him to his Church for the Head <sup>ὑπὲρ</sup>  
πάντα, above all ὑπερᾶνω πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς  
..., Farr above all principalitie and power ...  
whereas the power which others have is  
subordinated unto his. (LEP 8.4.5)

The divine sovereignty is infinite by virtue of its being entirely self-limiting: 'the being of God is a kind of law to his working: for that perfection which God is giveth perfection to that he doth'.(LEP 1.2.2) All other powers are distinguished by 'order' from the divine power by virtue of being contained and limited by that highest power which is alone self-limiting. Hooker's discussion of this distinction of 'order' suggests the influence of a Neoplatonic cosmology consistent with his generic division of the laws in Book I.<sup>1</sup> Power is the necessary instrument

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<sup>1</sup> He summarises his conception of order quite succinctly at an earlier stage in the argument of Book VIII. See LEP 8.2.1., for example: 'And if thinges and persons be ordered, this doth implie that they are distinguished by degrees. For order is a graduall disposition. The whole world consisting of partes so manie so.different is by this only thing upheld, he which framed them hath sett them in order. Yea the very deitie it self both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a law, that wheresoever, there is a coagmentation of many, the lowest be knitt to the highest by that which being interjacent may cause each to cleave unto other and so all to continue one.' For an analysis of this concept of 'order' see W.H. Greenleaf, Order, Empiricism and Politics: Two Traditions of English Political Thought 1500-1700 (London, 1964) ch. 2; see also David Little, Religion, Order and Law: A Study in

of order and where there is a distinction of 'orders' there is a corresponding distinction of 'powers'. Thus for Hooker the error of Cartwright's first objection to the royal headship of the Church is grounded in a failure to distinguish the orders of being, and consequently their respective and distinct powers. So long as the distinction is preserved between an 'infinite' power corresponding to an infinite substance or divine order on the one hand, and a finite power on the level of a finite, human order on the other, the title of headship may reasonably be applied to both levels simultaneously. Thus 'in sober meaning and good theological sense' there is a distinction of infinite and finite, divine and human headships according to their difference of order.

The second difference between Christ's infinite and the civil magistrate's finite headship affirmed by Hooker concerns 'measure of power' or 'degree'. (LEP 8.4.5; FLE 3:361). Whilst Christ's authority reaches 'over all places, persons, and things', and continues forever to be exercised by him, the power of the Magistrate is limited by the territory over which his finite sovereignty extends: 'Christ is sayd to be universally Head, and King no further then within his own dominions'. (LEP 8.4.7) For Cartwright, on the other side, the so-called 'ubiquity' of Christ's power itself renders the civil magistrate's claim to the

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Pre-Revolutionary England (Oxford, 1970), 147-66.

title of headship superfluous.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he argues, it belongs 'to his kingly office/ which god his heavenly Father annointed hym unto' to appoint 'the owtward governement of his church'. (TC 2: 440) In his response to this objection, Hooker draws upon the ecclesiological principles developed in the earlier books of his treatise in order to demonstrate the need to distinguish the headship of the visible church within a limited territory from that of the universal visible church throughout the world.<sup>2</sup> He suggests that Cartwright's confusion of the 'two churches' leads inevitably to his rejection of the royal headship.<sup>3</sup> At issue is the doctrine of Christ's 'ubiquity', a Christological point which bitterly divided the magisterial reformers even among themselves.<sup>4</sup> As we shall see in our consideration below of the Christological implications of the headship debate, Hooker upholds the orthodox reformed teaching in this matter.

The third and final distinction posited by Hooker, that which he himself calls the 'weightiest' of the three,

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<sup>1</sup> See TC 2: 413: 'Christ is never severed from his body/ nor from any parte of yt/ and is able/ and doeth perform that wherefore he is called. head/ unto all his church.'

<sup>2</sup> Especially Book III.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 3 above.

<sup>4</sup> Francois Wendel, Calvin, 223-4, 345-50. See also E.D. Willis, Calvin's Catholic Christology: The Function of the so-called extra-Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theology (Leiden, 1966) 9-25.

concerns 'the very kinde of their power'.(LEP 8.4.5)  
 Christ's power is exercised invisibly and spiritually  
 insofar as 'his corporeall residence is in heaven', whereas  
 the power of the Civil Magistrate is visible and outward:

The Headship which we give unto Kings is  
 altogether visibly exercised and ordereth only  
 the externall frame of the Churches affayres heer  
 amongst us, so that it plainly differeth from  
 Christs even in very nature and kinde.(LEP 8.4.5)  
 [my italics]

This last difference between visible and invisible power,  
 between 'two kinds of Dominion' based upon a distinction of  
 two realms - the spiritual and the external or the forum  
conscientiae and the forum externum - constitutes the  
 cornerstone of Hooker's attack upon the soteriological  
 assumptions of Cartwright and the Disciplinarians.  
 Throughout the chapter Hooker appeals to the principles of  
 reformed orthodoxy with regard to the two realms doctrine in  
 order to turn the disciplinarians' arguments back against  
 themselves. He appeals yet again to the doctrine called the  
 'extra-Calvinisticum' that is to say that Christ's  
 'corporeall residence is in heaven'.<sup>1</sup> He accuses Cartwright  
 of confusing the two distinct kinds of power in his  
 assertion of Christ's ruling presence in the visible church,  
 and thereby overturning the due distinction of the

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<sup>1</sup> I am considerably indebted to E.D. Willis's  
 analysis of the function of the doctrine so named in  
 reformed theology. See Calvin's Catholic Christology, 1-7.

properties peculiar to the divine and human natures of Christ.

Whitgift and Cartwright on the Doctrine of Headship<sup>1</sup>

The principal theological elements of the question of headship emerge in the course of Cartwright's polemical exchanges with Archbishop Whitgift in the 1570s. A review of the development of their respective positions will set Hooker's analysis of the issue in the context of contemporary debate. The Admonition to the Parliament had identified the establishment of the three essential 'marks' of the church with Christ's own jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> The Establishment is urged 'to go forward to a thorough and a speedy reformation' and to 'altogether remove whole anti-christ, both head, body, and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and that severity of discipline which Christ hath commanded and commended to his Church.' (WW 3: 314). Cartwright expands upon this theme of the 'third mark' of 'discipline' in A Replye with the statement that the reformation of the Church cannot be complete until

our Saviour Christ sitteth wholly and fully, not  
only in his chair to teach, but also in his throne

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<sup>1</sup> There is a brief but succinct discussion of the question of headship in the Admonition Controversy in A.F. Scott Pearson, Church and State, 28-38. See also D.J. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy, ch. 7, esp. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. 3 above, 145-151.

to rule, not alone in the hearts of every one by his Spirit, but also generally and in the visible government of his Church, by those laws of discipline which he hath prescribed. (TC 1:155; WW 3: 315)

Cartwright's insistence on the jurisdiction of Christ in the external government of the church sets the stage for the conflict over the title of headship. Whitgift's response is directed to the soteriological and ecclesiological assumptions implicit in such a view. He appeals to the doctrine of the two realms and two regiments in order to demonstrate that Christ's headship is restricted to the inward, mystical government of the church.<sup>1</sup>

Cartwright rejects this magisterial interpretation of the two realms logic. The soteriological significance of the disagreement over the title of headship is readily apparent in the following passage from his Second Replie:

For to overthrowe this doctrine that Christe alone is head of his church/ this distinction is browghte/ that according to the inward influence off grace/ Christe onely is head: but according to the owtward governement/ the being of head is comen with him to others. For answer wherunto I referre my self in parte to that I have written before/ off the absurde distinction betwene the governement off the churche by the mynisterie off men/ instituted off our Sav[iour] Christ/ and his

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<sup>1</sup> See WW 3: 419. 'Christ is the head of the church, and spiritually governeth the same in the conscience; but because it hath an outward and visible form, therefore it requireth an outward and visible government, which Christ doth execute as well by the civil magistrate, as he does by the ecclesiastical minister; and therefore the government of the church, in respect of the external and visible form of it, is not only spiritual. Christ governeth by himself spiritually only, and by his ministers both spiritually and externally.'

spirituall governmente. For that if there be no head but Christe/ in respecte of the spirituall governermente: there is no head but he in respecte of the worde/ sacramentes/ and discipline administred by those whom he hath appointed/ forasmuch as that is also his spirituall governmente... yt followeth that even in the owtwarde societie/ and meetings off the church/ no symple man can be called the head of it. Seeing that our Saviour Christe doinge the whole office off the head him selfe alone: leaveth nothing to men/ by doing wheroff they maie obtaine that tytyle.(TC 2:414) [my italics]

The problem of the headship thus raises a number of the questions related to a) fundamental systematic theology, b) ecclesiology, and finally c) soteriology through the distinction of the two realms and two regiments. Both parties address the problem of the visible headship initially in relation to archiepiscopal and episcopal authority. Against Whitgift and in support of the Admonitioners, Cartwright allows that Christ alone is 'arch-shepherd', and that 'he is not only said the head, and yet notwithstanding there is not more heads of the church but he'.(TC 1:61) There was never any such 'superiority of ministers' prescribed in the New Testament. In defence of this repudiation of ecclesiastical hierarchy, Cartwright rejects the well-established distinction of reformed ecclesiology between the spiritual and external realms of order:

The D[octo]r's] answer unto the second proposition by distinction ... is full of disorder/ and hath nothing sound. First yt faulteth in that yt rendeth a sunder thinges which can not be seperated/ and that two waies: one in separating the government of the church by pastors/ doctors/ etc. from the spirituall. For when the ecclesiasticall ministrie hath respecte to the

sowle/ and conscience: when yt is called the mynisterie off the spirite/ spirituall: when they which execute yt/ are called mynisters in the kingdom off heaven: when the owtward preaching/ excommunication/ and other discipline which they use/ be spirituall: this seperation off the owtward governement off the church from the spirituall, and making off them opposite members/ doth not distinguishe but destroie the governement off Christe. (TC 2:409, 410) [my italics]

Whitgift strongly opposed this confusion of the two orders of government. In his Defense of the Answer he clarifies this distinction later taken up by Hooker, namely between two distinct kinds of regiment:

[Christ] is only 'Archbishop' and Bishop in respect of his spiritual government, which he keepeth only unto himself, and in the respect that all other be under him, and have their authority from him. But this name may also aptly be given unto those that have the oversight of other bishops in the external government of the church. (WW 2:85)

Thus episcopal regiment or jurisdiction is analysed strictly in accordance with the ecclesiological distinction between the Church as 'mystical body' and as 'politic body'. The mystical episcopal power of Christ is to be kept clearly distinct from the external jurisdiction of bishops in the visible church. In the course of this dispute with Whitgift over the title, jurisdiction, and hierarchy of bishops and archbishops, Cartwright develops the theological standpoint from which he was later to attack the royal headship of the Church. For him the concept of episcopal hierarchy

derogates from the peculiar mediatorial office of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the whole controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift centres upon the precise manner in which Christ's authority over the Church is exercised, that is to say whether it is mediated or unmediated by finite, external means and persons. It is of great consequence to the ultimate coherence of the Disciplinary ecclesiology that Christ, and no other, should exercise episcopal authority over his body the Church. Christ's unmediated headship is of such great importance that Cartwright sees it as a matter of fundamental doctrinal orthodoxy. So also Disciplinary resistance to the Civil Magistrate's claim to the title of ecclesiastical headship is deeply rooted in these same theological principles.

Disputation between Cartwright and Whitgift on the subject of the lay-headship emerged at various points in the course of the Admonition Controversy. The question is discussed in the context of the definition of jurisdictional

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<sup>1</sup> See TC 1:61; WW 2:81 'It is unlawful for any man to take upon him those titles which are proper to our Saviour Christ; but the title of an archbishop is only proper to our Saviour Christ; therefore none may take that unto him. That it is proper to our Saviour Christ appeareth by that which St. Peter saith, where he calleth him ἀρχιποιμενα which is 'arch-shepherd', or archbishop; for bishop and shepherd are all one....which titles are never found to be given unto any, but unto our Saviour Christ, and are proper titles of his mediation, and therefore cannot be without bold presumption applied unto any mortal man.'

powers claimed by the Disciplinary Eldership<sup>1</sup>, in the debate over the performance of civil functions of ecclesiastical persons<sup>2</sup>, and in relation to other 'topics' of the controversy as well.<sup>3</sup> The particular element of that debate which is of special interest in our present inquiry, however, is that which gave rise to Cartwright's appeal to the authority of certain distinctions of the received Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy in support of his theory of the headship. For Cartwright, the structure of authority in the Church is ultimately a theological problem. Hooker evidently agrees with Cartwright's estimation of the theological nature of the issue. Indeed, he chooses to employ Cartwright's own theological-doctrinal framing of the question as a starting-point for his own analysis of the royal headship.

As we have shown, the dispute over the authority of bishops in the Church provided the occasion for Cartwright's initial theological observations on the concept of headship of the Church. Cartwright insists that 'the title of an archbishop is only proper to our Saviour Christ; therefore none may take that unto him'. (TC 1:61; WW 2:81) Following the lead of the Admonitioners, Cartwright grounds this view

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<sup>1</sup> WW 3:150ff.

<sup>2</sup> WW 3:404ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Cartwright's and Whitgift's opposed interpretations of Matt. 20, 'whether Christ forbiddeth rule and superiority unto the ministers', WW 1:148-174.

in the negative authority of Scripture.(WW 2:79) Cartwright cites a variety of scriptural texts which refer to Christ's episcopal role, such as the 'arch-leader of life and of salvation' or 'the great Shepherd of the sheep'. (TC 1:61; WW 2:82) Whitgift's response to this argument is to insist on a clear distinction between the spiritual and the external regiment of the Church:

In the spiritual regiment Christ is only the Pastor; and all other be his sheep: in the external regiment there be many other pastors. In the spiritual regiment Christ is only the Archbishop, and governeth all, to whom all other must make their account; but in the external government there may be many archbishops, as the state of every church requireth.(WW 2:83,84)

A great deal in this debate turns upon this distinction of the spiritual and the external realms; this is also most certainly the case for Hooker, as we shall see. Indeed, Whitgift distinguished with an almost Cartesian clarity between the spiritual and external realms, between what later philosophers would term res cogitans and res extensa<sup>1</sup>, or what Calvin himself referred to as the forum conscientiae and the forum externum.<sup>2</sup> Whitgift's defence of the concept of ecclesiastical hierarchy in general and of the office of bishops and archbishops in particular stems from this clear separation of an external realm of human association subject

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<sup>1</sup> R. Descartes, 'Meditations on First Philosophy' in The Philosophical Writings, translated by John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1984) ii, 1-50.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. 3.19.15.

to coercive law and outward rule, on the one hand, and an internal realm of spiritual association according to the inward-working of Grace and the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup> This sharp distinction between the mystical or inward realm and the political or external realm provides the underlying logic for Whitgift's subsequent defence of the Civil Magistrate's sovereign authority over the Church.

Cartwright responds to Whitgift's argument by rejecting this distinction between spiritual and external authority outright. In his view the external government of the Church is 'spiritual', and the distinction between the two regiments urged by Whitgift undermines 'the government of Christ'. (TC 2:410) The issue is the manner of interpreting the precise nature of the distinction and connection of the two realms. The theological problem underlying the royal headship of the Church arises, for Cartwright, in the context of controversy concerning the nature of episcopal authority. He moves directly from his attack on the archiepiscopal office within the visible structure of the Church to question the royal headship itself. As we shall see, there is a very close connection within Cartwright's

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<sup>1</sup> WW 1:6 'It is to be understood that there is a double government of the church, the one spiritual, the other external. Christ only, and none other, by the operation of his Spirit and direction of his word, spiritually governeth his church, and reigning in the consciences of the faithful guideth their minds ... The external government hath both a substance and a matter about which it is occupied, and also a form to attain the same, consisting in certain offices and functions...' [my italics].

theology between Christ's pastoral 'shepherding' role and his sovereign, 'kingly' role, and hence between the conceptions of episcopacy and royal supremacy, insofar as 'Princes are sayd to be Heads under Christ' as well as bishops:

And, if any man will reply and say that it is not said that our Saviour Christ is only archbishop, I answer that he is not only said the head, and yet notwithstanding there is no more heads of the church but he. And, if it be further said that these archbishops are but under and as it were subordinate archbishops, I say that a man may as well say that men may be also under-heads of the church; which is the same which is alleged for the pope. (TC 1:61; WW 2:84)

In response, Whitgift presses further with his distinction of the two realms and draws into the discussion the final, remaining element in the debate over the authority of ecclesiastical hierarchy, viz. the civil magistrate as head:

Christ is 'the only Head of the Church': if by the head you understand that which giveth the body life, sense, and motion; for Christ only by his Spirit doth give life and nutriment to his body: he only doth pour spiritual blessings into it, and doth inwardly direct and govern it. Likewise, he is only the Head of the whole church; for that title cannot agree to any other. But, if by 'the head' you understand an external ruler and governor of any particular nation or church (in which signification head is usually taken), then I do not perceive why the magistrate may not as well be called the head of the church, that is, the chief governor of it in the external policy, as he is called the head of the people, and of the commonwealth. (WW 2:85)

Thus the fundamental doctrinal distinction of the two realms is stabilised and upheld in the theory of headship by

the distinction between the spiritual rule of Christ in the ecclesiastical forum conscientiae and the external, political rule of the godly prince in the ecclesiastical forum exterum.

So far we have examined Cartwright's position as set forth in his initial Replie to an Answer Made of Doctor Whitgift (TC 1). It is, however, in his Second Replie against Master Whitgifte's Second Answer (TC 2 and 3), written in response to Whitgift's Defence of the Answer, that Cartwright expounds most fully the explicitly doctrinal grounds of his objections. He does so in a direct response to the position argued by Whitgift in the passage from the Defence quoted immediately above, where he urged that the Civil Magistrate may be regarded as head of the Church 'under Christ' according to the crucial distinction of the spiritual and external realms or orders of rule. (WW 2:85) In his rejoinder (TC 2:411ff.), Cartwright accuses Whitgift of achieving precisely the opposite of his professed intention of holding apart the spiritual and the external realms. Just as in the case of the title archbishop, the title of headship is, for Cartwright, proper to Christ alone, and 'therefore cannot be without bold presumption applied unto any mortal man'. (TC 1:61) In order to establish firmly his assertion of Christ's sole headship of the Church, Cartwright launches a direct attack on the theological foundation of Whitgift's distinction between the

spiritual and external realms and regiments. For Cartwright this involves a remarkable re-definition of the 'spiritual' government of the Church:

Seing therefore the externall governement off Christ in his church is spirituall/ and even that inward towch off the spirite of God/ is not ordinarily/ but by the subordinate ministeries which God hath appointed in his church: yt is manifest that the distinction/ that Christ hath no subordinate pastors underneath him in spiritual government, is false.(TC 2:410)

For Cartwright it was Whitgift's error to have treated the external ministrations of the Church, including its government, as not spiritual. Thus he repudiates Whitgift's distinction by emphasizing the undivided union of the spiritual end and the external means.

Cartwright's justification for this 'spiritualised' external ministry, under the 'unmediated' headship of Christ, is sustained by a direct appeal to the categories of Trinitarian and Christological discourse. Cartwright's purpose is to establish the Disciplinary view of Christ's sole headship of the Church in the stronghold of basic systematic doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Thus his argument proceeds to challenge Whitgift's basic Christological assumptions:

The other faulte of this distinction [i.e. between spiritual and external government of the Church] is/ that yt confoundeth and shuffleth together the autoritie of our Saviour Christ/ as he is the sonne off God onely before all worldes/ coequall with his father: with that which he hath gyven off his father and which he exerciseth in respecte he

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<sup>1</sup> See especially TC 2: 410-419; compare TC 1: 145, 155 and TC 3: 151-70.

is mediator betwene God and us. For in the governement off the church/ and superioritytie over the officers off it/ our Saviour Christ himselfe hath a superior/ which is his father: but in the governement off kingdomes/ and other commonwealthes/ and in the superiority which he hath over kinges/ and judges/ he hath no superior/ but immediate autoritie with his father. Therefore the mouldinge upp off the two estates/ and governementes together/ is to lay the foundations of many errors.(TC 2:411)

By means of this association of his own interpretation of the problem of headship with such high doctrine, Cartwright implies that the Establishment's view is grounded in fundamentally heterodox theological assumptions. This is the highest possible level of argument that Cartwright could have chosen to take and is clearly indicative of the theological significance attached to the question of the Royal Supremacy.

According to Cartwright's position, then, Christ has a double role or function as the 'God-man'. On the one hand, he is the source of all authority in the secular political order by virtue of his being the Son of God; on the other hand, he exercises ultimate power as head of his body, the Church, through his Manhood. Cartwright's bases his twofold distinction of Christ's ruling functions on the fundamental Christological distinction between the human and divine natures in the single person of Christ. On the one hand, Christ qua Son of Man and Redeemer, that is to say, according to his human nature, is inferior to the Father. (TC 2: 417) For it is through his assumption of the human

nature that Christ is able to mediate between God and men. And for Cartwright, Christ's mediatorial role as Redeemer is identified with his specific function as head of the Church. On the other hand, Christ's relation of equality with the Father stems from his participation in the divine nature. Cartwright proceeds to apply this distinction of the two natures of Christ - the human and the divine - to the question of headship and to the closely related matter of the nature of the association between the Church and secular political community. Power and authority in the Church, he argues, has its ultimate source in Christ as the Son of Man, the Mediator, and therefore Christ as he is 'subordinate to the Father'. By contrast, authority in the civil community is not derived from Christ as man and mediator, but rather from Christ as the Divine Son, 'co-equal with the Father'. As the supreme source of all civil jurisdiction, Christ is not viewed as subordinate to the Father. For the Disciplinarian, Christ's humanity is the source of ecclesiastical government whereas all other worldly government derives directly from his deity. Thus Cartwright argues for a division of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction corresponding directly to the distinction between the divine and human natures of Christ. The importance of this doctrinal justification to the understanding of Cartwright's interpretation of the headship question can hardly be overestimated. As we shall see,

Hooker's own analysis of the question of the royal headship in Book VIII is a detailed commentary upon, and criticism of, this theological excursus by Cartwright in the Second Replie.

#### Hooker's Response to Cartwright's Theological Objections

Hooker's response to Cartwright's claims concerning the exclusive nature of Christ's headship of the Church addresses the underlying theological crux of the Royal Supremacy debate. Cartwright's distinction between Christ's authority over the Church from his universal authority over secular political communities according to the distinction of his two natures is viewed by Hooker as the theological pivot of the Disciplinary objection to the royal headship. Were these basic theological assumptions shown to be in error then the entire Disciplinary case against the royal headship would collapse. Such a challenge of orthodoxy is precisely Hooker's approach to Cartwright's arguments. Hooker begins by questioning the Disciplinary premise that 'for the Civil Magistrate his office belongeth unto kingdomes and commonwealths, neither is he therein an under or subordinate Head of Christ considering that his authoritie commeth from God simplie and immediately even as our Saviour Christ's doth'. (TC 2:418; q.v. FLE 3: 366) That is to say, civil authority derives from the Godhead without the mediation of Christ, the 'God-man', and is thus

fundamentally distinguished from authority. Cartwright's assertion of a 'twofold superioritie' in Christ according to his twofold nature ensures that ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction coincide solely in the person of Christ himself, who alone is the perfect union of Godhead and Manhood. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction originates in Christ according to his human nature; civil jurisdiction originates in Christ simply as he is the second divine person of the Trinity. Cartwright's assertion of such a doctrinal basis for the derivation of authority requires that ecclesiastical and civil authority remain wholly distinct and separate in the world:

For the church is governed with that kind of government which the philosophers that write of the best commonwealths affirm to be the best. For, in respect of Christ the head, it is a monarchy; and, in respect of the ancients and pastors that govern in common and with like authority amongst themselves, it is an aristocracy, or the rule of the best men; and, in respect that the people are not secluded, but have their interest in church-matters, it is a democracy, or a popular estate. An image whereof appeareth also in the policy of this realm; for as, in respect of the queen her majesty, it is a monarchy, so, in respect of the most honourable council, it is an aristocracy, and having regard to the parliament, which is assembled of all estates, it is a democracy. (TC 1:35; WW 1:390)

Here the civil and ecclesiastical polities are parallel, each with a complete constitution and head of its own. Cartwright compares the Church and the Commonwealth 'unto Hippocrates' twins, which were sick together and well together, laughed together, and weeped together, and always

like affected'.(WW 1:23) The analogy suggests a close relationship of Church and Commonwealth, yet there is a 'personal' separation - two heads, two separate corporate subsistences, two societates perfectae.<sup>1</sup> For Hooker such a separation within the source of authority, and its consequent 'personal' separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical community implies an inevitable de-Christianising of the secular political order. He seeks to show his opponent that this separation is based upon a mistaken set of soteriological, ecclesiological and Christological assumptions. Hooker's whole consideration of Cartwright's objections to the royal headship, as with his treatment of the relation of Church and Commonwealth, is concentrated in a comprehensive analysis of Cartwright's fundamental doctrinal claims. It is Hooker's purpose to expose Cartwright's assumptions respecting the two realms doctrine as founded upon 'manifest error', 'misconceit', and 'slipp of judgement'(LEP 8.4.6, 7) - all in relation to his appeal to the authority of basic doctrine.

Hooker's answer to Cartwright's 'opposition against the first difference whereby Christ being Head simplie Princes are sayd to be Heads under Christ' begins as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> This analogy is discussed by A.F. Scott Pearson, in Church and State: Political Aspects of Sixteenth-Century Puritanism, (Cambridge, 1928), 19,20. See TC 1:35; WW 1:390 where Church and Commonwealth are portrayed as parallel 'mixed' polities.

First that as Christ being Lord or Head over all doth by vertue of that Soveraigntie rule all, so he hath no more a superiour in governing his Church then in exercising soveraigne Dominion upon the rest of the world besides. Secondly, that all authoritie as well civill as Ecclesiasticall is subordinate unto his: And thirdly that the Civill Magistrate...is an Head even subordinated of and to Christ. (LEP 8.4.6)

The ensuing analysis of Cartwright's appeal to the fundamental principles of doctrinal orthodoxy falls into three parts. First Hooker considers the Trinitarian implications of the question, namely the manner in which God is in Christ, and Christ in God; secondly he moves on to the Christological issue of how the divine and human natures are united in Christ; thirdly he analyses the nature of the union between Christ and his body, the Church; and finally, he considers the royal headship in light of the two realms logic. On each of these levels of doctrine - namely the Trinitarian, the Christological, the ecclesiological, and the soteriological - Hooker aims to expose critical flaws in Cartwright's doctrinal orthodoxy. By means of Cartwright's own polemical device, namely the appeal to systematic doctrine, Hooker sets out to turn the charge of heterodoxy completely around. It is his purpose to show that the Disciplinary argument rests upon an extremely dubious doctrinal base at best; at worst, Cartwright will be exposed as an unscrupulous ideologue willing to distort the orthodox teaching of the Church in order to justify a programme of practical reforms. For both Whitgift and Hooker, the

hallmark of the Disciplinary theology is a confusion of matters 'essential' to salvation with matters 'accessory'. (WW 1:185; LEP 3.3.1-4) This argument is crucial to their identification of the Establishment's cause with the magisterial Reformation and of the Disciplinarians with the radical position.<sup>1</sup>

### The Trinitarian Question

In his Second Replie Cartwright sets out to justify his assertion of Christ's sole headship of the Church on the grounds of Trinitarian orthodoxy. In his analysis of the Trinitarian implications of the headship question, he is intent on the demonstration of three principles. First he argues that Christ exercises an essentially divided authority over human community - a 'twofold superioritie'. (TC 2:411) On the one hand, in his government of the Church, Christ rules 'in respecte he is mediator betwene God and us', and thus 'hath a superior/ which is his

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted here that Hooker's division of the principal theological issues parallels his discussion of key principles of systematic theology immediately preceding a discussion of the Sacraments in Book V. The close logical connection between the systematic theology of Book V and the problem of headship will become clearer in the ensuing discussion. See LEP 5.51.1 for the Trinitarian analysis: 'That God is in Christ by the personall incarnation of the Sonne who is very God'; 5.52.1 for the Christological analysis: 'The misinterpretations which heresie hath made of the maner how God and man are united in one Christ', and also 5.53-55; finally, 5.56.1 for the ecclesiological analysis: 'The union or mutuall participation which is betwene Christ and the Church of Christ in this present worlde.'

father'; on the other hand, 'in the gouvernement off kingdomes/ and other commen wealthes', Christ rules solely by virtue of his being 'the sonne off God onely before all worldes/ coequall with his father'. (TC 2:411) Thus Christ exercises one kind of power as a divine person of the Trinity, 'as God co-equall with his Father and the Holy Spirit' and another 'as mediatour of God and man/ in which respect even yet in his infinite glory he enjoyeth/ he is and shall be under his father, and holy ghoste'. (TC 2: 417) Having drawn this primary distinction of powers within Christ as the ultimate source of authority in all forms of community, Cartwright deduces his second principle: civil power is derived from the divine nature immediately and simply, while ecclesiastical authority is dependent on Christ as a participant of human nature.<sup>1</sup> In this respect he makes no difference between pagan and Christian civil authority.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, Cartwright denies by way of conclusion from these premises that the Civil Magistrate may claim the headship of the Church under Christ. Christ Himself retains

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<sup>1</sup> TC 2: 417. 'To wyt that as God simply he hath ordeined certain means to serve his providence in the preservation of mankind: so as God and man/ he hath ordeined other certain for the gathering and keeping of his church ... our Sav. Christe in respect of his mediatourship towards us/ exerciseth not the civill sword.'

<sup>2</sup> See TC 2: 417, 418. 'And in that the authoritie of the sword in heathen princes (although not alike used) is the same ordinance of God as that in Christian: the one proceeding of God immediately/ and not from our Sav. Christe as mediatour, thother doth likewise.' See also WW 3:297-8.

this role exclusively and stands in the same 'subordinate' relation to God qua head of the Church as the Civil Magistrate does qua head of the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> Church and Commonwealth are thus united solely in Christ's own person, in an 'invisible' monarchy which alone unites the divine and human natures. Thus Cartwright seeks to justify the separation of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Christian community on the high doctrinal ground of preserving the distinction between Christ as a divine person of the Trinity equal to the other two persons and Christ as unequall in his role as Redeemer.

Hooker impugns Cartwright's interpretation of Trinitarian orthodoxy on the following grounds:

That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all he worketh not without but by the sonne who through coeternall generation receiveth of the Father that power which the Father hath of himself. (LEP 8.4.6)

As we have seen, Cartwright asserted in the Second Replie that Christ's sovereign authority was divided in two. On the one hand, Christ rules as the Son of Man, over the Church and therefore as 'subordinate to the Father'; on the

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<sup>1</sup> See TC 1:145; WW 3:198. 'It is sufficient to admonish you that, although it be granted that the government of one be the best in the commonwealth, yet it cannot be in the church. [i.e. the visible church] For the prince may well be monarch immediately between God and Commonwealth; but no one can be monarch between God and his church but Christ, which is the only Head therof. Therefore the monarchy over the whole church, and over every particular church, and over every singular member in the church, is in Christ alone.'

other hand he rules as God over all the rest of the world, over all kingdom, wherein he acts as 'coequal with the Father'.(TC 2:411ff) For Hooker, this in effect renders Christ 'unequall to himself'.(LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:366) He responds that 'all power in heaven and earth', not simply power over secular political institutions, belongs to Christ as the 'consubstantial Word of God'. This universality of Christ's authority derives expressly from his divine nature. Cartwright's suggestion that Christ exercises his headship of the Church apart from his divine Sonship, solely through his subordinate relation to the Father qua Mediator, undermines the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. Christ's authority as 'king' is for Hooker an attribute of his divinity:

The Father by the Sonne both did create and guide all. Wherefore Christ hath supreme dominion over the whole universall world. Christ is God, Christ is λόγος the consubstantiall word of God.(LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:364)

For Hooker, Christ's universal headship of the Church cannot be severed from his divine power. Cartwright's suggestion that Christ exercises his power of Dominion solely through his manhood and not his divine nature leads to a distortion of basic Trinitarian dogma:

Wherefore unlesse it can be proved that all the workes of our Saviours goverment in the Church are done by the meer and only force of his humane nature, there is no remedie but to acknowledg it a manifest errour that Christ in the goverment of the world is equall unto the Father but not in the goverment of the Church. Indeed to the honour of this Dominion it cannot be sayd that God did exalt

him otherwise then only according to that humane nature wherin he was made low. For as the Sonne of God there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him. And yet the dominion wherunto he was in his humane nature lifted up is not without divine power exercised. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:367)

Hooker attributes Cartwright's error in this matter to his mistaken premise that 'Christ as Mediatour' is the well-spring of 'all the works of regiment' in the Church. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:364) This premise implies a confusion of Christ's regal power with his priestly or mediatorial function: 'in truth goverment doth belong to his Kingly office, mediatorship to his priestly'. (LEP 8.4.6) Both civil and ecclesiastical government are included by Hooker in Christ's kingship. While in his role as mediator between God and man, Christ acts properly in his character as 'Sonne of Man', that is to say, according to his human nature; nevertheless, even in this case, mediation is possible only by virtue of the so-called 'grace of union' whereby Christ's manhood is conjoined to his deity. (LEP 5.54.3,4)

Hooker's strong emphasis here upon Trinitarian orthodoxy echoes the discussion in Book V, chapter 51. Here he sets down in clear terms his adherence to the doctrine of Christ's so-called 'consubstantial equality' with the Father as defined in the Articles of Religion and the Athanasian creed<sup>1</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> See articles 1 and 2. See also LEP 5.56.2 and 5.42.1-13.

For the substance of God with this propertie to be of none doth make the person of the father; the verie selfe same substance in number with this propertie to be of the father maketh the person of the Sonne; the same substance having added unto it the propertie of proceedinge from the other two maketh the person of the holie Ghost. So that in everie person there is implied both the substance of God which is one, and also that propertie which causeth the same person, reallie and trulie to differ from the other two. Everie person hath his owne subsistence which no other besides hath, although there be others that are of the same substance...Notwithstandinge for as much as the worde and deitie are one subject, wee must beware wee exclude not the nature of God from incarnation and so make the Sonne of God incarnate not to be verie God. For undoubtedly even the nature of God it selfe in the only person of the Sonne is incarnate and hath taken to it selfe flesh.(LEP 5.51.1,2)<sup>1</sup>

Just as it was Cartwright's own intention to impugn Archbishop Whitgift's doctrinal orthodoxy in the Second Replie, so here in the Lawes Hooker himself sets out to turn these theological objections completely around in order to establish the theological reasonableness of the Royal Supremacy. For it is indeed the theological reasonableness of the royal title of headship of the Church which Hooker aims to establish by his careful response to Cartwright's polemic. Hooker's appeal to the fundamentals of orthodox systematic doctrine provides the most convincing, irenical argument to win over even the staunchest upholders of the Calvinist Disciplina to a conscientious submission to the Establishment. Hooker does not retreat from employing the biggest guns at his disposal. In his rebuttal of

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<sup>1</sup> Compare LEP 5.54.1, 2.

Cartwright's objections to the royal headship, he seeks to clarify the consistency of the Royal Supremacy with the established norms of Trinitarian orthodoxy acknowledged by both parties to the dispute.<sup>1</sup>

### The Christological Question

In his Dedication of Book V to his patron Archbishop Whitgift, Hooker observes that 'the waightiest conflicts the Church hath had were those which touched the person of our Saviour Christ'.<sup>2</sup> In a famous series of chapters later in the same book, Hooker explores in considerable detail the course of the great Christological controversies of the Early Church.<sup>3</sup>

And for as much as there is no union of God with man without that meane betwene both which is both, it seemeth requisite that wee first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the sacramentes doe serve to make us partakers of Christ. (LEP 5.50.3)

Christocentrism and strong emphasis upon the central dogmatic tradition of Christology has been viewed by some as the 'theological centre' of Hooker's thought.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> That Hooker's Disciplinary critics acknowledge unconditionally the authority of the Articles of Religion in matters of systematic doctrine is revealed by the tone of A Christian Letter throughout. See FLE 4: 6ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Hooker's Dedication of the fifth book of the Laws in FLE 2:2.

<sup>3</sup> LEP 5.52.1-5.55.9. See chapter 2 above.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Lionel Thornton, Richard Hooker: A Study of his Theology (London, 1924), 54ff.

theological precision of the Christological discourse in Book V is presupposed by his theological analysis of the problem of headship in Book VIII. It ought to be kept in mind that these matters of Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy were the subject of considerable controversy amongst the Reformers generally. Calvin was himself a great defender of the ancient received doctrine of the Church against such heretics as Servetus and Socinus.<sup>1</sup> According to Francois Wendel:

Calvin had made the traditional trinitarian teaching his own without the slightest reservation. The same attachment to the dogmatic tradition is prominent in his Christology. What is original in his contribution to this never touches the fundamental affirmations of the Councils of the ancient Church. He adopts in full the dogma of the two natures of Christ and the current explanations of the relation between the two natures.<sup>2</sup>

Calvin appeals to the principles of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the support of his own theological differences with Zwingli and Luther on the doctrine of the Sacraments.<sup>3</sup> As Wendel clearly demonstrates, it was Calvin's purpose to hold strictly to the distinction of the two natures against the tendency of the Lutherans to a 'Eutychian fusion'(Inst.

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<sup>1</sup> Inst. 2.14.5-8. Compare LEP 5.42.13 where Hooker impugns the Christological orthodoxy of those who follow 'the course of extreame reformation'.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin, 215.

<sup>3</sup> See also E.D. Willis, Calvin's Catholic Christology, 1.

4.17.30) of them in the course of their defence of the ubiquity of Christ's natural body:

What mattered above all to Calvin was to avoid anything that might be interpreted as a confusion of the divinity with the humanity, even at the centre of the personality of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Alternately, against Zwingli's tendency towards a 'Nestorian separation' of the two natures (Inst. 4.17.7), Calvin upholds their radical unity in accordance with the traditional dogma of the communicatio idiomatum.<sup>2</sup> In Book V, Hooker follows Calvin very closely in avoiding the Scylla of a Lutheran tendency to a 'Eutychian'<sup>3</sup> confusion of the divine and human natures in Christ and the Charybdis of a Zwinglian tendency to a 'Nestorian'<sup>4</sup> separation or 'hypostasising' of the two natures. Indeed, we might well label Hooker's scruples with respect to these Christological niceties as 'Calvinian'.<sup>5</sup> It is on this high ground of traditional Christological orthodoxy that Hooker mounts his refutation of Cartwright's Nestorian assertion of the personal division of Christ's sovereignty over the Church and the secular political order. Contrary to this view,

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<sup>1</sup> Wendel, Calvin, 220.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., 222.

<sup>3</sup> Inst. 2.14.1.

<sup>4</sup> Inst. 2.14.4.

<sup>5</sup> The term 'Calvinist' is avoided deliberately on account of its loaded associations with the history of Disciplinary Puritanism.

Hooker upholds the unity of Christ's person as the source of all power, both ecclesiastical and civil. Thus Christ as God and man is the source of authority in both Church and Commonwealth. Civil authority is from God 'mediately through Christ'.(LEP 8.4.6), and therefore dependent upon both his human and divine natures by the communicatio idiomatum. Similarly ecclesiastical jurisdiction is dependent upon Christ, although not as 'inferiour unto his Father', but as coequal in the divine nature. The Commonwealth is as much under the 'Dominion of Christ' as is the Church:

He raigneth over this world as King and doth those thinges wherin none is superior unto him wither we respect the workes of his providence over kingdomes or of his regiment over the Church...Wherfore to the end it may more plainly appeare how all authoritie of man is derived from God through Christ and must by Christian men be acknowledged to be no otherwise held then of and under him.(LEP 8.4.6)

In response to one side of Cartwright's distinction, namely that Christ is head of the Church in subordination to the Father, and therefore as the 'Sonne of Man', Hooker appeals to the doctrine of the 'communication of idioms':

...the dominion wherunto he was in his humane nature lifted up is not without divine power exercised. It is by divine power that the Sonne of man, who sitteth in heaven doth work, as King and Lord upon us which are on earth.(LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:367.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compare LEP 5.53.3, 4 where Hooker refers to the 'mutual commutation' or 'mutual circulation' of the properties of the divine and human natures which is the consequence of the 'personal' union in Christ. Hooker's

Hooker and Cartwright are agreed that 'all power comes from God'.<sup>1</sup> Their disagreement focuses rather on the manner in which this original, divine power is communicated to human community. For Hooker it is contrary to the accepted norms of Christological orthodoxy that, in the exercise of his power, the two natures of Christ could be separated in such a way that civil rule proceeds solely from his divinity and ecclesiastical from his humanity:

'That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all he worketh not without but by the sonne who through coeternall generation receiveth of the Father that power which the Father hath of himself'. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:364)

Christ's power of 'supreme Dominion' is undivided just as his person is undivided: 'Session at the right hand of God is the actuall exercise of that regencie and dominion wherein the manhood of Christ is joyned and matchet with the deitie of the Sonne of God'. (LEP 5.55.8) The unity of Christ's two natures is essential to the universality of his power: 'Christ hath supreme dominion over the whole universall world. Christ is God, Christ is the consubstantiall word of God; Christ is also that

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interpretation of Chalcedonian orthodoxy on this point is in full agreement with Calvin's - see Inst. 4.17.30.

<sup>1</sup> E.G. LEP 5.56.5: 'So that all thinges which God hath made are in that respect the ofspring of God, they are in him as effectes in their highest cause, he likewise actuallie is in them, thassistance and influence of his deitie is their life.'

consubstantiall word made man'. (LEP 8.4.6) Only in a secondary sense can this undivided sovereign power - undivided as Christ's person is undivided - be distinguished into the two regiments proper to Church and Commonwealth. The two regiments are invisibly unified in Christ, their source; they are visibly unified through the Royal Supremacy. Cartwright's sharp distinction between Christ's regal authority over secular political community through his divine nature on the one hand, and his mediatorial authority over the Church through his human nature on the other, effectively removes the Church from the sphere of Christ's kingship. This spiritual kingship, as Calvin argues in the Institutes<sup>1</sup>, can only be performed by a divine, mystical power 'wherein he hath no superiour'.<sup>2</sup> On this Christological point Hooker is altogether on the side of Calvin and the magisterial Reformation as against the radical Disciplinarians. The Church and secular political community are both subject to Christ's kingly office, and thus both are subject to his rule as God and man.

Equally, on the other side, Hooker objects that it cannot be the case that Christ should exercise his sovereign power over the secular political order solely as 'Sonne of God'. Hooker appeals to the Christological principles enunciated earlier in the argument of Book V:

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<sup>1</sup> Inst. 2.15.3.

<sup>2</sup> LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:367.

The workes of supreme Dominion which have been since the first begining wrought by the power of the Sonne of God are now most truly and properly the workes of the Sonne of man. The word made flesh doth sitt for ever and raign as Sovereaigne Lord over all. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:364,5)

This passage resembles closely Lawes 5.55.8 quoted immediately above. Over against Cartwright's Nestorian separation of the two natures, Hooker appeals to the doctrine of the 'communication of idioms', and thus to the unity of the natures of Christ's person, in order to affirm the prior 'personal' unity of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. By means of the 'grace of union' (LEP 5.54.4), attributes which are proper to Christ's divinity cannot be wholly separated from association and cooperation with his humanity.<sup>1</sup> In order to understand the theological depth of the argument at this point it is useful to recall Hooker's formulation of this doctrine in Book V:

These two natures are as causes and originall groundes of all thinges which Christ hath don. Wherefore some thinges he doth as God, because his deitie alone is the well-springe from which they flowe; some thinges as man, because they issue from his meere humane nature; some thinges jointlie as both God and man, because both natures concurre as principles thereunto. (LEP 5.53.3)

Hooker's whole argument is intended to demonstrate that the 'power of supreme Dominion' is exercised by Christ 'jointlie as both God and man'.<sup>2</sup> At the same time this cooperation of the two natures towards a single end need not result in the

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.53.3.

<sup>2</sup> LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:366.

'confounding' or 'shuffling together' of Christ's divine and human 'authoritie', of which Cartwright complained against Whitgift in his Second Replie.<sup>1</sup> Hooker's logic of 'union in and through distinction'<sup>2</sup> is illustrated by further reference to the same Christological discourse:

For albeit the properties of ech nature doe cleave onlie to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot naturallie be as God the same which he naturallie is as man, yeat both natures may verie well concurre unto one effect and Christ in that respect be trulie said to worke both as God and as man one and the selfe same thinge. Lett us therefore sett it downe for a rule or principle so necessarie as nothinge more to the plaine decidinge of all doubttes and questions about the union of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a cooperation often, an association alwayes, but never any mutuall participation whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. (LEP 5.53.3)

Thus Hooker seeks to show that there is no theological necessity for Cartwright's rigid 'personal' separation of the powers of Christ's two natures in order to preserve their integrity. On the contrary, such a separation overturns the received ancient formulation of orthodox Christology. Cartwright divides Christ's power between rule over the Church as Son of Man, and rule over civil polities as Son of God. Hooker saw this as 'manifest error'.<sup>3</sup> Cartwright's suggestion that Christ was equal to the Father

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<sup>1</sup> TC 2:411.

<sup>2</sup> 'Their distinction can not possible admitt separation', LEP 5.56.2.

<sup>3</sup> LEP 8.4.6.

in the government of the world and subordinate to Him in the government of the Church is thus Christologically unsound. With a certain degree of irony Hooker invites Cartwright to show the scriptural basis of his subtle Christological device:

in what Evangelist, Apostle, or Prophett is it found, that Christ Supreme Governour of the Church should be so unequall to himself as he is supreme Governour of Kingdomes ... as God and man he worketh in Church regiment, and consequently hath no more therein any superiour then in goverment of Commonwealths. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:366)

Hooker ascribes the power of supreme jurisdiction or Dominion over men to Christ's Kingly office as distinct from his mediatorial or priestly office. In full agreement with Calvin once again, he distinguishes Christ's office of Kingship from the other principal roles belonging to his God-manhood: 'Dominion belongeth unto the Kingly office of Christ as propitiation and mediation unto his priestly, instruction unto his pastorall or propheticall office'. (LEP 8.4.6; FLE 3:365) Calvin distinguishes Christ's three primary offices according to the same formula in a chapter of the Institutes which follows immediately upon his own discourse on Christology.<sup>1</sup> Hooker upholds Calvin's distinction in this matter, and shows that the 'cause of error' behind the Disciplinary objections to the royal

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<sup>1</sup> Inst. 2.15.1-6. Calvin treats the 'propheticall office of Christ' in ss.1.2, the 'nature of the kingly power of Christ' in ss. 3-5, and 'the Priesthood of Christ' in section 6. See E.D. Willis, Calvin's Catholic Christology, 78-98.

headship of the Church stems from a confusion of Christ's kingly and priestly offices. Cartwright in his Second Replie argues that the title of headship in relation to the Church belongs to Christ as Mediator, and therefore to his priestly office. (TC 2:411) Although Christ the 'High Priest' or Mediator between God and men is viewed primarily in the aspect of his so-called 'subordination to the Father', that is to say through his human nature, nevertheless, in his office of mediator, Christ cannot act solely by virtue of his manhood.<sup>1</sup> The success of the procurement of divine favour on behalf of humanity depends upon the personal union of that manhood to his divinity.<sup>2</sup> Equally, Christ's regal power is exercised through the unity of his person, as God and man together. Thus Christ does not rule in one sphere as 'Redeemer', through his human nature, and in another as 'Creator', through his divine nature. 'Dominion' belongs rather to the unity of his person:

And yet the dominion wherunto he was in his humane nature lifted up is not without divine power exercised. It is by divine power that the Sonne of man, who sitteth in heaven doth work as King

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<sup>1</sup> See Inst. 2.14.3: 'Let us, therefore, regard it as the key of true interpretation, that those things which refer to the office of Mediator are not spoken of the divine or human nature simply.' Compare TC 2:416.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. 2.15.6: 'This honour we extend to his whole character of Mediator, so that he who was born of a Virgin, and on the cross offered himself in sacrifice to the Father, is truly and properly the Son of God...'

and Lord upon us which are on earth. (LEP 8.4.6;  
FLE 3:367)

Thus Hooker's defence of the royal headship builds upon the principles of orthodox Christology enunciated by Calvin in the Institutes.<sup>1</sup> Hooker's insistence upon the underlying unity of the two natures in the person of Christ in the exercise of his 'kingly office' of 'supreeme dominion' is clearly set forth in the more systematic theological discussion of Book V:

And that deitie of Christ which before our Lordes incarnation wrought all thinges without man doth now worke nothings wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ as man hath all power in heaven and earth given him. He hath as man not as God only supreeme dominion over quicke and dead. For so much his ascension into heaven and his session at the right hand of God doe importe...Ascension into heaven is a plaine locall translation of Christ accordinge to his manhood from the lower to the higher partes of the world. Session at the right hand of God is the actuall exercise of that regencie and dominion wherein the manhood of Christ is joyned and matchet with the deitie of the Sonne of God. (LEP 5.55.8) [my italics]

It is thus through an appeal to the personal unity of the divine and human natures in Christ that Hooker demonstrates the unity of sovereign power or Dominion over both Church and the secular political order.

His argument displays a commitment to the ancient formulations of doctrinal orthodoxy which is the hall-mark of the magisterial Reformation, and especially of Calvin's

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Inst. 2.14.1; 2.15.3-5.

writings.<sup>1</sup> Hooker's arguments for the necessity of a 'subordinate head' to represent this unified power of Dominion visibly and externally is taken up in the final sections of this chapter. We must therefore examine in turn Hooker's response to Cartwright's two remaining objections against a visible Headship of the Church. Whitgift urged the distinction 'whereby Christ is sayd to be universally Head, the King no further then within his own dominions'. (LEP 8.4.7; FLE 3:369) Such a distinction of 'degree' (8.4.7) between universal and finite forms of headship presupposes a whole body of doctrinal assumptions under the heading of ecclesiology. Hooker's third distinction between the 'two kindes of power' (LEP 8.4.8), upheld by Whitgift and opposed by Cartwright, involves fundamental soteriological assumptions of Reformation thought. Hooker treats the ecclesiological and soteriological aspects of the problem of headship in the final sections of his response to Cartwright in Lawes 8.4.

#### The Ecclesiological Question

As we have shown in the discussion above, the main thrust of Cartwright's polemic against the royal headship of

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<sup>1</sup> F. Wendel, Calvin, 26, 125-6. See Inst., 4.9.8 for Calvin's explicit affirmation of the doctrine defined by the great general councils of the ancient Church.

the Church in the Second Replie is based on an appeal to certain fundamental principles of systematic doctrine. Hooker answers his opponent's attack on the same high theological ground. So far we have examined Cartwright's Trinitarian and Christological objections to the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. Cartwright's resistance to Whitgift's argument for a 'mediated' headship through a distinction of 'orders' of power is only the first stage of his opposition. At the outset of this chapter we referred to Hooker's threefold classification of Cartwright's objections. In addition to rejecting the theory of a subordinate or mediated headship, Cartwright objects also to 'the second difference whereby Christ is sayd to be universally Head, the King [Head] no further then within his own dominions'. (LEP 8.4.7) This second distinction between the headship of Christ and that of the Civil Magistrate asserted by Whitgift rests upon the ecclesiological difference between the mystical and external Churches.<sup>1</sup> For Hooker, Christ's infinite, universal dominion is inclusive of, yet distinct from, the finite, territorial dominion of the Civil Magistrate. In his Second Replie to Whitgift, Cartwright appeals to the ubiquity of Christ's power as head of the Church in order to show the superfluity of a head with a limited jurisdiction:

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 3 above.

...if the church be the bodie of Christe/ and of the civill magistrate/ yt shall have two heades: which being monsterous is to the great dishonor off Christe/ and his church. (TC 2:412)

In this second objection Cartwright concentrates on the issue of degree of jurisdiction, the quantitative category of distinction. Here as well Cartwright adamantly resists the introduction of any distinction which in any way threatens Christ's sole, undivided headship of the Church: Christ does not need 'a subordinate/ and mynisteriall head off the church'.(TC 2:413) For Whitgift, on the other side, Christ is regarded as 'Head of the Church Universal'. This, however, is no bar to the introduction of finite heads for finite constituent parts of the universal Church. Cartwright insists that the ubiquity of Christ's presence with the Church obviates the need for any form of headship with a limited sphere of authority:

But forasmuche as Christe is never severed from his body/ nor from any parte off yt/ and is able/ and doth performe that wherfore he is called head/ unto all his church: yt owghte not to seme strange that there may be a subordinate head in the comen wealth/ where there can be none in the church.(TC 2:413) [my italics]

This passage introduces the core of the ecclesiological problem which lay at the centre of the Admonition Controversy into the Royal Supremacy debate, namely the nature of the distinction between the true Church and the visible Church.

Cartwright's opposition to the royal headship of the Church is founded on the premise that Church and

Commonwealth are wholly distinct species of association.

Whereas:

the magistrate beinge head off the commen wealthe/  
hath other which maye be called under heades  
beneath hym: he muste understand that those  
heades are appoincted/ because the cheife  
magistrate can not be presente with the whole body  
off his people/ nor in his owne person performe  
the office of a head unto them all.(TC 2:413)

Christ, on the other hand, 'is never severed from his body/nor from any part off yt.'(ibid.) In relation to the Church, Christ performs 'the whole office off the head him selfe alone' and 'leaveth nothing to men/ by doing wheroff they maie obtaine that tytle.' (TC 2:415) Thus for Cartwright, the supreme source of authority in the Church is indivisible and immediately communicated to all parts. There is therefore no need to distinguish a limited sphere of supreme jurisdiction insofar as the universal Church is united under Christ's own supreme authority. Cartwright denies the distinction of universal and territorial ecclesiastical supremacies or 'Dominions' correspondent to the fundamental ecclesiological distinction between the Church as a mystical association and the Church as a visible 'politique societie'.<sup>1</sup> He denies the need for a finite, limited headship on the grounds that such would imply that Christ was not actually 'everie where present'(LEP 5.55.7) with the whole body of the Church. As a result Cartwright is driven by his own logic to deny the validity of the

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<sup>1</sup> See LEP 3.1.14.

distinction between Christ's mystical headship which is universal and the limited headship of Archbishops or Civil Magistrates which is territorial. Christ's all-inclusive power, extending to all parts and all members of the visible Church, obviates the need for any limited power:

And even in the outward societie/ and assemblies off the church/ where one or two are gathered in his name/ ether for hearing off the word/ or for praier or any other church exercise/ our Saviour Christe being in the myddeste off them as mediatour/ muste needes be there as head: and if he be there not idle/ but doinge the office off the head fully: yt followeth that even in the outward societie/ and meetinges off the church no symple man can be called the head off it. Seing that our Saviour Christe doinge the whole office off the head him selfe alone: leaveth nothing to men by doing wheroff they maie obtaine that title.(TC 2:415)

Hooker's response to this objection against the royal headship draws upon the ecclesiological principles set forth in Book III of the Laws. In substance his response to these objections constitutes a direct appeal to the norms of reformed ecclesiological orthodoxy as against the 'manifest error' (FLE 3:367) of Cartwright's doctrinal assumptions. Hooker seeks to demonstrate that the Disciplinarian mixes together and confuses the spiritual, invisible, and mystical character of the Church on the one hand, with the temporal, visible and external form on the other. Out of this ecclesiological confusion, the universal, mystical dominion of Christ is deemed sufficient for the ordering of the external structure of the Church as a 'visible, politique societie'. This inevitably leads to a confusion of the two

natures of the Church, contrary to reformed ecclesiological orthodoxy. In order that Christ may 'everie where present' with his Church, it is evident, Hooker argues, that this presence can only be of a spiritual or mystical character. Christ's universal presence as the one supreme head of the entire visible order of the Church raises certain logical difficulties concerning the nature of external ecclesiastical authority:

Besides howsoever Christ be spiritually alwayes united unto every part of his body which is the Church: neverthesse we doe all knowe and they themselves who alleage this will (I doubt not) confesse also that from every Church heer visible, Christ touching visible and corporall presence is removed as farr as heaven from earth is distant. Visible government is a thing necessarie for the Church. And it doth not appeare how the exercise of visible government over such multitudes every where dispersed throughout the world should consist without sundrie visible governours whose power being the greatest in that kinde so farr as it reacheth they are in consideration thereof termed so farr Heads, wherfore notwithstanding that perpetuall conjunction by vertue wherof our Saviour remayneth alwayes spiritually united unto the partes of his mysticall body; Heads indued with supreme power extending unto a certaine compasse are for the exercise of visible regiment not unnecessarie. (LEP 8.4.7; FLE 3:370)

Just as he resists the Disciplinary tendency to spiritualise the visible Church, that is by the assertion that its nature is wholly different from all other forms of political association<sup>1</sup>, so here also Hooker resists Cartwright's spiritualising of ecclesiastical power. Cartwright's opposition to a distinction between the

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<sup>1</sup> See above pp.114ff.

universal headship exercised by Christ, on the one hand, and a limited headship exercised by the Civil Magistrate on the other, is shown by Hooker to be based on a failure to distinguish between mystical and merely external, coercive authority, between the headship essential to salvation and the headship over matters either accessory to salvation or indifferent. The problem of ecclesiology primarily concerns the nature of the connection and distinction of Christ's mystical body and the Church as a visible, temporal association of men: the question of the two Churches is thus the foundation of the question of the two headships.

While Hooker allows that the Church as a mystical body is one and indivisible, the Church as a visible body is divided into parts. The rule of diverse heads over diverse parts of the visible body cannot impair the uniqueness and universality of Christ's mystical headship since this latter is exercised in another realm. Christ's ubiquity does not abolish the need for 'Heads indued with supreme power extending unto a certaine compasse...for the exercise of visible regiment'. (LEP 8.4.7; FLE 3:371) In making this ecclesiological point, Hooker appeals to the famous doctrine called the extra-Calvinisticum in support of his crucial distinction of two 'degrees' of headship:

...we doe all knowe and they themselves who alleage this will (I doubt not) confesse also that from every Church heer visible, Christ touching visible and corporall presence is removed as far as heaven from earth is distant. (LEP 8.4.7)

Christological orthodoxy spells out clearly the distance of Christ's visible presence.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely this distance which requires a 'visible and corporall' subordinate in the performance of the office of the headship. As we have seen in other instances, Hooker is anxious to maintain high standards of orthodoxy with respect to all matters of basic systematic doctrine. It was consistent with orthodox Christology to insist that ubiquity or universal presence are properties peculiar to Christ's divine nature, and hence to the spiritual realm.<sup>2</sup> Calvin was highly critical of the tendency of Lutherans to press the communicatio idiomatum beyond the accepted bounds of patristic orthodoxy<sup>3</sup>:

While Luther had taken the unity of the person of Christ as his point of departure and, by extending the traditional notions of communication of idioms and of ubiquity, finished up admitting the ubiquity not only of the divine, but also of the human nature of Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Calvin thus rejects the participation of the human nature of Christ in the peculiarly divine property of ubiquity. For Hooker, Cartwright's assertion of Christ's exclusive headship of the visible Church contradicts the

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<sup>1</sup> LEP 5.57.4.

<sup>2</sup> E.D. Willis, Calvin's Catholic Christology, 61-99.

<sup>3</sup> Inst. 4.17.30. See Wendel, Calvin, 219-224.

<sup>4</sup> Wendel, 224.

extra-Calvinisticum by its implied confusion of the temporal and mystical spheres of Christ's operation.

Ironically, Cartwright's insistence upon Christ's sole, unmediated headship by virtue of his universal presence undermines his previous argument that Christ is head of the Church as 'Sonne of Man'. Christ's ubiquity, according to orthodox Christology, is a property of his divine nature. As Hooker points out:

To conclude, wee hold it in regarde of the forealleaged proofes a most infallible truth that Christ as man is not everie where present...His humane substance in it selfe is naturallie absent from the earth, his soule and bodie not on earth but in heaven onlie. (LEP 5.55.7)

Christ's humanity is universally present solely by virtue of its union with the divine nature:

Yeat because this substance [the human] is inseparablie joyned to that personall worde which by his verie divine essence is present with all thinges, the nature which cannot have in it selfe universall presence hath it after a sorte by beinge no where severed from that which everie where is present. (LEP 5.55.7)

Thus Cartwright's ecclesiological objection to the royal headship of the Church on the grounds of Christ's ubiquity undermines the argument of his previous Christological objection.

The Question of the Two Realms and Two Regiments

It remains only to examine the third and final category of distinction 'between the title of Head when we gave it unto Christ and when we gave it to other Governours'. (LEP 8.4.8) For Hooker, this 'last and the weightiest difference between him [Christ] and them [Civil Magistrates] is in the very kinde of their power'. (LEP 8.4.5)[my italics] Thus the discussion moves from a quantitative to a qualitative analysis of the power of Dominion, from an ecclesiological perspective to a soteriological consideration of the two realms doctrine. Once again, Cartwright objects to any distinction which derogates from Christ's immediate and exclusive tenure of the title 'Head of the Church'. In this instance, the distinction urged by the Establishment divines is between 'headship spirituall and mysticall in Jesus Christ, Ministeriall and outward in others besides Christ'. (LEP 8.4.8) <sup>1</sup>

In a very real sense, the logical core of the dispute between Establishment defenders and Disciplinary critics of the Royal Supremacy is summarized in their respective interpretations of the doctrine of the two realms. Hooker seeks to justify the royal headship by an appeal to the magisterial reformers' soteriological distinction of the two realms and their corresponding regiments. The substance

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<sup>1</sup> Compare WW 1:6; 2:84, 85.

of this doctrine has been adumbrated in previous chapters of this essay.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the concept of the corpus Christianum, the doctrine of the two churches, and the soteriological foundations of Hooker's thought are closely linked by the concept of the two realms. In the final sections of his treatment of the question of headship Hooker applies his interpretation of the reformed doctrine of the two realms in his analysis of Cartwright's third major objection.

Christ is Head as being the fountaine of life and ghostly nutriment, the welspring of spirituall blessinges powred into the body of the Church, these Heads as being his principall instrumentes for the Churches outward goverment. (LEP 8.4.8)

In this passage Hooker indicates that the royal headship is justified according to distinction of the outward and visible realm from the inward, invisible realm. Cartwright's assertion of Christ's exclusive headship of the Church is thus shown by Hooker to imply a soteriologically unorthodox confusion of the mystical and external realms.

Hooker argues that 'manifest truth', namely the orthodox reformed doctrine of the two realms, ought not to be reproached on account of its having been upheld by men proven to hold other 'popish' errors. (LEP 8.4.8; FLE 3:375)

Hooker affirms the distinction of kind drawn by the papists Thomas Harding and Albertus Pighius between the 'headship spirituall and mysticall in Jesus Christ, Ministerial and outward in others besides Christ':

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<sup>1</sup> See especially chapter 2 above.

By this distinction they have both truly and sufficiently proved that the name of Head importing power of dominion over the Church might be given unto others besides Christ without prejudice unto any part of his honour. That which they should have made manifest was that the name of Head importing the power of Universall dominion over the whole Church of Christ militant doth and that by divine right appertaine unto the Pope of Rome. They did prove it lawfull to graunt unto others besides Christ the power of Headship in a different kinde from his... Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully so great power as they challenged in that kinde and not in making two kindes of power...(LEP 8.4.8)

Hooker's defence of the royal headship is thus established on an appeal to a clear and sharp distinction between 'two kindes of power'. On the one hand, there is the spiritual power proper to Christ alone; on the other hand, there is a visible and external power. There are thus two kinds of Dominion and two distinct headships. For Hooker, the external ministry of the visible Church embodied in 'Word, Sacraments, and Discipline' is not a part of Christ's unmediated spiritual rule, as the Disciplinarians argued, but belongs to the outward administration of spiritual things.(LEP 8.4.9; FLE 3:377) He castigates the Disciplinarians for such a clumsy conflation of the two realms:

Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcast so cleer a light with some mist of ambiguitie in the name of spirituall regiment? To make thinges therefore so plaine that henceforth a Childes capacity may serve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the Spirituall regiment of Christ to be generally that wherby his Church is ruled and governed in thinges spirituall. Of this generall we make two distinct kindes, the one invisibly exercised by Christ himself in his own

person, the other outwardly administred by them whom Christ doth allow to be the Rulers and guiders of his Church. (LEP 8.4.9) [my italics]

Cartwright's denial of the royal headship is thus shown by Hooker to depend on the mistaken premise that Christ's spiritual government is indistinguishable from the external administration of spiritual things.<sup>1</sup> Hooker's argument here echoes Luther's distinction between geistliches Reich and weltliches Reich, the mixing or confusion of which is the source of grave soteriological error: 'Duplex enim est forum politicum et theologicum.' (WA39.1,230) Hooker's logic embraces equally the dialectic of the two realms as represented by Calvin in the Institutes, where he too seeks to consolidate the critical distinction between the forum conscientiae and the forum externum.<sup>2</sup>

Hooker is clearly concerned to uphold the pivotal distinction of reformed soteriology on this question of the locus of ecclesiastical authority in the visible Church. Christ is head in a special sense -- his immediate government is geistlich, he rules in the forum conscientiae, 'as being the fountaine of life and ghostly nutriment' (LEP 8.4.8; FLE 3:374):

Him only therefore we doe acknowledg to be that Lord which dwelleth liveth and raigneth in our hartes; him only to be that Head which giveth salvation and life unto his body; him only to be

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<sup>1</sup> TC 2:409.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. 3.19.15; 4.10.3-6.

that fountaine, from whence the influence of heavenly grace distilleth...'(LEP 8.4.9)

The administration of word, sacraments and discipline are indeed spiritual -- but they are not unequivocally so. They are spiritual insofar as Christ is their author, but they are not 'Spiritually as that which is inwardly and invisibly exercised nor His, as that which He himself in person doth exercise'.(LEP 8.4.9) Just as the word, sacraments, and discipline of the Church have both an inward, spiritual content and an external, visible form through the power of order, so also there is a twofold character in the power and office of headship:

Again that power of dominion which is indeed the point of this Controversie and doth also belong to the second kinde of Spiritually regiment, namely unto that regiment which is externall and visible, this likewise being Spiritually in regard of the matter about which it dealeth and being His inasmuch as He approveth whatsoever is done by it, must notwithstanding be distinguished also from that power wherby he himself in person administreth the former kinde of his own spiritually regiment [that is to say, the invisible, mystical kind] because he himself in person doth not administer this. (LEP 8.4.9) [my italics]

There are thus two classes of power which must be kept wholly separate and distinct, for they are 'severed in nature'. One class is external, visible, and human; the other is mystical, invisible, and divine. The former derives its authority from the latter, but must not be confused with it. The Civil Magistrate's ecclesiastical power is derived from Christ's, but must be viewed as

subordinate to his, limited in the extent or degree of its sway, and finally, distinct from Christ's power in kind. Cartwright's theological error is to have confused the unmediated spiritual authority of Christ with that spiritual authority mediated through external means, and known in its several forms as the power of order, the power of spiritual jurisdiction, and the power of dominion or supreme jurisdiction. Christ's proper spiritual power 'worketh secretly inwardly and invisibly' in the forum conscientiae, in men's hearts. Christ alone can exercise this unmediated spiritual power. Thus in answer to Cartwright's objection, Hooker responds with an appeal for the strict application of the reformed doctrine of the two realms and two regiments:

We doe not therefore vainly imagine but truly and rightly discerne a power externall and visible in the Church exercised by men and severed in nature from that spirituall power of Christes own regiment, which power is termed spirituall because it worketh secretly inwardly and invisibly: His, because none doth or can it personally exercise either besides or together with him. So that Him only we may name our Head in regard of this and yet in regard of that other power differing from this, terme other also besides him Heads without any contradiction at all. (LEP 8.4.9; FLE 3:378)

### Conclusion

One of the purposes of this study was to show that Hooker's political thought deserves to be examined in the full light of his theological assumptions. It would be difficult indeed, if not impossible, to offer a coherent portrait of his treatment of the royal title of headship without a thorough inquiry into his theology. That the question of the Royal Supremacy was profoundly theological for both Hooker and his contemporary allies and opponents appears now to be beyond dispute. The principal aim of this thesis has been to inquire further into the specific doctrinal elements in this latter phase of the Elizabethan ecclesiological debate. We have seen that Hooker and his Disciplinary opponents viewed the Royal Supremacy as the focus of a test of the most basic doctrinal orthodoxy. The questions of the precise nature of the relation between Christ and his Father as persons of the Trinity and between the human and divine natures in their hypostatic union according to the formulations of the general councils of the early church were undoubtedly crucial, in the estimation of both Hooker and Thomas Cartwright, in the determination of the headship issue. The soteriological distinction between the realms of passive and active righteousness, and hence between the famous Two Kingdoms and Two Regiments of Reformation political thought, also occupies a central place

in the Royal Supremacy debate. The ecclesiological disagreement over the 'marks' of the church and the authority of scripture in the determination of ecclesiastical political structures was the third area of theological debate which influenced Hooker's approach to the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy.

It has been our intent throughout to attempt to reconstruct the intellectual order of Hooker's approach to this political question, that is to say moving from his 'general theological meditations' to their application in the 'particular decision' which unites in the Crown supreme jurisdiction in both civil and ecclesiastical 'affayres and causes'. In this attention to the order and structure of Hooker's thought there is a response to the most recent criticism which views the Lawes either as logically incoherent or as a unified polemic without any deep-seated philosophical integrity. It has therefore been one of the aims of this essay to point to Hooker's Christological paradigm as a prominent connecting device at virtually every important turn of his argument. The hypostatic union of the two natures which yet continue distinct from one another is the paradoxical pattern of logic which continually recurs in Hooker's soteriology, ecclesiology, and ultimately in his analysis of the union of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the person of the Prince. The coherence of Hooker's doctrine of the Royal Supremacy with his thought in

general is ultimately established on this theological foundation.

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Mian Cordie

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MDXXXIII.  
6. 14. 5. 1558

ELISABET D.G. ANGLIAE, FRANCLAE, HIBERNIAE, ET VERGINIAE REGINA.  
FIDEI CHRISTIANAE PROPVGNATRIX ACERRIMA NVNC IN DNO REQVIESCENS.

Crispin van de Passe after Isaac Oliver, c.1603.