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THE WORKS

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

CONTAINING EIGHT BOOKS OF THE

LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY

AND SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES.

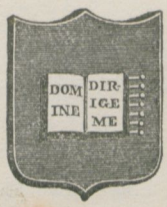
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

BY

IZAAK WALTON.

VOLUME THE FIRST.





OXFORD,
PRINTED BY J. VINCENT;
FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.
1843.

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TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

CHARLES II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Although I know how little leisure great kings have to read large books, or indeed any, save only God's, (the study, belief, and obedience of which is precisely commanded, even to kings, (Deut. xvii. 18, 19.) and from which, whatever wholly diverts them, will hazard to damn them; there being no affairs of so great importance, as their serving God, and saving their own souls; nor any precepts so wise, just, holy, and safe, as those of the divine oracles; nor any empire so glorious, as that by which kings, being subject to God's law, have dominion over themselves, and so best deserve and exercise it over their subjects):

Yet having lived to see the wonderful and happy restoration of your Majesty to your rightful kingdoms, and of this Reformed Church to its just rights, primitive order, and pristine constitution, by your Majesty's prudent care and unparalleled bounty, I know not what to present more worthy of your Majesty's acceptance, and my duty, than these elaborate and seasonable works of the famous and prudent Mr. Richard Hooker, now augmented, and I hope completed, with the *three last books*, so much desired, and so long concealed.

The publishing of which volume so entire, and thus presenting it to your Majesty, seems to be a blessing and honour reserved by God's providence, to add a further lustre to your Majesty's glorious name, and happy reign, whose transcendent favour, justice, merit, and munificence, to the long-afflicted Church of England, is a subject no less worthy of admiration

than gratitude to all posterity. And of all things (next God's grace) not to be abused or turned into wantonness by any of your Majesty's clergy, who are highly obliged, beyond all other subjects, to piety, loyalty, and industry.

I shall need nothing more to ingratiate this incomparable piece to your Majesty's acceptance, and all the English world's, than those high commendations it hath ever had, as from all prudent, peaceable, and impartial readers, so especially from your Majesty's royal father, who, a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, recommended to his dearest children the diligent reading of Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, even next the Bible; as an excellent means to settle them in the truth of religion and in the peace of this Church, as much Christian and as well Reformed as any under heaven: as if God had reserved this signal honour to be done by the best of kings, and greatest sufferers for this Church, to him who was one of the best writers, and ablest defenders of it.

To this completed edition is added such particular accounts as could be got of the Author's person, education, temper, manners, fortunes, life, and death, which are now done with much exactness and proportion: that hereby your Majesty, and all the world, may see what sort of men are fittest for Church-work, (which, like the building of Solomon's temple, is best carried on with most evenness of judgment, and least noise of passion). Also, what manner of man he was, to whom we all owe this noble work, and durable defence.

Which is indeed at once (as the tongues of eloquent princes are to themselves and their subjects) both a treasury and an armoury, to enrich their friends, and defend them against the enemies of the Church of England: a rare composition of unpassionate reason, and impartial religion; the mature product of a judicious scholar, a loyal subject, an humble preacher, and a most eloquent writer: the very abstract and quintessence of laws human and divine; a summary of the grounds, rules, and proportions of true polity in Church and State: upon which clear, solid, and safe foundations, the good order, peace, and government of this Church was anciently settled, and on which while it stands firm, it will be flourishing: all other popular and specious pretensions being found by late sad experiences

to be, as novel and unfit, so factious and fallacious, yea, dangerous and destructive to the peace and prosperity of this Church and Kingdom, whose inseparable happiness and interests are bound up in Monarchy and Episcopacy.

The politic and visible managing of both which, God hath now graciously restored and committed to your Majesty's sovereign wisdom and authority, after the many and long tragedies suffered from those club-masters and tub-ministers, who sought not fairly to obtain reformation of what might seem amiss, but violently and wholly to overthrow the ancient and goodly fabric of this Church and Kingdom. For finding themselves not able in many years to answer this one Book, long ago written in defence of the truth, order, government, authority, and liberty (in things indifferent) of this Reformed Church, agreeable to right reason and true religion, (which makes this well-tempered piece, a file capable to break the teeth of any that venture to bite it); they conspired at last to betake themselves to arms, to kindle those horrid fires of civil wars, which this wise Author foresaw and foretold, in his admirable Preface, would follow those sparks and that smoke which he saw rise in his days: so that from impertinent disputes (seconded with scurrilous pamphlets) they fled to tumults, sedition, rebellion, sacrilege, parricide, yea, regicide; counsels, weapons, and practices, certainly no way becoming the hearts and hands of Christian subjects, nor ever sanctified by Christ for his service, or his Church's good.

What now remains, but your Majesty's perfecting and preserving that (in this Church) which you have with much prudence and tenderness so happily begun and prosecuted, with more zeal than the establishment of your own throne. The still crazy Church of England, together with this Book, (its great and impregnable shield,) do further need, and humbly implore, your Majesty's royal protection under God: nor can your Majesty, by any generous instance and perseverance, (most worthy of a Christian king,) more express that pious and grateful sense, which God and all good men expect from your Majesty, as some retribution for his many miraculous mercies to yourself, than in a wise, speedy, and happy settling of our religious peace; with the least grievance, and most satisfaction

to all your good subjects; sacred order and uniformity being the centre and circumference of our civil tranquillity; sedition naturally rising out of schism, and rebellion out of faction: the only cure and antidote against both, are good laws and canons, first wisely made, with all Christian moderation and seasonable charity; next, duly executed with justice and impartiality; which sober severity is indeed the greatest charity to the public. Whose verity, unity, sanctity, and solemnity in religious concernments, being once duly established, must not be shaken, or sacrificed to any private varieties and extravagances. Where the internals of doctrine, morality, mysteries, and evangelical duties being (as they are in the Church of England) sound and sacred, the externals of decent forms, circumstances, rites, and ceremonies, being subordinate and servient to the main, cannot be either evil or unsafe, neither offensive to God nor good Christians.

For the attaining of which blessed ends of piety and peace, that the sacred sun and shield of the divine grace and power directing and protecting may ever shine upon your Majesty's person and family, counsels and power, is the humble prayer of

Your sacred Majesty's
Most loyal Subject,
And devoted Servant,
JOH. EXON.

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PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE LIFE OF HOOKER,

PUBLISHED IN 1665.

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Master Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written, yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Master Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business, and want of time, made him pass over many things, without that due examination which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify; for though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions, yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: but if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Master Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And, to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge

and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Master Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours, I do not a little wonder, that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellences of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

A

COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN TO MR. WALTON,

BY DR. KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

Honest Izaak,

Though a familiarity of more than forty years' continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to those very many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection, of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend, Dr. Donne, late dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent sermons of his which are now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Montford, and I think yourself, then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract

of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain; but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that, beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales, of Eton college) affirmed to me, "he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's."

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotton, betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age, and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him: by which means, his and your precollections for that work fell to the happy menage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this testimony added to yours, that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former, or ours, which in that kind is a most excellent age, hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *schismaticorum malleus*, so great a champion for the Church of England's rights, against the factious torrent of separatists that then ran high against church discipline, and in his unanswerable Books continues still to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names carry on their design; and who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce-closed wounds of a newly-bleeding State and Church.

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And first, though I dare not say I knew Mr. Hooker, yet, as our ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of Ignatius, that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood; so I also joy, that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker, with my father, Lord Bishop of London; from whom, and others at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that, like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken. From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors. I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi college, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his study had been rifled or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another of principles too like his: but these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend, Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, authorizing Dr. John Barkham (his lordship's chaplain) to require and bring them to him at the palace in Lambeth; at which time I have heard they were put into the bishop's library and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language, for which the faction then fought; which was, "to subject the

sovereign power to the people." I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death; the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his Works, and now the singular character of his worth given by you in the passages of his Life, (especially in your Appendix to it,) do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Robert Stapleton, Pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his Books, having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy. Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers, (my old friends also,) who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless Books; one of their letters I herewith send you to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid; but especially his translation of King *James his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* into elegant Latin: which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and conclave sent unto Franciscus Suarez at Salamanca, (he then residing there as President of that college,) with a command to answer it. When he had perfected the work, (which he calls *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*,) it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest, commonly coupling together *deponere et occidere*,

the deposing and killing of princes; which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkell (his amanuensis, when he wrote at Salamanca; but since a convert, living long in my father's house) often professed, the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkell magnified much) not only disavowed but detested. Not to trouble you further, your reader (if, according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will find many just reasons to thank you for it; and for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

Sir,

Your ever faithful and affectionate old Friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Nov. 12, 16.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV. FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

DEAN OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPEL ROYAL,
AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

My Lord,

I here present you with a relation of the life of that humble man, to whom, at the mention of his name, princes, and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence. It was written by me under your roof: for which, and more weighty reasons, you might, if it were worthy, justly claim a title to it: but indeed, my Lord, though this be a well-meant sacrifice to the memory of that venerable man, yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg your pardon for subscribing your name to it; and desire all that know your Lordship to receive it, not as a dedication, by which you receive any access of honour, but rather as a more humble and a more public acknowledgment of your long continued, and your now daily favours to

Your most affectionate,
And most humble Servant,
IZAAK WALTON.

Nov. 28, 1664.

LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend that I ought to obey, to write *The Life of Richard Hooker*, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness, foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour, to inquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death, (now sixty-four years past,) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live,) and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some of my reasons, which I myself would now fain believe, do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now

with God,) grand-nephew unto the great archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker, in Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in the following discourse; as also their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two forenamed sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Borne near Canterbury; in which city their good father lived. They then had (I say) a great part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's Works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton college; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery

of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE LIFE.

His birth and youth.

It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts of Exeter: a city which may justly boast that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our redemption one thousand five hundred and fifty-three; and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony; and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy, he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature; and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

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This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to discover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar,) was very solicitous with John Hooker, then chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for

the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Bishop of Salisbury) having been in the first of this Queen's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi college in Oxford, (of which he was a Fellow,) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward the Sixth; and he having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury: and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to it; John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, "and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a

tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus Christi college; which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time, his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustin did, that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, "and pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; whom, he would often say, he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her sake as for his own."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and com-

panion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so good a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him that he should neither want food nor raiment, (which was the utmost of his hopes,) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer;

for about that time, this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where for some years Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September, 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi college, in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for, the bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made: for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers; so that by these, added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with his knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, (which in time were many,) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George

Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel-prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word; and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hantshire, out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now, as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had cardinal Poole, but more, that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first famous for his learned Apology for the Church of England, and his Defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise menage of a public dispute with John Hart (of the Romish persuasion)

about the head and faith of the Church, and after printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other treatises: all, such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was Dr. Jackson more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and meekness and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, Febr. 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for learning, being then vice-chancellor; and the act following he was completed Master; which was anno 1577, his patron Dr. Cole being vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend Henry Savile, of Merton college, being then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savile that was after Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton college, and Provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savile that translated and enlightened the History of Cornelius Tacitus with a most excellent comment: and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savile, that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker, and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted fellow of the college: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after, and successively, made Presidents of Corpus Christi college: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupillage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ*, as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious Translation of the Psalms of David, the

Book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fines Morison, and others.

This Cranmer, (says Mr. Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth,) whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi college in Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts for some time before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison, a privy counsellor of note, who, for an unhappy undertaking, became clouded and pitied; after whose fall, he went in place of secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embassage into France; and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained until, in a battle against the rebels near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him: he being then but in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity they went on for many years: and, as the holy Prophet saith, so "they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity as bordered upon heaven: a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship, yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of

other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college and Mr. Hooker to his studies; in which he was daily more assiduous; still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them, the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and, indeed, with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written; He *that regardeth truth in the inward parts*, making him to *understand wisdom secretly*. And the good man would often say, that "God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature;" and as often say, "that the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations and pride, and opposition to government; but moderation, charity, and humility, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind; of which virtues," he would as often say, "no man did ever repent himself upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony, in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the chancellor of the university was given to understand, that the public Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language; therefore, the chancellor writ to his vice-chancellor, and the university, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it; and he did, and continued to do so, till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this lecture (namely, in October, 1579) he was, with Dr. Reynolds and

others, expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds his own hand, may give some account of it.

"*To Sir Francis Knolles.*

"I am sorry, right honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, the which, I cannot move it, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college; who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said, that the bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we do look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the bishop by your letters to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus Christi college sake; or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of His manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of His Holy Spirit.

"Your Honour's
in Christ to command,
"JOHN RAINOLDES.

"London, October 9, 1579."

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then vice-president of the college, and chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three years; about which time, he entered into sacred orders, being then made Deacon and Priest; and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunammite's house; (which is a house so called,

for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon.) This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man; I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse; (supposing the horse trotted, when he did not:) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possest him, that he would not be persuaded two days' rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink, proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, "That in God there were two wills; an antecedent, and a consequent will: his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered, or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believed that a contrary opinion entrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare: but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

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But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that he was a man of a tender constitution;" and "that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazer was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis,) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him, was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's which is by Solomon compared to "a dripping house," so that the good man had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, "Wo is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, "There is a wheel within a wheel:" a secret sacred wheel of Providence (most visible in marriages), guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the swift," nor "bread to the wise," nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for "affliction is a divine diet;" which, though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college: from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world: into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire (not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln); to which he was presented by John Cheny, Esq. then patron of it; the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) "in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities; in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering;" yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand, (it was the Odes of Horace,) he being then, like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for "Richard was called to rock the cradle;" and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for the next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry that your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage: and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have

usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvie (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvie. And at the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvie, he the said Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the judges, the reader and the benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvie, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvie's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantages of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might "see God's blessing spring out of the earth, and be free from noise," (so he exprest the desire of his heart,) "and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own in privacy and quietness." But notwithstanding his averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life

made Master of the Temple, the 17th of March, 1585,[a] he being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Endeavours for Travers to be Master of the Temple.

[But before any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place, two other divines were nominated to succeed Alvie; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvie himself on his death-bed, to be master after him: and no marvel, for Alvie's and Travers's principles did somewhat correspond. And many gentlemen of the house desired him; which desire the lord treasurer Burghley was privy to, and by their requests, and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the Queen to allow of him; for the disposal of the place was in her. But Archbishop Whitgift knew the man, and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was fellow of Trinity college, and had observed his steps ever after; he knew how turbulently he had carried himself at the college, how he had disowned the English established Church and episcopacy, and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, to be ordained minister, as he was by Villers and Cartwright and others, the heads of a congregation there; and so came back again more confirmed for the discipline. And knowing how much the doctrine and converse of the master to be placed here would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm, where their habitations and estates were, that careful prelate made it his endeavour to stop Travers's coming in; and had a learned man in his view, and of principles more confortable and agreeable to the Church, namely one Dr. Bond, the Queen's chaplain, and one well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the archbishop what Travers was, by a letter which he timely writ to her Majesty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the treasurer to discourse with the archbishop about it.

Opposed by the archbishop.

[a] This you may find in the Temple records. William Ermstad was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvey, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2. Elez. *Magister sive Custos Domus et Ecclesiæ novi templi;* died 27 Eliz. Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, *in terminis*, as Alvey had it, and he left it 33 Eliz. That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

The lord treasurer, hereupon, in a letter, consulted with the said archbishop, and mentioned Travers to him as one desired by many of the house. But the archbishop in his answer plainly signified to his lordship that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reasons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the Queen Dr. Bond as a very fit person. But however she declined him, fearing his bodily strength to perform the duty of the place, as she did Travers for other causes. And by laying both aside, she avoided giving disgust to either of those great men. This Dr. Bond seems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was President of Magdalen college, Oxon, and was much abused by Martin Mar-prelate.

These particulars I have collected from a letter of the archbishop to the Queen, and other letters that passed between the archbishop and the lord treasurer about this affair, while the mastership was vacant. The passages whereof, taken verbatim out of their said letters, may deserve here to be specified for the satisfaction of the readers.

And first, in the month of August, upon the death of the former master, the archbishop wrote this letter unto the Queen:

The archbishop to the Queen concerning the vacancy of the Temple.

"It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that the mastership of the Temple is vacant by the death of Mr. Alvie. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned, discreet, and wise man, in respect of the company there: who being well directed and taught may do much good elsewhere in the commonwealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm. And because I hear there is a suit made unto your Highness for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to signify unto your Majesty, that the said Travers hath been and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissention in this Church, a contemner of the book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this Church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by your Majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

"Your Majesty hath a chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, a

man in my opinion very fit for that office, and willing also to take pains therein, if it shall please your Highness to bestow it upon him. Which I refer to your own most gracious disposition; beseeching Almighty God long to bless, prosper, and preserve your Majesty to his glory, and all our comforts.

"Your Majesty's most faithful servant and chaplain,

"Jo. CANTUAR.

"From Croyden,
the day of August, 1584."

Next in a letter of the archbishop to the lord treasurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath these words:

The archbishop to the lord treasurer.

"I beseech your lordship to help such an one to the mastership of the Temple, as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders established; and a defender not a depraver of the present state and government. He that now readeth there is nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge and experience can testify. Dr. Bond is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter man."

The lord treasurer, in a letter to the archbishop, dated from Oatlands (where the Queen now was), Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote:—

The lord treasurer to the archbishop.

"The Queen hath asked me what I thought of Travers to be Master of the Temple. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of Dr. Alvie in his sickness, and a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, so as he would shew himself conformable to the orders of the Church. Whereunto I was informed, that he would so be. But her Majesty told me, that your grace did not so allow of him. Which I said might be for some things supposed to be written by him in a book intituled, *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*. Whereupon her Majesty commanded me to write to your grace, to know your opinion, which I pray your grace to signify unto her, as God shall move you. Surely it were great pity that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary; for he is well learned, very honest, and well allowed and loved of the generality of that house. Mr. Bond told me, that your grace liked well of him; and so do I also, as of one well learned and honest; but, as I told him, if he came not

to the place with some applause of the company, he shall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto her Majesty if Travers should not have it. But her Majesty thinks him not fit for that place, because of his infirmities. Thus wishing your grace assistance of God's Spirit to govern your charge unblameably,

"Your grace's to command,

"WILL. BURGHLEY.

"From the court at Oatlands, the 17th Sept. 1584."

Part of the archbishop's letter in answer to this, was to this tenor:

"Mr. Travers, whom your lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself. I did elect him fellow of Trinity college, being before rejected by Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach: whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless if time and years have now altered that disposition (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary,) I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your lordship and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am that divers grave, and of the best affected of them, have shewed their misliking of him to me; not only out of respect of his disorderliness, in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers, but also his negligence in reading, Whose lectures, by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no commodity thereby."

The book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, by common opinion,

hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly against the state and government. Wherein also, among other things, he condemneth the taking and paying of first-fruits, tenths, &c. And therefore, unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do, which now enter into ecclesiastical livings, and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of this Church of England, as I verily believe he is not, because he forsook his place in the college upon that account; I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there, or elsewhere, in any function of this Church."

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises: for this he always thirsted and prayed; but Almighty God did not grant it: for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the Church and State; believing, there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and

plenty, begot self-ends; and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but still were thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform those vows which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs; they may for distinction be called, the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists, (of which there were many sorts,) and the passive peaceable Protestant. The counsels of the first were considered and resolved on in Rome: the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of her own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; and, if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the Church and State; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with a spirit of meekness and reason.

Nonconformists represented.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet, of this party, there were many that were possessed with a high degree of "spiritual wickedness;" I mean, with an innate restless pride and malice. I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like, (from which

good Lord deliver us,) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the Devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil; but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work, that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party, there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind: men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own pitiful, crooked wisdom so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to "speak evil of government," and to be the authors of confusion: men, whom company, and conversation, and custom had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that, like those that "perished in the gainsaying of Korah," so these died without repenting of these "spiritual wickednesses," of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are God knows too sad examples; and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like "spiritual wickednesses."

And in these times which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruplemongers that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men, in their secret conventicles, did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on, but, up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the

Church and State; but especially against the bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as to believe *the bishops to be Antichrist*, and the only obstructors of God's discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that "Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword." So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions, then to satirical remonstrances, and at last having like Absalom numbered who was not and who was, for their cause, they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and then the Queen and parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself; which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-house.

And to these strange and dangerous undertakings, the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an atheist, and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; *nor for treason against their own King, if it were but spoken in the pulpit;* shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their Church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations; and by

these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the Church and State were forced to use such other severities, as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose, "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning Church government; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished: That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience than the wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy: That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this *they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful.*" And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe; into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the

heathens believe that there are many gods,) but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, namely, "that they might be like the beasts that perish:" and in wicked company (which is the atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so, though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the Church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin, for heresies do usually outlive their first authors; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority: in this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude; they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton, that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age, gives this true character: "that he was a man of reverend and sacred memory; and of the primitive temper; a man of such a temper, as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue." And indeed, this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton; yet, I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to

give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

Some account of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent and affable, and gentle by nature; he was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke hall, (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor;) from thence he was removed to Peter house; from thence to be Master of Pembroke hall; and from thence to the mastership of Trinity college: about which time the Queen made him her chaplain; and not long after, Prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both these places; she in the twenty-sixth year of her reign made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after of her privy council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and care; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth) "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of Church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindall, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favour,

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it was impossible to stand in the breach that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, ("Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest,") he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him, were such that she called him *her little black husband*, and called his servants *her servants:* and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's, and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor: of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that "she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining a licence from her little black husband:" and would often say, "she pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself, by laying the burden of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the Church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act or acts of parliament, intending the better preservation of the Church lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the bishop having, by his interest with her Majesty, put a stop to the earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which, they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance: but the bishop made a sudden and a

seasonable return to her Majesty, (for he found her alone,) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose:

His speech to the Queen.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the Church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that *princes are deputed nursing fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection;* and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the Church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege; and that, if there were not, they could not have names in Holy Writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, 'He judged no man;' and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the Church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider, that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege, 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?' supposing, I think, sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and Helena his mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his Church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own

families, and did not; but gave them for ever as *an absolute right and sacrifice to God:* and with these immunities and lands, *they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them;* God prevent your Majesty and your successors from being liable to that curse, which will cleave unto Church lands, as the leprosy to the Jews.

"And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you forget not, that to prevent these curses, the Church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as human reason, and the law of this nation, have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, 'to maintain the Church lands, and the rights belonging to it;' and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hand on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta: a curse like the leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews; for as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your Majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age: let particular men suffer for their particular errors, but let God and his Church have their inheritance: and though I pretend not to prophesy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; *that Church land added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both;* or

like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father; yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Church's rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

"And consider that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as King Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. *Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies;* and when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the Church's lands; yet dispose of them *for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God; that is, as the donors intended;* let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise: but put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion, I beseech you, and to the approaching ruins of His Church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for, *Kings must be judged.* Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour, and the Lord still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begat betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other: she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were

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then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her deathbed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr Hooker; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility; but this of both: he built a large almshouse near to his own palace at Croyden in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters; and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth, (which was very often,) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croyden, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And

at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars: which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French king, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, "The bishop had published many learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace in Lambeth; of which when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them the King at his departure assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavonr to beg his life of God for the good of his Church." To which the good bishop replied, *Pro ecclesia Dei, Pro ecclesia Dei:* which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's Church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time, you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit qui patitur:* and he made it good.

Many of his trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the bishop had been Master; in which place there began some emulations, (the particulars I forbear,) and at last, open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the earl's death, (which was 1588,) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva Church government; and, to effect

it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, and to which the bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied: for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the bishop many personal favours, and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the bishop surviving him but some few months, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

[It is true, the archbishop treated Cartwright with such civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the Earl of Leicester, how much the archbishop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal shewed his desire that he might have liberty sometimes to have access to him; professing that he would seek to persuade all with whom he had concern and converse, to keep up an union with the Church of England. This, I say, is certain; but it is not so certain, that the archbishop gave Cartwright a licence to preach. It appears, that in the year 1585 he refused to grant it him, however solicited by Leicester's own letter to do it; and notwithstanding Cartwright's promises, he required more space of time to be satisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and some further light into this matter, let both these letters be read and considered; the former of the earl to the archbishop; the latter of the archbishop to the earl: J. S.

"My good Lord,

"I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceeding kindly taken The Earl of Leicester to the arch-

bishop concerning Mr. Cartwright.

it also, as, I assure your grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me, to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the Church: and that your grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him, and dispose of him, as you shall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit, (if your grace so permit him,) what he himself will, and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your grace; whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to bless his Church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your grace farewell.

"Your grace's very assured friend,

"Rob. Leicester.

"At the court this 14th of July."

To which letter the archbishop returned this answer:

"My singular good Lord,

The archbishop to the earl.

"Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times, and using himself quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good: but to grant unto him, as yet, my licence to preach, without a longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of this book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point by me set down to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God; this 17th of July, 1585."]

And now after this long digression made for the information

of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple; and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as the bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this: that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting, "that a Papist cannot be saved:" insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, go far as to set limits to His mercies; there was not only one *Martin Mar-Prelate*, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all; who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing satirical merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash his answers being like his books, which bore these titles, *An Almond for a Parrot*, *A Fig for my God-son*, *Come crack me this Nut*, and the like: so that his merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets than a much wiser man had been able.

The controversy between Hooker and Travers.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvie, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their

oppositions: for he continued lecturer a part of his time: Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbytery in Antwerp, (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons. Many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this Church: insomuch, that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers his preaching, by a positive prohibition; [and that chiefly because of his foreign ordination:] against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majesty's privy council to have it recalled, where besides his patron the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends; but they were not able to prevail with or against the archbishop, whom the Queen had entrusted with all Church power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations.

But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party, and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them and many others of that party, as never to be answered; so that, intend-

ing the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed, and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear and make as public an answer: which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship, with a man of so much *quiet learning and humility*.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which I have seen written,) would prove at least tedious; and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the assurance of what we believe by the word of God is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First, I taught, that the things which God promises in his word are surer than what we touch, handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For example, how is it that many men looking on the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the same promise, have not all the same fulness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth hath always need to labour, strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence." In which, having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty

of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it: "Comfortable (he says) as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not believe." Mr. Hooker's own words follow: "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are. Do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be, which they shew they love, when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, "That he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our forefathers living in popish superstition, forasmuch as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first [because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved, because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works,

and so overthrow the foundation of faith] he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus, (they be his own words that follow:) "That, the way of nature; this, the way of grace: the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness, of men's works; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in Him, for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy supposing their misery for whom He vouchsafed to die, and make himself a Mediator."

And he also declareth, "there is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ; no effectual, but His mercy;" and says also, "we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of His passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless" (and for this he was accused) "considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs, have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves: because by this, or the like erroneous opinions which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall

man be so bold as to write on their graves, 'Such men are damned, there is for them no salvation!' St. Austin says, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself; whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his Gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, 'Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins!' Shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If they do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, 'You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken.'

"But it will be said, (says Mr. Hooker,) 'The admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation.' (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit; although they have all other tokens of God's children in them; although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds; although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves; although they be not obstinate in this opinion; although they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it; although the only cause why they do

not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved; although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not, to remove it. Let me die (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life. Surely I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contrasted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also, for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, "That he prayed before and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the Sacrament; and" (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) "other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons: to your railing, I say nothing; to your reasons, I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man; and doubtless, if Almighty God had blessed the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this Church with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal; then, Obedience and Truth had kissed each other: then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this Church and State had been blessed like "Jerusalem that is at unity with itself;" but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief "*That schism is a sin, and they not fit*

to judge what is schism:" and bless them also with a belief, "that there may be offences taken, which are not given:" and "that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey."

J. S. The articles of false doctrines objected by Travers to Hooker.

[Before we pass from these unhappy disceptations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended false doctrine objected by the one to the other, so it is pity the rest should be wholly lost, and for ever buried in silence: therefore, for the making this considerable part of the reverend man's life and history complete, and to retrieve whatsoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of so learned and judicious a person, take this further account, not only of two, but of all the articles that his before-mentioned adversary had marshalled up against him, collected from a sermon or sermons he had heard him preach at the Temple; together with his endeavoured confutation of them; and likewise Hooker's own vindication of himself to each of these articles. These articles seem to have been delivered by Travers to the lord treasurer. The same lord delivered them to Hooker to consider of, and to make his reply to. And of these articles the archbishop also was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of them. I shall set all down exactly from an authentic manuscript.

Doctrines delivered by Mr. Hooker, as they were set down and shewed by Mr. Travers, March 30, 1585, under this title:

A short Note of sundry unsound Points of Doctrine at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his public Sermons.

1. The Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth, which God had revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect church.

2. The Fathers which lived and died in popish superstition were saved, because they sinned ignorantly.

3. They which are of the Church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ, and a general repentance of all their sins.

4. The Church of Rome holdeth all men sinners, even the Blessed Virgin, though some of them think otherwise of her.

5. The Church of Rome teacheth Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin.

6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Christ, circumcision, as necessary unto salvation, notwithstanding be saved.

7. Neither the Church of Rome, nor the Galatians, deny the foundation directly, but only by consequent; and therefore may be saved. Or else neither the Lutherans, nor whosoever hold any error, (for every error by consequent denieth the foundation,) may be saved.

8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that saith of any, that he is a righteous man, saith, that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he saith, he is a dead man, then he denieth him to be a man: and of this sort of [privative] additaments neither are works, which are added to Christ by the Church of Rome; nor circumcision, added to him by the Galatians.

9. The Galatians' case is harder than the case of the Church of Rome; for they added to Christ circumcision, which God had forbidden and abolished: but that which the Church of Rome addeth, are works which God hath commanded.

10. No one sequel urged by the Apostle against the Galatians, for joining circumcision with Christ, but may be as well enforced against the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

11. A bishop or cardinal of the Church of Rome, yea, the Pope himself, denying all other errors of popery, notwithstanding his opinion of justification by works, may be saved.

12. Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but conditional.

13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God positive, but only permissive.

14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God did foresee they would commit.

15. The assurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not so sure as of those which we perceive by sense.

Here follows an Account, given in by Mr. Hooker himself, of what he preached, March 28, 1585. *And then of what Travers in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And lastly, of Hooker's Reply and Vindication of himself and his Sermons.*

Hooker's own relation of his assertions, and vindication of them against Travers.

"I doubted not but that God was merciful to thousands of our fathers, which lived in popish superstition; for that *they* sinned ignorantly. But *we* have the light of the truth.

"Which doctrine was withstood, because we are commanded to depart out of Babylon, else we should be partakers of those plagues there denounced against such as repent not of their superstitions; which they cannot who know them not.[a]

"I answered, that there were thousands in our days who hate sin, desiring to walk according to the will of God; and yet committing sin which they know not to be sin. I think, that they that desire forgiveness of secret sins, which they know not to be sins, and that are sorry for sins, that they know not to be sins, [such] do repent.

"It is replied, that without faith there is no repentance. Our fathers in desiring mercy did but as divers pagans; and had no true repentance.

"They thought they could not be saved by Christ without works, as the Galatians did; and so they denied the foundation of faith.

"I answered, although the proposition were true, that he who thinketh he cannot be saved by Christ without works, overthroweth the foundation; yet we may persuade ourselves that our forefathers might be saved. 1. Because many of them were ignorant of the dogmatical positions of the Church of Rome. 2. Albeit they had divers positions of that Church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3. Although they did generally hold this position, yet God might be merciful unto them. No exception hath been taken against any one of these assertions. 4. I add, that albeit all those, of whom we speak, did not only hold this generally, but as the scholars of Rome hold this position now, of joining works with Christ; whether doth

[a] "Salvation belongeth to the Church of Christ. We may not think, that they could be capable of it, which lived in the errors held and maintained in the Church of Rome, that seat of Antichrist. Wherefore to his people God speaketh in this sort; 'Go out of Babylon, my people, go out of her, that you be not partaker of her sins, and that you taste not of her plagues.'

"The Galatians thinking that they could not be saved by Christ, except they were circumcised, did thereby exclude themselves from salvation. Christ did profit thom nothing. So they which join their own works with Christ." *Travers's own Answer.*

that position overthrow the foundation directly, or only by consequence? If it doth overthrow the foundation directly, &c. To make all plain, these points are to be handled. First, what is meant by the foundation. Secondly, what it is to deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, whether the elect may be so deceived, that they may come to this, to deny the foundation directly. Fourthly, whether the Galatians did directly deny it. Fifthly, whether the Church of Rome, by joining works with Christ in the matter of salvation, do directly deny it."

I. To the first I answer: "The foundation is, that which Peter, Nathaniel, and the Samaritan confessed; and that which the Apostles expressly [affirm,] Acts iv. [12.] 'There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.' It is, in fine, this, Salvation is by Christ only. This word *only*, what doth it exclude? As when we say, 'This judge shall *only* determine this matter:' this *only* doth not exclude all other things, besides the person of the judge: as necessary witnesses, the equity of the cause, &c. but *all persons:* and not all persons from being present, but from determining the cause. So when we say, 'Salvation *only* is by Christ,' we do not exclude all other things. For then how could we say, that faith were necessary? We exclude therefore not those means whereby the benefits of Christ are applied to us; but all other *persons*, for working any thing for our redemption.

"II. To the second point: We are said to deny the foundation directly, when plainly and expressly we deny that Christ only doth save. *By consequence* we deny the foundation, when any such thing is defended, whereby it may be inferred, that Christ doth not only save.

"III. To the third: The elect of God cannot so err that they should deny directly the foundation: for that Christ doth keep them from that extremity: and there is no salvation to such as deny the foundation directly. Therefore it is said, that they 'shall worship the beast, whose names are not found in the book of life.' Antichrist may prevail much against them [viz. the elect], and they may receive the sign of the beast in the same degree, but not so that they should directly deny the foundation.

"IV. To the fourth: Albeit the Galatians fell into error; but not so that they lost salvation. If they had died before they had known the doctrine of Paul, being before deceived by those that they thought did teach the truth: what do you think? should they have been damned? This we are taught, that such errors [as are damning] shall not take hold, but on those that love not the truth. The Galatians had embraced the truth; and for it had suffered many things, &c. There came among them seducers that required circumcision. They being moved with a religious fear, thought it to be the word of God, that they should be circumcised. The best of them might be brought into that opinion; and dying before they could be otherwise instructed, they may not for that be excluded from salvation. Circumcision being joined with Christ doth only by consequence overthrow the foundation. To hold the foundation by an additament is not to deny the foundation; unless the additament be a privative. He is a just man, therefore a man: but this followeth not; he is a dead man, therefore he is a man. In the 15th chapter of the Acts they are called *credentes* [i. e. such as believed], that taught the necessity of circumcision. That name could not have been given unto them, if directly they had denied the foundation. That which the Apostle doth urge against the Galatians, in respect of circumcision, may be urged against the Lutherans in respect of their consubstantiation. [But they do not directly deny the foundation.] So neither did the Galatians directly deny it.

"V. Lastly: Whether doth the Church of Rome directly deny the foundation, by joining Christ and works? There is a difference between the Papists and the Galatians; for circumcision, which the Galatians joined with Christ, was forbidden, and taken away by Christ. But works are commanded, which the Church of Rome doth join with Christ. So that there is greater repugnancy to join circumcision with Christ, than to join works with him. But let them be equal. As the Galatians only by consequent denied the foundation, so do the Papists. (Zanchy, Calvin, Mornay; I need not go so far as some of these.) But this I think, if the Pope, or any of the Cardinals, should forsake all other their corruptions,

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and yield up their souls, holding the foundation again but by a slender thread, and did but as it were touch the hem of Christ's garment, believing that which the Church of Rome doth in this point of doctrine, they may obtain mercy. For they have to deal with God, who is no captious sophister, and will not examine them in quiddities, but accept them if they plainly hold the foundation.

"This error is my only comfort as touching the salvation of our fathers. I follow Mr. Martyr. I know *Ignorantia non excusat in toto*, but *in tanto*. It maketh not a fault to be no fault, but that which is a fault to be a less one."

The archbishop's judgment of those controversies.

At length, thus did the Archbishop of Canterbury discreetly and warily correct and moderate these articles between them both.

I. "Papists living and dying Papists may notwithstanding be saved. The reason; ignorance excused them. As the Apostle allegeth, 1 Tim. i. 13, 'I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly.'

"The Archbishop's Judgment.

"Not *Papists*, but *our fathers*. Nor they *all*, but *many of them*. Nor *living and dying Papists*, but living in popish superstitions. Nor simply *might*, but *might by the mercy of God*, be saved. Ignorance did not excuse the fault to make it no fault: but the less their fault was, in respect of ignorance, the more hope we have, that God was mereiful to them."

II. "Papists hold the foundation of faith: so that they may be saved, notwithstanding their opinion of merit."

Archbishop. "And Papists overthrow the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwise many ways. So that if they have, as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be saved."

III. "General repentance may serve to their salvation, though they confess not their error of merit."

Archbishop. "General repentance will not serve any but the faithful man. Nor him, for any sin, but for such sins only as he doth not mark, nor know to be sin."

IV. "The Church of Rome is within the new covenant."

Archbishop. "The Church of Rome is not as the assemblies of Turks, Jews, and Painims."

V. "The Galatians joining the law with Christ might have been saved, before they received the Epistle."

Archbishop. "Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error, what letteth us to think, as of our fathers, before the Church of Rome was admonished of her defection from the truth?"

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker, proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; and of his Answer to Mr. Travers his Supplication: and of his most learned and useful Discourse of Justification, of Faith and Works; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers and for his Church discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober Treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a

large Preface or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which, none was ever more like this Epistle of Mr. Hooker's: so that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spenser, might after his death justly say,[a] "What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man, great in all wise men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground: how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the Dove, had wanted gall: let those that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and he therefore earnestly solicited the archbishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose; "My lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college; yet, I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of Church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us: and, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have

[a] [In his Preface to the edition of 1604.]

begun a Treatise, in which I intend[a] a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity; in which design God and his holy Angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does; that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences, and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it: but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it) the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to that see during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it, in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted, July 17, to be a minor prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better prefer-

[a] [This paragraph originally stood as follows; "I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Church's peace; and so as not to provoke your adversary Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine, (but not mine enemy,) God knows this to be my meaning. To which end, I have searched many books, and spent many thoughtful hours: and I hope not in vain; for I write to reasonable men. But, my lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet country parsonage, where I may see God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all flesh must at the last great day give to the God of all spirits.

"This is my design; and, as these are the desires of my heart, so they shall, by God's assistance, be the constant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life."]

ment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the Register-book in Stationers'-hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs "to them that seek (as they term it) the Reformation of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England;" of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life, (of all which more properly hereafter,) but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23rd of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishops-Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that archbishop's gift; but, in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman the rector of it was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four Books and large Epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next, I am to tell, that at the end of these four Books, there was when he first printed them this Advertisement to the Reader; "I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four Books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction

unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth Book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four Books were first printed,) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome: and after reading them, boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth) "That though he had lately said he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such Books of Laws and Church-Polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him;" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four Books, and looking on the English read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his Books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker that writ the Books of Church-Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Eli-

zabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow: to which the King replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose Books I have received such satisfaction; indeed, my lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of Churches or Church-music, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men; and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of Truth and Reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished "that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury,[a] of whom I may justly say, (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as

[a] Bishop Earl was tutor to Prince Charles, and attended him in his exile; Dean of Westminster 1660, Bishop of Worcester 1662, Bishop of Salisbury 1663, died Nov. 17, 1665, at Oxford, and is buried in Merton college chapel.

ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not,) that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for, spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the prebends of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometime a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions, he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts, writ in Latin; especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishop's Superiority above Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold episcopacy, (which he calls divine, human, and Satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had by the help of Bishop Whitgift made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public, and he therein discovered

how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of episcopacy; but of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover: in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his Books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Savionr said of St. John Baptist, "What went they out for to see? a man clothed in soft raiment?" No, indeed; but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study, and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blest him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of counte-

nance; so neither then, nor in his age, "did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time:" and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late long parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives), and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which, he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses, the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning: but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the long parliament, the then present parson of Borne was sequestered, (you may guess why,) and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted, if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long, before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat, and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions (but not to kneel upon.) When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering, and lock the church-door;" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock

me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say, my master Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days." And, report says, the old man went presently home, and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

His holy behaviour at Bishops-Borne.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations: his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer; his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice; his eyes always fixed on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake; the design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons, such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a preacher, "as a natural from an artificial beauty."

He never failed, the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy; but especially the last; saying often, "That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door; into which place

he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of *Procession*, persuading all both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindnesses, and love; because love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them; and having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent lawsuits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "He that liveth in love, lives in God, for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion; and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces; this was his advice: and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him, in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed

eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

Charged with a scandal; and his innocency cleared.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God and tread the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man; his was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) a slander which this age calls *trepanning;* the particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not Church-ceremonies, hating him for his Books' sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burden, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer: who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The Lord forgive them;" and, "The Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now I have a just occasion to say with

Solomon, 'Friends are born for the days of adversity,' and such you have proved to me: and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, 'Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.' And, O my God, neither my life nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me, when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast: blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false witnesses were risen up against me, when shame was ready to cover my face, when my nights were restless, when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies, the net is broken and they are taken in it. O blessed are they that put their trust in thee; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction; for with such sacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth. And it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated: for, though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, "Vengeance is mine:" and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it: and yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write; for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that

was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul after I was free from the fears of my slander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

His sickness and death.

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for, after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) "That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining Books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian Angel seemed to foretell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which, his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and

being answered, that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other,) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end, the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him, yet after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh, that it might be so on earth!" After which words he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and, though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for His merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber: dangerous, as to his recovery; yet recover

he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and He is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity; and with it, a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless, O Lord, Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation: for these will bring peace at the last! And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed when he undertook them; which was, "Glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good-will to mankind!" Amen, Amen.

IZAAK WALTON.

The following epitaph was long since presented to the world, in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cooper, who also built him a fair monument in Borne church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father:

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though his cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own Books, yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.

Church ceremonies he maintained, then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay long so obscurely low
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up higher.

AN APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death: of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first it is not to be doubted, but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603,[a] but doubtless both mistaken; for I have it attested

[a] "The following is an accurate copy of the inscription on Hooker's monument:

"SUNT MELIORA MIHI.

"RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ: COLLEGII CORP. XTI OXON. DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ: HUJUS ECCLÆ. SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDERANTUR. OBIIT ANº. DOM. MDC. ÆTATIS SUÆ L.

iij

"POSSIT HOC PIISSIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM ANº. DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULIELMUS COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM. 1 Cor. iv. 15." Dr. Zouch.

under the hand of William Somner, the archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date Octob. 26th, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following. And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pound; that he left Joan, his wife, his sole executrix; and that by his inventory, his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it: of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret his youngest daughter was married unto Ezekiel Chark, batchelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters, I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she stayed not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his

estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his Books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed Eight Books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his Fifth Book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight; but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not, or could not give any account: and that about three months after that time the bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesty's council, concerning the disposal of those Books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the bishop invited her to Lambeth; and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Chark, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer, (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker,) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these Books of Polity: this Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift)

the imperfect Books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an Epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful Books to be the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said Epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which Epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three Books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his Books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them; and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts dismembered into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows of resemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our Civil Wars! J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of

Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "that her husband had made up, or finished Mr. Hooker's last three Books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King then Bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and I know that these were to be found in several places, as namely, Sir Thomas Bodlie's library, in that of Dr. Andrews's, late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that in his search and examination of the said bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written Books, which were supposed the 6, 7, and 8, of Mr. Hooker's Books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and, that in the said three Books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed Book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies there

must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for such [sith] punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the court of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-spring, it followeth, there is, a supreme of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any." "Here," says the doctor, "it breaks off abruptly."

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the handwriting of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or supreme governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath, that that good man attested to me.

"Fabian Philips."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed Books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop, (whose writings are so highly and justly valued,) gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "that nothing of his, that was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the Books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the

reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three Books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the long parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written Books,) the King replied, "They were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's Books:" but, however, "he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful Books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful Books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to myself; but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's; and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer, (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer,) of which this following letter may be a testimony; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

I. W.

GEORGE CRANMER'S

LETTER

UNTO

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

FEBRUARY 1598.

What posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written, for the most part, savoured of the disciplinary style: it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the Discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our State, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow; one man alone[a] there was to speak of, (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation,) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur;* for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness, and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of

[a] John Whitgift, the Archbishop.

late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed, their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first, but afterward, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of a house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of Discipline and Reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it; but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of master-workmen and chief-builders thereof; they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: so as now the Discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the Discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the Government established. This was peaceable: the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment; in defence of them, volumes were published in English, and in Latin: yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the Discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation, was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be

observed: First, that whereas T. C. and others his great masters had always before set out the Discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare polity, that seeing the Discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined, that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold of it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice the cause, when it was once perceived, from how low degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact; certain prophets[a] did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the Discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a pease-cart, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far

[a] Haeket and Coppinger.

unlike to that of St. Peter, "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration; yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the Discipline is likely to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now, if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates they were before they entered into this frantic passion? whose sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? And when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayers did they request? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof off, and see the end of it, and loath to quench the spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the Discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundation have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors the reformers were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them; for if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a Church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will

follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the Church there be no salvation; it followeth, that, if we have no Church, we have no means of salvation: and therefore separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men so separated from the false and counterfeit Church are to associate themselves unto some Church: not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, "That in our Church there is no means of salvation," is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation: but in the Church of England, the Discipline by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo.*

Again (but this reason perhaps is weak), every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: the Discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, the Discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term *essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If, therefore, between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own), or rather ingenuously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the Discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable; you may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be

done, they must give us leave to think, that they had cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who perceiving the plot of Discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and the erection of Presbyterial authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of Discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour reformation. Those things which under this colour they have affected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the Clergy always in awe; and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among Ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring Cathedral Churches, and Bishops' Livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil State more covertly; for such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other, in the meantime, may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the Clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of State; contrary to the practice of all well-governed Commonwealths, and of our own, till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them, namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion

and affection, as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the Fifth Book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two: senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry; for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained? But in the parties themselves, these two causes I conceive of Atheism. 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning, for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing: which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by "the seat of scorners," nor what the Apostles by foretelling of "scorners to come;" our own age hath verified their speech unto us; which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford, which could not be done by any other Spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the Resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Against the Creation, the Ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment.

A second cause of Atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; amongst which, because Religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of Heaven, wherein they see

(if any such be) they can have no part; and likewise the pains of Hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself, even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion, their own Atheism is a very strong argument; for were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not so much as to dispute against Heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers, are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire, than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves; especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation? Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open to advantage for the Barrowists and the Papists, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of Discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did soon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled, either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these.

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever

the proper and essential points in controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of Episcopal, erection of Presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may be justly severed from their retinue. Those things, therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained of, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts' desire; if Non-residents, Pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their Lay-elders therefore presently authorized, or their sovereign Ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in the Church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present State, make way for their own Discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any Senator should discourse against the power of their Senate, as being either too sovereign or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another State by depraving the present: so in all causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation, and accordingly, either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, "Why may not men speak against abuses?" Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, and not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather

destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things, indeed, they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised; wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, "This must give place, because a better one may be devised;" because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in device, with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered; the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the State Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil State: for personal faults, what can be said against the Church, which may not also agree to the Commonwealth? In both, Statesmen have always been, and will be always, men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves, when they inveigh against Non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil State, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, and himself continually remaining in the south? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn Plurality of Livings Spiritual to the pit of Hell; what think they of infinity of temporal promotions? By the great Philosopher (*Pol.* lib. ii. cap. 9.) it is forbidden, as a thing most dangerous to Commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions, even to those civil ceremonies, which at the Coronation, in Parliament, and all Courts of Justice, are used? Were it hard to argue even against Circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony; against the Passover, as being ridiculous, shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: You may exhort the Clergy, (or, what if you direct your conclusion not to the Clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both Universities!) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know; of a Minister, to preach "Christ crucified;" in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the Discipline itself, is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to "preach Christ crucified," the "mortification of the flesh," the "renewing of the Spirit;" not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

GEORGE CRANMER.

TO THE READER.

This unhappy controversy about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawn so many of her ministers from their principal work, and employed their studies in contentious oppositions; hath, by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world, that it never received blessing from the Father of Peace. For whose experience doth not find, what confusion of order, and breach of the sacred bond of love, hath sprung from this dissension; how it hath rent the body of the church into divers parts, and divided her people into divers sects; how it hath taught the sheep to despise their pastors, and alienated the pastors from the love of their flocks; how it hath strengthened the irreligious in their impieties, and hath raised the hopes of the sacrilegious devourers of the remains of Christ's patrimony; and given way to the common adversary of God's truth, and our prosperity, to grow great in our land without resistance; who seeth not how it hath distracted the minds of the multitude, and shaken their faith, and scandalized their weakness, and hath generally killed the very heart of true piety, and religious devotion, by changing our zeal towards Christ's glory, into the fire of envy and malice, and heart-burning, and zeal to every man's private cause? This is the sum of all the gains which the tedious contentions of so many years have brought in, by the ruin of Christ's kingdom, the increase of Satan's, partly in superstition and partly in impiety. So much better were it in these our dwellings of peace, to endure any inconvenience whatsoever in the outward frame, than in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire. Which moved the religious heart of this learned writer, in zeal of God's truth, and in compassion to his Church, the mother of us all, which gave us both the first breath of spiritual life, and from her breasts hath fed us unto

this whatsoever measure of growth we have in Christ, to stand up and take upon him a general defence both of herself, and of her established laws; and by force of demonstration, so far as the nature of the present matter could bear, to make known to the world and these oppugners of her, that all those bitter accusations laid to her charge, are not the faults of her laws and orders, but either their own mistakes in the misunderstanding, or the abuses of men in the ill execution of them. A work subject to manifold reprehensions and oppositions, and not suitable to his soft and mild disposition, desirous of a quiet private life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of peace in peace. But the love of God and of his country, whose greatest danger grew from this division, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongst many other most reverend and learned men, he also presumed to speak with his pen. And the rather, because he saw that none of these ordinary objections of partialities could elevate the authority of his writing, who always affected a private state, and neither enjoyed, nor expected any the least dignity in our church. What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble man, great in all wise men's eyes, except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries, whose eyes in the humility of his heart were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the spirit of love, as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall, let them that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings. For out of these, even those who otherwise agree not with him in opinion, do afford him the testimony of a mild and a loving spirit: and of his learning, what greater proof can we have than this, that his writings are most admired by those who themselves do most excel in judicious learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled and desired? which is the cause of this fourth edition of his former books, and that without any addition or diminution whatsoever. For who will put a pencil to such a work, from which such a workman hath taken his? There is a purpose of setting

forth the three last books also; their father's *Posthumi*. For, as in the great declining of his body spent out with study, it was his ordinary petition to Almighty God, that if he might live to see the finishing of these books, then, *Lord, let thy servant depart in peace*, (to use his own words,) so it pleased God to grant him his desire; for he lived till he saw them perfected: and though like Rachel he died as it were in the travail of them, and hastened death upon himself, by hastening to give them life; yet he held out to behold with his eyes these *partus ingenii*, these *Benjamins*, sons of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts; dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Absyrtus, no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them. Had the father lived to see them brought forth thus defaced, he might rightfully have named them *Benonies*, the sons of sorrow.

But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons will not suffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are. The learned and judicious eye will yet perhaps delight itself in beholding the goodly lineaments of their well set bodies, and in finding out some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace: so in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work; and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars.

J. S.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

MOST REVEREND IN CHRIST,

The cause of writing this general Discourse.

THE long-continued and more than ordinary favour which hitherto your Grace hath been pleased to shew towards me, may justly claim at my hands some thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient received course, and conveniency of that discipline, which teacheth inferior degrees and orders in the Church of God, to submit their Writings to the same authority, from which their allowable dealings whatsoever, in such affairs, must receive approbation, I nothing fear but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of these my simple and mean labours, bestowed for the necessary justification of laws heretofore made questionable, because, as I take it, they were not perfectly understood: for surely I cannot find any great cause of just complaint, that good laws have so much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To seek reformation of evil laws, is a commendable endeavour; but for us the more necessary, is a speedy redress of ourselves. We have on all sides lost much of our first fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways, we have reason to exhort with St. Gregory, "Οπερ ἦμεν γενώμεθα,[a] "Let us return again unto that which we sometimes were;" but touching the exchange of laws in practice, with laws in device, which they say are better for the state of the Church, if they might take place, the further we examine them, the greater cause we find

[a] Greg. Naz.

to conclude μένομεν ὅπερ ἐσμὲν, "although we continue the same we are, the harm is not great." The fervent reprehenders of things established by public authority are always confident and bold-spirited men. But their confidence for the most part riseth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cause they are seldom free from error. The errors which we seek to reform in this kind of men, are such as both received at your own hands their first wound, and from that time to this present have been proceeded in with that moderation, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer. Wherein, considering the nature and kind of these controversies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were like to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught wisdom, I may boldly aver concerning the first, that as the weightiest conflicts the Church hath had, were those which touched the Head, the Person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of importance, those questions that are at this day between us and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God; so these which have lastly sprung up from Complements, Rites, and Ceremonies of Church-actions, are in truth, for the greatest part, such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. Which also may seem to be the cause, why divers of the reverend Prelacy, and other most judicious men, have especially bestowed their pains about the matter of Jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, led by your Grace's example, myself have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth. Now, if any marvel, how a thing in itself so weak could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politic being subject as much as natural to dissolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown through diseases bred within themselves, than through violence from abroad; because our manner is always to cast a more doubtful and a more suspicious eye towards that, over which we know we have least power; and therefore, the fear of external dangers causeth forces at home to be the more united. It is to all sorts a kind

of bridle, it maketh virtuous minds watchful, it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspense, and it setteth those wits on work in better things, which would else be employed in worse; whereas on the other side, domestical evils, for that we think we can master them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward, till it be too late to recall them. In the meanwhile the Commonwealth is not only through unsoundness so far impaired, as those evils chance to prevail; but further also, through opposition arising between the unsound parts and the sound, where each endeavoureth to draw evermore contrary ways, till destruction in the end bring the whole to ruin.

To reckon up how many causes there are, by force whereof divisions may grow in a Commonwealth, is not here necessary. Such as rise from variety in matter of Religion, are not only the furthest spread, because in Religion all men presume themselves interested alike, but they are also for the most part hotlier prosecuted and pursued than other strifes; forasmuch as coldness, which in other contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in these so favourably construed. The part which in this present quarrel striveth against the current and stream of laws, was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to mind how errors have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reason, whereupon they would seem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is cast towards them, and proceedeth from other causes. For there are divers motives, drawing men to favour mightily those opinions, wherein their persuasions are but weakly settled; and if the passions of the mind be strong, they easily sophisticate the understanding; they make it apt to believe upon very slender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where scarce any probable show appeareth.

Thus were those poor seduced creatures, Hacket and his other two adherents, whom I can neither speak nor think of, but with much commiseration and pity. Thus were they trained by fair ways first, accounting their own extraordinary love to his Discipline, a token of God's more than ordinary love towards them. From hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God, which had moved them to love his Discipline,

more than the common sort of men did, might have a purpose by their means to bring a wonderful work to pass, beyond all men's expectation, for the advancement of the throne of Discipline, by some tragical execution, with the particularities whereof it was not safe for their friends to be made acquainted; of whom they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary motions of the Spirit in these days, and withal request to be commended unto God by their prayers, whatsoever should be undertaken by men of God, in mere zeal to his glory, and the good of his distressed Church. With this unusual and strange course they went on forward, till God, in whose heaviest worldly judgments, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercy, gave them over to their own inventions, and left them made in the end an example for headstrong and inconsiderate zeal, no less fearful than Achitophel for proud and irreligious wisdom. If a spark of error have thus prevailed, falling even where the wood was green and furthest off, to all men's thinking, from any inclination unto furious attempts; must not the peril thereof be greater in men whose minds are of themselves as dry fuel, apt beforehand unto tumults, seditions, and broils? But by this we see in a cause of Religion, to how desperate adventures men will strain themselves for relief of their own part, having law and authority against them.

Furthermore, let not any man think, that in such divisions, either part can free itself from inconveniences, sustained not only through a kind of truce, which virtue on both sides doth make with vice, during war between truth and error; but also, in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministered for men to purchase to themselves well-willers by the colour under which they oftentimes prosecute quarrels of envy or inveterate malice, and especially because contentions were as yet never able to prevent two evils; the one a mutual exchange of unseemly and unjust disgraces, offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule; the other a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to work upon all occurrents, with most advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our antagonists in these controversies may perad-

venture have met with some, not unlike to Ithacius,[a] who mightily bending himself by all means against the heresy of Priscillian (the hatred of which one evil was all the virtue he had), became so wise in the end, that every man, careful of virtuous conversation, studious of Scripture, and given unto any abstinence in diet, was set down in his Calendar of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approve their soundness of faith, by a more licentious and loose behaviour. Such proctors and patrons the truth might spare; yet is not their grossness so intolerable, as, on the contrary side, the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism; the first published schedules whereof being brought to the hands of a grave and a very honourable Knight, with signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavoury sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer: "I am sorry you are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own." But as these sores on all hands lie open, so the deepest wounds of the Church of God have been more softly and closely given. It being perceived, that the plot of Discipline did not only bend itself to reform Ceremonies, but seek further to erect a popalar authority of Elders, and to take away Episcopal Jurisdiction, together with all other ornaments and means, whereby any difference or inequality is upheld in the ecclesiastical order, towards this destructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers although peradventure not willing to be yoked with Eldership, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold opposition against Bishops, not without greater hurt to the course of their whole proceedings in the business of God and her Majesty's service, than otherwise much more weighty adversaries had been able by their own power to have brought to pass. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions suppressed, than the contrary much divulged. And because the wits of the multitude are such, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being possessed with some notable either

[a] Sulp. Sever. Epist. Hist. Eccles. l.ii. c. 50.

dislike or liking of any one thing whatsoever, sundry other in the meantime may escape them unperceived: therefore, if men desirous to have their virtues noted, do in this respect grieve at the fame of others, whose glory obscureth and darkeneth theirs, it cannot be chosen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations against abuses in the Church; these tunes come always most acceptable to them, whose odious and corrupt dealings in secular affairs both pass by that mean the more covertly, and, whatsoever happen, do also the least feel the scourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithstanding they most deserve. All this considered, as behoveth the sequel of duty on our part, is only that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmless discretion, the wisdom of serpents, tempered with the innocent meekness of doves, for this world will teach them wisdom that have capacity to apprehend it. Our wisdom in this case must be such, as doth not propose to itself τὸ ἴδιον, our own particular, the partial and immoderate desire whereof poisoneth wheresoever it taketh place: but the scope and mark which we are to aim at is τὸ κοινὸν, the public and common good of all; for the easier procurement whereof, our diligence must search out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Histories, the Laws and Practices of all Churches, the mutual conference of all men's collections and observations, may afford; our industry must even anatomize every particle of that body, which we are to uphold sound; and because, be it never so true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a small thing persuadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth, that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means those evils, whereby the hearts of men are lost; which evils for the most part being personal, do arm in such sort the adversaries of God and his Church against us, that, if through our too much neglect and security the same should run on, soon might we feel our estate brought to those lamentable terms, whereof this hard and heavy sentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occasions: "Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit."[a] But

[a] Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

the gracious providence of Almighty God hath, I trust, put these thorns of contradiction in our sides, lest that should steal upon the Church in a slumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his assistance, may be turned away from us, bending thereunto ourselves with constancy, constancy in labour to do all men good, constancy in prayer unto God for all men; her especially, whose sacred power, matched with incomparable goodness of nature, hath hitherto been God's most happy instrument, by him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others:[a] that as, "By the sword of God and Gideon," was sometime the cry of the people of Israel, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful song of innumerable multitudes, yea, the emblem of some estates and dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confessed even with tears of thankfulness) the true inscription, style, or title, of all Churches as yet standing within this realm, "By the goodness of Almighty God, and his servant Elizabeth, we are." That God, who is able to make mortality immortal, give her such future continuance as may be no less glorious unto all posterity, than the days of her regiment past have been happy unto ourselves; and for his most dear Anointed's sake, grant them all prosperity, whose labours, cares, and counsels, unfeignedly are referred to her endless welfare, through his unspeakable mercy, unto whom we all owe everlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest, humbly beseeching your Grace to pardon my great boldness, and God to multiply his blessings upon them that fear his name.

Your Grace's in all duty,

RICHARD HOOKER.

[a] Judges vii. 20.

A

PREFACE

TO THEM THAT SEEK (AS THEY TERM IT)

THE REFORMATION OF THE LAWS

AND

ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The cause and occasion of handling these things, and what might be wished in them, for whose sakes so much pains is taken.

THOUGH for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavours which would have upheld the same. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but seem to be born of him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitterness that shall ever drown,) I have no great cause to look for other than the self-same portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding man's nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly, to suffer all things for that work sake which we covet to perform.

The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withstood the received orders of this church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man, fearing God, stand bound to join with you for

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the furtherance of that which ye term *the Lord's Discipline.* Wherein I must plainly confess unto you, that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously inclined minds had some marvellous reasonable inducements, which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the Apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to "try all things,"[a] and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth that what good is, must be held; there was in my poor understanding no remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion: Surely the present form of church-government which the laws of this land have established is such, as no law of God nor reason of man hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof. Contrariwise, The other, which instead of it we are required to accept, is only by error and misconceit named the ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one proof as yet brought forth whereby it may clearly appear to be so in very deed.

The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands, heartily beseeching you even by the meekness of Jesus Christ, whom I trust ye love; that, as ye tender the peace and quietness of this church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the crown and glory of a Christianly-disposed mind, if your own souls, hearts, and consciences (the sound integrity whereof can but hardly stand with the refusal of truth in personal respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most dear and precious unto you; "Let not the faith which ye have in our Lord Jesus Christ be blemished with partialities;" regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himself as an adversary against the truth which ye have already embraced; but the words of one who desireth even to embrace together with you the self-same truth, if it be the truth; and for that cause (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken

[a] 1 Thess. v. 21.

the burdensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up to the very bottom, how and by whom your discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first trial thereof.

The first establishment of new discipline by Mr. Calvin's industry in the Church of Geneva; and the beginning of strife about it amongst ourselves.

II. A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind; yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides: till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva; which city the bishop and clergy thereof had a little before (as some affirm) forsaken, being of likelihood frighted with the people's sudden attempt for abolishment of Popish religion: the event of which enterprise they thought it not safe for themselves to wait for in that place.

At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or power over them, but officers chosen by the people out of themselves, to order all things with public consent. For spiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the pastors of their souls, by persuasion, could win them unto. Calvin being admitted one of their preachers, and a divinity reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers for more countenance of the action, (albeit the rest were all against it,) they moved, and in the end persuaded, with much ado, the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, first, never to admit the Papacy amongst them again; and secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ec-

clesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreeably to scripture set down for that end and purpose.

When these things began to be put in use, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto, themselves best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths; the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into a dislike with some churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack. It was the manner of those times (whether through men's desire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprises, or else because the quickness of their occasions required present dispatch;) so it was, that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of churches being then, though free within themselves, yet small, common conference beforehand might have eased them of much after-trouble.

But a great inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the Church of Rome, than the rest before had been: whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars, and discords amongst them. Which, notwithstanding, might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which rendered them unto the people, as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to pass, that one church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them: whereas the self-same orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference what might be best for them afterwards to do; this, I say, had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves, of entering into farther consultation afterwards.

Which though never so necessary they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain.

A.D. 1538.

Calvin therefore and the other his two associates, stiffly refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the orders which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town.

A few years after (such was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not unresistible earnestness been used. One of the town ministers, that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort.[a] "The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all crave Calvin. The next day a general convocation; they cry in like sort again all, We will have Calvin, that good and learned man, Christ's minister. This, saith he, when I understood, I could not choose but praise God, nor was I able to judge otherwise than 'that this was the Lord's doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes,' and that 'the stone which the builders refused, was now made the head of the corner.'"[b]

The other two whom they had thrown out, (together with Calvin,) they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further unto them. For in his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himself did

[a] Epist. Cal. 24. [p. 27. ed. Gen. 1717. "In crastinum Ducentorum congregatur concilium, et omnes petunt Calvinum: congregatur et generale sequenti die, itidem clamant omnes, Calvinum probum et doctum virum Christi, ministrum volumus. Quod cum intellexissem, non potui non laudare Deum, aliterque [neque aliter?] judicare, quam quod a Domino esset factum istud, et esset mirabile in oculis nostris: quoque lapidem quem reprobarant ædificantes in caput fieret anguli." Bernard to Calvin. 6 Feb. 1541.]

[b] Luke xx. 17. Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.

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better like of common bread to be used in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, than cause any trouble in the church about it. Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was spread who had so rashly and childishly ejected him. Besides, it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in great stead: as the truth is, their minister's foreign estimation hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge.

But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them; for contenting of their minds Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home. He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these. A standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court: these two sorts to have the cares of all men's manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted.

This device, I see not, how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moonlight, or howsoever, being departed, to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seek, that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people

to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy?

Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had stayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that public suit. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did go forward, they objected against it the example of other reformed churches living quietly and orderly without it. Some of chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a discipline was little better than Popish tyranny disguised and tendered unto them under a new form. This sort, it may be, had some fear, that the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their pastors' learning would be at all times of force to over-persuade simple men, who, knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short, would always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority: and among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a kind of secret dependency and awe: so that in show a marvellous indifferently composed senate ecclesiastical was to govern, but in effect one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all.

But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one: namely, whether they would, to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness dismiss him whose restitution they had in so impotent a manner desired; or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or to

leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore, in the end, those orders were on all sides assented unto, with no less alacrity of mind than cities unable to hold out longer are wont to shew, when they take conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage.

Not many years were overpassed, before these twice-sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline; childishly granting by common consent of their whole senate, and that under their town seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the eldership had excommunicated: further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same senate it should belong to give final judgment in that matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them; clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin; "Before," saith he, "this decree take place, either my blood or banishment shall sign it." Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, his speech was publicly to like effect: "Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy to them whom the church hath judged despisers." Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the senate, nor to present himself in the church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue.

After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, "therefore," saith he, "the case so standing as now it doth, let me use these words of the Apostle unto you, 'I commend you unto God and the word of his grace;'" and so bade them heartily adieu.

It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the senate (for according to their wonted manner they still con-

tinued only constant in inconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first, before they gave assent unto any order, had shewed some wit and discretion in them: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin, therefore, dispatcheth with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities by their good means might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them: yea, so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one, an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, if's or and's; the other, an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein, as touching both points, was satisfied. For albeit, the said Helvetian churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: First, "After what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised?" Secondly, "Whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the consistory?" Thirdly, "What the use of their churches was to do in this case?"[a] Answer was returned from the said churches, "That they had heard already of those consistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances drawing towards the prescript of the word of God; for which cause they did not think it good for the Church of Geneva by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were." Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Master Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted

[a] Epist. 166.

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without any further reply: inasmuch as they plainly saw, that when stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake.

The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is, that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it may thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth,[a] "For that he saw how needful these bridles were to be put in the jaws of that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed.

But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels; the contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were, if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are which to him did seem to intimate that all Christian churches ought to have their elderships endued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those elderships every where should be chosen out from amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture doth

[a] "Quod eam urbem videret omnino his frænis indigere."

necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your own church?

We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian Religion; the other, his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture according to the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings, published after the question about that discipline was once begun, omit not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings; his books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by.

French churches are, both under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the self-same pattern. Till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.

To one of those churches, which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth; unto this Church of Heidelburgh there cometh one who craving leave to dispute publicly defendeth with open disdain of their government, that "to a minister with his eldership power is given by the law

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of God to excommunicate whomsoever, yea, even kings and princes themselves." Here were the seeds sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erastus about the matter of excommunication; whether there ought to be in all churches an eldership having power to excommunicate, and a part of that eldership to be of necessity certain, chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay-elders to be ministers thereof.

Amongst ourselves, there was in King Edward's days some question moved, by reason of a few men's scrupulosity, touching certain things. And beyond seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary, some contenting themselves abroad with the use of their own service-book at home authorized before their departure out of the realm; others liking better the Common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva translated, those smaller contentions before begun were by this means somewhat increased. Under the happy reign of her Majesty which now is, the greatest matter awhile contended for was the wearing of the cap and surplice, till there came Admonitions directed unto the high court of Parliament, by men, who concealing their names, thought it glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva. Concerning the defender of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say is but this: "there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit." But the manner of men's writing must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the same defender do think he hath: and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself doth Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it resteth, that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

By what means so many of the people are trained unto the liking of that discipline.

III. The first mean whereby nature teacheth men to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own discretion. Hereunto therefore St. Paul referreth oftentimes his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him: "I speak as to them which have understanding, judge ye what I say."[a] Again afterward, "Judge in yourselves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered?"[b] The exercise of this kind of judgment our Saviour requireth in the Jews.[c] In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it.[d] Finally, whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing itself be allowable. St. Paul's rule therefore generally is, "Let every man in his own mind be fully persuaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth."[e]

Some things are so familiar and plain, that truth from falsehood, and good from evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St. Augustine acknowledgeth, that they are not only set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture; so that he which heareth or readeth may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men: which, because they are more obscure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things divine, to the end that in these more doubtful cases their understanding might be a light to direct others. "If the understanding power or faculty of the soul be" (saith the grand physician)[f] "like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all, what can be more convenient that that, even as the dark-sighted man is directed by the clear about things visible; so likewise in matters of deeper discourse the wise in heart do shew the simple where his way lieth?" In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there who seeth not how requisite it

[a] 1 Cor. x. 15. [b] Ibid. xi. 13. [c] Luke xii. 56, 57.
[d] Acts xvii. 11. [e] Rom. xiv. 5. [f] Galen. de opt. docen. gen.

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is that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewise the Lord hath himself appointed, that "the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at his mouth, *because* he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts."[a] Gregory Nazianzen, offended at the people's too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in such cases they should have rather submitted their own, seeketh by earnest entreaty to stay them within their bounds. "Presume not, ye that are sheep, to make yourselves guides of them that should guide you; neither seek ye to overskip the fold which they about you have pitched. It sufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame yourselves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your judges, nor to make them subject to your laws who should be a law to you; for God is not a God of sedition and confusion, but of order and of peace."[b]

But ye will say that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not close up their own eyes and be led by the conduct of such:[c] if the priest be "partial in the law,"[d] the flock must not therefore depart from the ways of sincere truth, and in simplicity yield to be followers of him for his place sake and office over them. Which thing, though in itself most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak; because the matter wherein ye think that ye see, and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort among you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the apostles' sentence against "evil speakers as touching things wherein they are ignorant."[e]

[a] Mal. ii. 7. [b] Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua se excusat.
[c] Matt. xv. 14. [d] Mal. ii. 9. [e] Jude 10; 2 Pet. ii. 12.

If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil polity,[a] (with a desire of bringing in some other kind, than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was;) if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world, why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight, and in those affairs more experience a great deal must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline, and commend it unto the highest not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, "that with whom the truth is, they know not,"[b] they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof?

Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your several opinions are alleged is a thing whereof the multitude never did, nor could, so consider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross; and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds. The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of "the cause" (for so ye term it) hath been this. First, In the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof; which being oftentimes done begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness, to such constant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good.

The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of

[a] Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. §. 8.

[b] The author of the Petition directed to her Majesty, p. 3.

ecclesiastical government established. Wherein, as before by reproving faults they purchased unto themselves, with the multitude, a name to be virtuous; so by finding out this kind of cause they obtain to be judged wise above others: whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like show of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth, as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical, (whereof also God himself, though in another sort, is author,) the stains and blemishes found in our state; which, springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end complained of, what form of government soever take place. Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of church-government, as the only sovereign remedy of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing, the virtue whereof they hear commended, would help them; but that most, which they least have tried.

The fourth degree of inducement is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld, as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature: a thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God.[a] When they of the

[a] Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 5.

"Family of Love" have it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signify any one person, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be raised is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when separation of them which have it, from them which have it not, is here made, this is judgment: how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favour of that sect?[a] And assuredly, the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled, and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an elder doth signify a layman admitted only to the office or rule of government in the church; a doctor, one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the Sacraments; a deacon, one which hath the charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the sceptre, the rod, the throne and kingdom of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons; that by mystical resemblance Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the churches which oppugn the same form of regiment. And in like sort, they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foresignify, what the authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to her Majesty, and of such other-like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause.

From hence they proceed to a higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the Word, which others reading yet discern them not. "Dearly beloved," saith St. John, "give not credit unto every spirit."[b] There are but two ways

[a] The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, originated with Henry Nicholas of Amsterdam, and afterwards of Embden, about the middle of the 16th century: and may be considered as a kind of offshoot from the German Anabaptists. For their progress in England, see Strype, Ann. II. i. 556. ii. 282.

[b] 1 John iv. 1.

whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency, Revelation; the other, Reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discovered unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them, from the greatest to the least, be able for every several article to shew some special reason as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be, but that some other sinews there are, from which that overplus of strength in persuasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yieldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful; frameth correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evil spirit, which is even in his illusions strong.[a]

After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasions concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit, leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seal them to be God's children; and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest

[a] 2 Thess. ii. 11.

of the world; whereby the one sort are named the brethren, the godly, and so forth; the other, worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with such like. From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seek all occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and think that they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements?

In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex. And although a "woman laden with sins,"[a] as the apostle St. Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness be otherwise edified in other good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline; yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it doth build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail where least ability of judgment is: and therefore, that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they

[a] 2 Tim. iii. 6.

are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them, which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends, and allies the same way; apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men to be bountiful towards their preachers who suffer want; apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they women or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, "'We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us:'[a] as for the rest, ye are of the world; for this world's pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the world, whose ye are, heareth you." Which cloak sitteth no less fit on the back of their cause, than of the Anabaptists, when the dignity, authority, and honour of God's magistrate is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters, their answer is, "God hath chosen the simple."[b] Convince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers of like defence: "Christ's own apostle was accounted mad: the best men evermore by the sentence of the world have been judged to be out of their right minds."[c]

When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity, they fasten on the head of the Lord's vicegerents here on earth whatsoever they any where find uttered against the cruelty of bloodthirsty men; and to themselves they draw all the sentences which Scripture hath in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers to whom St. Augustine writeth, saying: "Martyrs, rightly so named, are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the

[a] 1 John iv. 6.

[b] 1 Cor. i. 27.

[c] Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. "We fools thought his life madness."

ungodly breach they have made of Christian unity, but which for righteousness' sake are persecuted. For Agar also suffered persecution at the hands of Sarah, wherein, she which did impose was holy, and she unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like sort, with thieves was the Lord himself crucified; but they, who were matched in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disjoined." "If that must needs be the true church which doth endure persecution, and not that which persecuteth, let them ask of the apostle what church Sarah did represent, when she held her maid in affliction. For even our mother which is free, the heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true Church of God, was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very woman, by whom the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if all things be thoroughly scanned, she did in truth more persecute Sarah by proud resistance, than Sarah her by severity of punishment."

These are the paths wherein ye have walked that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that school: a custom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults especially in your governors; an use to attribute those faults to the kind of spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such evils; a slight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favoureth that discipline; persuasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit; that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your nearness unto God; that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

What hath caused so many of the more learned sort to approve the same discipline.

IV. Wherefore to come unto you whose judgment is a lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade myself) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments: on your shoulders is laid the burden of upholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God

ye allege divers: but so, that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves has been observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.

Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the church had observed the self-same orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only: for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before.[a] Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles' time till this present age, wherein yourselves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed; which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. "Out of Egesippus," ye say, that "Eusebius[b] writeth," how although "as long as the Apostles lived, the Church did remain a pure virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, and after they were once gone, whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of the divine wisdom with their own ears, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. Clement also in a certain place, to confirm that there was

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 32.

corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apostles' time, allegeth the proverb, 'That there are few sons like their fathers.'[a] Socrates saith of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria,[b] the most famous churches in the Apostles' times, that about the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or dominion." Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to fetch our government from any other than the Apostles' times.

Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the Apostles' times, as a pattern for the church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest thing which lay-reformers yawn for is, that the clergy may, through conformity in state and condition, be apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance, if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that church which hath such store of mendicant friars, a church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God and the good of his Church, indeed, that the clergy should be left even as bare as the Apostles when they had neither staff nor scrip; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles, would, I hope, endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own right-virtuous contentment of heart, "as well how to want, as how to abound,"[c] are a most fit episcopal impress. The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the clergy, to be in meanness of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency.

But your reformation, which are of the clergy, (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the clergy,) seemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform, must bring the form of church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient. Concerning the first, what

[a] Lib. Strom. somewhat after the beginning.

[b] Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11.

[c] Phil. iv. 12.

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was used in the Apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept. Again, sith the latter, even of the Apostles' own times, had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the Apostles' times, there is no certainty which should be followed: especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times. For albeit "the loover of antichristian building were not," ye say, as then "set up, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and under the ground laid in the Apostles' times:"[a] so that all other times ye plainly reject, and the Apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times.

Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what hath been of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the church, and the orders thereof, may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter, the better ceremonies of religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true and without exception; but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which, at the first, those rites, orders, and ceremonies were instituted. In the Apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived, would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta*.[b] Those feasts of charity,[c] which being

[a] The word "loover" is also used, T. C. ii. 631. "The ancient manner of building in Cornwall was, to set hearths in the midst of rooms for chimneys, which vented the smoke at a louver in the top." Carew, Survey of Cornwall.

[b] Rom. xvi. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "Peace be with you." For which cause Tertullian doth call it, *signaculum orationis*, the seal of prayer. Lib. de Orat.

[c] Epist. Jud. xii. Concerning which feasts, Saint Chrysostom saith, "Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, et peracta synaxit post sacramentorum communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis." In 1 Cor. xi. 17; Hom. xxvii. Of the same feasts, in like sort, Tertullian: "Cœna nostra de nomine rationem su

instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest, how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the device of almshouses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes; together with sundry other things which the Apostles' times could not have, (being now established,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times?

The orders therefore, which were observed in the Apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless on your part it still remaineth to be better proved, that the form of discipline, which ye entitle apostolical, was in the Apostles' times exercised. For of this very thing ye fail, even touching that which ye make most account of, as being matter of substance in discipline, I mean the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your doctors from the pastors in all churches. So that in sum, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst; there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised. The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Christian churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it serve you to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight; yet surely, they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with us notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the Church of England

ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Græcos *dilectio*. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum." Apol. cap. 39.

to give place. Much less when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part, through a courteous inducement, have followed one man as their guide, finally, that one therein not unlikely to have swerved. If any one chance to say, it is probable that in the Apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the church, or to affirm, that Bishops at the first were a name but not a power distinct from Presbyters, or to speak any thing in praise of those churches which are without episcopal regiment, or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye register for men, persuaded as you are, that every Christian church standeth bound by the law of God to put down bishops, and in their rooms to elect an eldership so authorized as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed.

Yet, touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed churches abroad. For, first, to do as the Church of Geneva did, the learned in some other churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner, not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration; in such an exigent I see not well, how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment, than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one church was thus, at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity, followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings.

Besides, mark I beseech you, that which Galen in matter

of philosophy noteth;[a] for the like falleth out even in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with men's opinions, as with rumours and reports: "That which a credible person telleth, is easily thought probable by such as are well persuaded of him; but if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of controversy, and so are many times overtaken for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into error, or one man's oversight deceiving many through their too much credulity and easiness of belief." Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony. Nor is it otherwise here where the daughter churches do speak their mother's dialect; here, where so many sing one song, by reason that he is the guide of the choir, concerning whose deserved authority, amongst even the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move so many learned to be followers of one man's judgment, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by yourselves. Loath ye are to think that they, whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since the Apostles' time, should mistake in discipline.[b] Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, "for that as dead flies putrefy the ointment of the apothecary, so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom."[c] This in every profession hath too much authorized the judgments of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wisdom of that God, who setteth before us in holy Scripture so many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them, without somewhat noted wherein they were

[a] Galen. clas. 2, lib. de cujusque Anim. Peccat. Notitia atque Medela, t. i. p. 366. Basil. 1538.

[b] Petition to the Queen's Majesty, p. 14.

[c] Eccles. x. 1.

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culpable; to the end, that to Him alone it might always be acknowledged, "Thou only art holy, thou only art just;" might not permit those worthy vessels of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth.

Their calling for trial by disputation.

V. Notwithstanding, as though ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers ye are of trial by some public disputation: wherein if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the schools in universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly acts and commencements, besides other disputations both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination. The learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence at the time of those greater assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing myself have known them to grant of scholastical courtesy unto strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you.

If your suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are should sleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your cause: haply, they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand do think it both dangerous to admit such concourse of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once solemnly established, are to exact obedience of all men, and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop as to hold themselves in suspense from taking any effect upon you till some disputer can persuade you to be obedient. A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason, in things of this quality, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws

that have been approved may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the authors thereof themselves. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuseth the laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your party. Provided always, first, inasmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not ourselves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any such conference other than the plaintiff's or opponent's part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof: secondly, because the questions in controversy between us are many, if once we descend unto particulars; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein, the most general be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one argument given over and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto, by replies and answers, both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged as well on the one side as on the other to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto: thirdly, for avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal disputes are subject; as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one as every man's own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest that haply some other would have done more; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose for your speaker, by him that which is publicly brought into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to be his

allegation but yours, such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that reasonable time be allowed for return of answer unto you in the like form: fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports published afterwards unto the world; that, to prevent this evil, there be at the first a solemn declaration made on both parts, of their agreement to have that very book, and no other, set abroad, wherein their present authorized notaries do write those things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else—they may be thought on when occasion serveth. In this sort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I should be loath, (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to overrule,) but that so venturous boldness, I see, is a thing now general; and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licensed to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

No end of contention, without submission of both parts unto some definitive sentence.

VI. What success God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture, and experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contention by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong; as for other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether, I say, ye be content to refer your cause to any other higher judgment than your own, or else intend to persist, and proceed as ye have begun, till yourselves can be persuaded to condemn yourselves. If your determination be this, we can

be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God himself pronounceth, "The way of peace they have not known."[a]

Ways of peaceable conclusion there are, but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God himself in the Law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian churches in the world to use the latter. The ordinance of God in the Law was this:[b] "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then shalt thou arise, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests of the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and ask, and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment, and thou shalt do according to that thing, which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee; according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do; thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left. And that man that will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away evil from Israel."

When there grew in the Church of Christ a question, Whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem; which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose.[c] Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy to have your judgments overruled by some such definitive sentence, whether it

[a] Rom. iii. 17. [b] Deut. xvii. 8. [c] Acts xv.

fall out to be given with or against you; that so these tedious contentions may cease?

Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence, no not though Angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostle's own example teacheth.[a] Again, that men, yea councils, may err; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds, unless it be such as ye can by no further argument oppugn; in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with God's word; to stand unto it, not allowing it, were to sin against your own consciences.

But consider, I beseech you, first, as touching the Apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him, even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no possibility of error. That which you are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only probable collection, and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness. God was not ignorant that the priests and judges, whose sentence in matters of controversy he ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of His understanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive should prevail, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respite to grow, and not come speedily unto some end.

Neither wish we that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do, but this persuasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts; that in litigious and controverted causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them to do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one part or other contending; and yet in this case, God did then allow them to do that which in their

[a] Gal. i. 8.

private judgment it seemed, yea and perhaps truly seemed, that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all controversy was at an end, Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of judgment finished their strife, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end.

Now it were in vain to ask you, whether you could be content that the sentence of any court already erected should be so far authorized, as that among the Jews established by God himself, for the determining of all controversies: "That man which will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest that standeth before the Lord to minister there, nor unto the judge, let him die." Ye have given us already to understand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Majesty's court of high commission; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews, albeit the power be not so great. The other way happily may like you better, because Master Beza, in his last book save one[a] written about these matters, professeth himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inasmuch as he findeth that "controversies thereby are made but brawls;" and therefore wisheth "that in some

[a] Præf. Tract. de Excom. et Presbyt.

common lawful assembly of churches all these strifes may at once be decided."

Shall there be in the meanwhile no doings? Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law, "judgment, and mercy, and fidelity."[a] These things we ought to do; and these things, while we contend about less, we leave undone. Happier are they whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find doing in these things, than disputing about "doctors, elders, and deacons." Or if there be no remedy but somewhat needs ye must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline; do that which wise men, who think some statute of the realm more fit to be repealed than to stand in force, are accustomed to do before they come to parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in re-examining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it; it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny thereunto your willing obedience.

Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God; but your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend; and in otherwise doing, ye offend against God by troubling his Church without any just or necessary cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws; are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such, as being proposed unto any man and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of the whole church unto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good; and therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good it must give place. But if the skilfullest

[a] Matt. xxiii. 23.

amongst you can shew that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable show against it might be made? Is it meet, that when public things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, "I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them nought?" In which case your answer will be, that concerning the laws of our church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of "a private man, but of thousands," yea and even "of those amongst which divers are in public charge and authority."[a] As though when public consent of the whole hath established any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every entire society or body politic overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God, being the author of peace and not of confusion in the church, must needs be author of those men's peaceable resolutions, who, concerning these things, have determined with themselves to think and do as the church they are of decreeth, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

The matter contained in these eight Books.

VII. Nor is mine own intent any other, in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. 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 gloss than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew, as near as I can, what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as

[a] T. C. lib. iii. p. 181.

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we observe, or such as yourselves would have established;—when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general; whereof unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down, in the first place, an introduction on both sides needful to be considered; declaring therein what law is, how many different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind.

This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cause, "That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions," and consequently that the church-orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God: I have spent the second Book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in need of government; of which government it behoveth Himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty, that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore "that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the Laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration."

The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our church (for so you pretend) "corrupted the right form of church-polity with manifold popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as" (you think) "we ought to follow." This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our church, when ye plead that they are the same which the Church of Rome hath, or

that they are not the same which some other reformed churches have devised.

Of those four Books which remain and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our Sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one, whether laymen, such as your governing elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power? The other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince our Sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth Book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those pre-eminences royal which thereunto appertain.

Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented unto your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

VIII. The case so standing, therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations which are more than likely to follow if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours that way. The rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who, concurring with you

How just cause there is to fear the manifold dangerous events likely to ensue upon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

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in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured, without more ado, to separate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in execution. These men's hastiness the warier sort of you doth not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor brethren." They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you as their "false brethren;" and against you they plead, saying: "From your breasts it is that we have sucked those things, which when ye delivered unto us ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's word;[a] howsoever ye now abhor, as poison, that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. Ye, sometime our companions, guides, and familiars, with whom we have had most sweet consultations,[b] are now become our professed adversaries, because we think the statute-congregations in England to be no true Christian churches; because we have severed ourselves from them; and because without their leave and license that are in civil authority, we have secretly framed our own churches according to the platform of the word of God: for of that point between you and us there is no controversy. Alas! what would ye have us to do? At such time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teachings we heard, we read your writings: and though we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeal ye have ever professed, that in the English congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own laws) the very public service of God is fraught, as touching matter with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the shop of Antichrist; hateful both ways in the eyes of the Most Holy; the kind of their government, by bishops and archbishops, antichristian; that discipline which Christ hath 'essentially tried,' that is to say, so united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the same discipline, that very discipline no less there despised, than in the

[a] 1 Peter ii. 2.

[b] Psalm lv. 13.

highest throne of Antichrist; all such parts of the word of God as do any way concern that discipline, no less unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English pastors, than by Antichrist's factors themselves: at baptism crossing; at the supper of the Lord kneeling; at both, a number of other the most notorious badges of antichristian recognizance usual. Being moved with these and the like, your effectual discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive ear, till they entered even into our souls, and were as fire within our bosoms; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that sith no such antichristian synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Christ, you by accusing all congregations ordered according to the laws of England as antichristian, did mean to condemn those congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian Church. Ye tell us now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatenings of them, who professing themselves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loath to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durst not, we durst not continue longer so near her confines, lest her plagues might suddenly overtake us, before we did cease to be partakers with her sins: for so we could not choose but acknowledge with grief that we were, when, they doing evil, we by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof, or at least-wise not so earnestly to dislike, as became men heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the discipline of Christ without the leave of the Christian magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our estates and persons further than you, which are that way more wise, think necessary: but of any offence or sin therein committed against God, with what conscience can you accuse us, when your own positions are, that the things we observe should every of them be dearer unto us than ten thousand lives; that they are the peremptory commandments of God; that no mortal man can dispense with them, and that the magistrate grievously sinneth in not constraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men should be compelled to do, that are not willing of themselves? When God commandeth,

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shall we answer that we will obey, if so be Cæsar will grant us leave? Is discipline an ecclesiastical matter or a civil? If an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity belong to the duty of the minister. And the minister (you say) holdeth all his authority of doing whatsoever belongeth unto the spiritual charge of the house of God even immediately from God himself, without dependency upon any magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the sceptre of Christ, the minister of God, into whose hands the Lord himself hath put that sceptre, is without all excuse if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that hitherto greatly ye have disliked those churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly ministers have even against the will of the magistrate brought in either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus Christ. For which cause we must now think the very same thing of you, which our Saviour did sometime utter concerning falsehearted Scribes and Pharisees, 'they say, and do not.'"[a] Thus the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by you from whom he hath sprung.

And if such by your own acknowledgment be persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of small and tender growth; the changes likely to ensue throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought upon.

First concerning the supreme power of the Highest, they are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging, the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign; as in the last book of this treatise we have shewed at large. Again, it may justly be feared, whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call, and to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons assisted with the presence of their poor teacher, a man (as sometimes it happeneth) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd, (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod,) no appeal may be

[a] Matt. xxiii. 3.

made unto any one of higher power, inasmuch as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes and several congregations.

Neither is it altogether without cause that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning, as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For if "the world's preservation" depend upon "the multitude of the wise,"[a] and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great, "when" (that wherewith the son of Sirach professeth himself at the heart grieved) "men of understanding are" already so "little set by;"[b] how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel filleth with secret jealousy even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt lest this discipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a stepmother; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds, and have grounded your platform on such propositions as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where, through the goodness of Almighty God, all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue) studied, proceeded in, and professed? To charge you as purposely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wish that yourselves did well consider, how opposite certain of your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, wherein the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away; yourselves, who have sought them, ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of

[a] Sap. vi. 24.

[b] Ecclus. xxvi. 28.

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civil power must needs deprive the heads and masters in the same colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority are subject unto them; or abroad by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent inequality amongst ministers a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all, or any part of them, ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs even in these collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the school of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, whereinto their founders, with singular providence, have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them.

Your opinion concerning the Law Civil is, that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land doth not need.[a] Professors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removal: in whose studies although myself have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause, I see, there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given; as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already that the

[a] Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50.

work of reformation will never be perfect, till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the common law, and bestow them as the students of curious and needless arts[a] did theirs in the Apostles' time? I leave them to scan how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, "this one thing will shew the excellency of discipline for the wealth of the realm and quiet of subjects; that the Church is to censure such a party who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without *reasonable cause* upon a mere will and stomach doth vex and molest his brother, and trouble the country."[b] For mine own part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them.

A great deal further I might proceed and descend lower. But forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties your answer is,[c] that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute commandment of Almighty God, it must be received, although the world by receiving it should be clean turned upside down; herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error the mind, once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion, concerning the lawfulness thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority.

One example herein may serve for many, to shew that false

[a] Acts xix. 19. [b] Humb. Motion, p. 74. [c] Counterp. p. 108.

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opinions, touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hinderances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea, most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by casting out popish superstition, they having received from their pastors a general instruction "that whatsoever the heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out,"[a] proceeded in some foreign places so far, that down went oratories and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass of their commissions stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on rules more general; that whatsoever the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the author; and that whatsoever Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went,[b] that albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the earth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance they said must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the customs and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose, they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh.[c] All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof, not

[a] Matt. xv. 13. [b] Guy de Brés contre l'Erreur des Anabaptistes, p. 3.
[c] p. 4.

only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion unto Christ.[a] They were solicitors of men to fasts,[b] to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayer, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desire as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered seemed to pierce like a sword through them.[c] If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, "Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament."[d] So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abroad in worse: the ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction than by numbers, the First, Second, Third day.[e]

From this they proceeded unto public reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught.[f] Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to control the ministers of the Gospel for attributing so much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached,

[a] p. 16. [b] p. 118, 119. [c] p. 116, 120.
[d] Luke vi. 25. [e] p. 117. [f] p. 40.

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but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts."[a] The Book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it, they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respect unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire.[b] When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and such-like, are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, "They are still learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth,"[c] it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith.[d] The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions[e] were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the sounder in his own persuasion excusing *the dear brethren*,[f] which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God;[g]

[a] Jer. xxxi. 33. [b] p. 27. [c] 2 Tim. iii. 7. p. 65.
[d] p. 66. [e] p. 135. [f] p. 25. [g] p. 71.

the rest their manner was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees,[a] to account their calling a human creature, and to detain the people, as much as might be, from hearing them. As touching Sacraments,[b] Baptism administered in the Church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery and no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the Papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using godfathers and godmothers at christenings they scorned.[c] Baptism of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever sithence the very Apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly, because sundry errors are of no less antiquity;[d] and partly, for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which saith, "Baptize infants;"[e] but he contrariwise in saying, "Go preach and baptize," doth appoint that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptism; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," he appointeth that the party to whom baptism is administered shall first believe and then be baptized; to the end that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both,[f] the law of Christ declareth not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after supper; and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: Drink, shew forth our Lord's death."[g] In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them.[h]

[a] p. 124. [b] p. 764. [c] p. 748. [d] p. 514.
[e] p. 722, 726, 688. [f] p. 518. [g] p. 38. [h] p. 122.

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The pretended end of their civil reformation was that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men but he; no regiment keep them in awe but his discipline; amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in overturning the seats of magistracy,[a] because Christ hath said, "Kings of nations;"[b] in abolishing the execution of justice,[c] because Christ hath said, "Resist not evil;" in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial,[d] because Christ hath said, "Swear not at all:" finally, in bringing in community of goods,[e] because Christ by his Apostles hath given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another not in wealth, the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue.

These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, "O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant! With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil!"[f] Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony,[g] that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands.[h]

The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes were most effectual: first, a wonderful show of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake: secondly, a hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief

[a] p. 841. [b] Luke xxii. 25. [c] p. 833. [d] p. 849.
[e] p. 40. [f] Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. c. 19. [g] p. 6.
[h] p. 4, 20, 41, 42.

wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away:[a] fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporal and spiritual taken from them,[b] that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning slight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, "These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere prophets."[c] If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people, (so strangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most dear servants from them.[d]

In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done but with mighty opposition and resistance; against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into a league of association.[e] And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long wars would in time waste them out; they began to think whether it might not be, that God would have them do for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel, did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood, that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly

[a] p. 55. [b] p. 6, 7. [c] p. 7. [d] p. 27. [e] p. 6.

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were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel: concluding that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this world's servile thraldom unto sin and superstition; as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them a people which feared God; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Joshuas, Samsons, and Gideons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be lest the casualties of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the Gospel the Lord was content to allow as much.

Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded, that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy; their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice their restless desire and study to remove leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause, it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the

first sounded nothing but only mortification of the flesh, were come at length to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives apiece; they which at the first thought judgment and justice itself to be merciless cruelty, accounted at the length their own hands sanctified with being embrued in Christian blood; they who at the first were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "Kings of nations;" had at the length both consuls and kings of their own erection amongst themselves: finally, they which could not brook at the first that any man should seek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness their answer,[a] that now the time was come when, according to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must inherit the earth;"[b] and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians.[c]

Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you though touching the sequel of your present mispersuasions much more be doubted, than your own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons ought to be in this Church of England, "whether her Majesty and our state will or no:"[d] when for the animating of your confederates, ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own bands, and proclaim them to amount to I know not how many thousands: when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits to the parliament, nor supplications to our convocation-house, neither your defences by writing, nor challenges of disputation in behalf of that cause are able to prevail, we must blame ourselves, if to bring in discipline some such means hereafter be used as shall cause all our hearts to ache.[e] "That things doubtful are to be construed in the better part," is a principle not safe to be

[a] p. 41. [b] Matt. v. 5. [c] Exod. xi. 2.
[d] Mart. in his third Libel. [e] Demonstr. in the Pref.

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followed in matters concerning the public state of commonweal. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the licence of civil powers, which licence they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed what may be attempted against superiors which will not have the sceptre of that discipline to rule over them? Yea even by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the clergy thereunto addicted. And lest examination of principal parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the rest even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths which may turn to the molestation of your brethren in that cause. The next neighbour opinion whereunto when occasion requireth may follow, for dispensation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting aught which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be. O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary public resolution! Wherefore, if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded, even as you are, have gone further upon that persuasion than you allow; if we re-

gard the present state of the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous universities, if the profession of the civil or the practice of the common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto even before our eyes so many others have fallen headlong for no less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are; there is in every of these considerations most just cause to fear, lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence, should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

IX. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause you have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men, deem it not impossible for you to err; sift impartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason or vehemency of affection, which hath bred and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glosing delusions, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory when the same doth prevail over you.

That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, shall be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many, so huge volumes, as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation, and honour, than the book wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchased by these words only, "Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I have spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed."[a] Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be joined with you in bands

[a] Job xl. 4, 5.

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of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy even on both sides. Brought already we are even to that estate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully describeth, saying,[a] "My mind leadeth me" (sith there is no other remedy) "to fly and to convey myself into some corner out of sight, where I may escape from this cloudy tempest of maliciousness, whereby all parts are entered into a deadly war amongst themselves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now consumed to nothing. The only godliness we glory in, is to find out somewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's faults we observe as matter of exprobration and not of grief. By these means we are grown hateful in the eyes of the heathens themselves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny, but that we have deserved their hatred. With the better sort of our own our fame and credit is clean lost. The less we are to marvel if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also build that are lewd, and what we object one against another, the same they use to the utter scorn and disgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-dissensions. This we are worthily rewarded with which are more forward to strive than becometh men of virtuous and mild disposition."

But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, shew ourselves each towards other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope, there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him more than the stars of the firmament in number.

[a] Greg. Naz. in Apol. ed. Par. 1609.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK I.

CONCERNING LAWS, AND THEIR SEVERAL KINDS IN GENERAL.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIRST BOOK.

1. The cause of writing this general Discourse concerning Laws.
2. Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.
3. The Law which natural agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
4. The Law which the Angels of God obey.
5. The Law whereby Man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
6. Men's first beginning to understand that Law.
7. Of Man's Will, which is the first thing that Laws of action are made to guide.
8. Of the natural finding out of Laws by the light of Reason, to guide the will unto that which is good.
9. Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.
10. How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws, whereby the fellowship or communion of independent Societies standeth.
11. Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural Laws as do serve for men's direction.
12. The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in Holy Scriptures.
13. The benefit of having divine Laws written.
14. The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
15. Of Laws positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.
16. A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cause of writing this general Discourse.

I. He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the

judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour, whatsoever they utter, passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech, is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds, so averted beforehand, usually take against that which they are loath should be poured into them.

Albeit therefore much of that we are to speak in this present cause may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate; (for many talk of the truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth; and therefore when they are led thereunto they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not so far prevail as to cut off that which the matter itself requireth, howsoever the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious are in no wise injured by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider, that in these matters it cometh no otherwise to pass than in sundry the works both of art and also of nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see, is notwithstanding itself oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of houses, the goodliness of trees, when we behold them, delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom 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 manner, the use and benefit of good laws all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first

original causes from whence they have sprung be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the laws which they should obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the highest well-spring and fountain of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do it the pains we take are more needful a great deal and acceptable, and the matters which we handle seem by reason of newness (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof, as may be in this case, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspense, as touching these first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue; what may seem dark at the first will afterwards be found more plain, even as the latter particular decisions will appear, I doubt not, more strong, when the other have been read before.

The Laws of the Church, whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the exercise of Christian religion and the service of the true God, our rites, customs, and orders of ecclesiastical government, are called in question: 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 unto the sceptre of his discipline. Behold, therefore, we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgment of the whole world; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kind of partial affection being clean laid aside) may have eyes to see and hearts to embrace the things that in his sight are most acceptable. And because the point about which we strive is the quality of our laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with consideration of the nature of law in general, and of that law which giveth life unto all the rest, which are commendable, just, and good; namely the law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from

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hence to the law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall have the easier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we have in hand.

Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.

II. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual; neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the same, without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unless the work be also fit to obtain it by; for unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure, of working, the same we term a Law. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the actions whereby it is attained were regular; that is to say, made suitable, fit, and correspondent unto their end, by some canon, rule, or law; which thing doth first take place in the works even of God himself. All things therefore do work after a sort according to law: all other things according to a law, whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author; only the works and operations of God have Him both for their worker, and for the law whereby they are wrought. The being of God is a kind of law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Those natural, necessary, and internal operations of God, the Generation of the Son, the Proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compass of my present intent: which is to touch only such operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be: which eternal decree is what we term an eternal law.

Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High; whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him: and our safest eloquence concerning him, is our silence, when we confess without confession, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few.

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Our God is One, or rather very Oneness, and mere unity, having nothing but itself in itself, and not consisting (as all things do besides God) of many things. In which essential Unity of God a Trinity personal nevertheless subsisteth, after a manner far exceeding the possibility of man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of Him being one, that each Person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one Deity; from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the same we have at the hands of the Spirit as being the last, and therefore the nearest unto us in order, although in power the same with the second and the first.

John xvi. 13—15.

The wise and learned among the very heathens themselves have all acknowledged some First Cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an Agent, which knowing what and why it worketh, observeth in working a most exact order or law. Thus much is signified by that which Homer mentioneth, *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*.[a] Thus much acknowledged by Mercurius Trismegistus, *Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ*.[b] Thus much confessed by Anaxagoras and Plato, terming the Maker of the world an intellectual Worker. Finally, the Stoics, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held nevertheless, that the same fire having art, did *ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου*.[c] They all confess therefore, in the working of that first cause, that Counsel is used, Reason followed, a Way observed; that is to say, constant Order and Law is kept; whereof itself must needs be author unto itself: otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not itself be the first: being the first, it can have no other than itself to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by.

[c. 7. sec. 1.]

[a] Jupiter's *counsel* was accomplished.

[b] The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by *reason*. Stob. in Eclog. Phys.

[c] Proceed by a certain and set way in the making of the world.

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God therefore is a law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself he is a law in all those things, John v. 17. whereof our Saviour speaks, saying, "My Father worketh as yet, so I." God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him have some end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not Gen. ii. 18. created. "*Non est bonum*, It is not good man should be alone;" therefore let us make a helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leave undone were not so good.

If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are: the reason hereof is the end which he hath proposed, and the law whereby his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently unto that end for Sap. vii. 1; xi. 17. which it worketh, even "all things χρηστῶς, in most decent and comely sort," all things in Measure, Number, and Weight.

The general end of God's external working is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue. Which abundance doth shew itself in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in Scripture expressed by the name of Ephes. i. 7. Phil. iv. 19. Col. ii. 3. Prov. xvi. 4. *riches*. "The Lord hath made all things for his own sake." Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every act proceeding externally from God we are not able to discern; and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reason of his works. Howbeit undoubtedly a proper and certain reason there is of every finite work of God, inasmuch as there is a law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite, even as the worker himself is.

They err, therefore, who think that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof, I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, inasmuch as he Ephes. i. 11. worketh all things κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only according to his own will, but "the Counsel of his own

will." And whatsoever is done with counsel or wise resolution, hath of necessity some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to us in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat: "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments," &c. That law eternal which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and author; that law, in the admirable frame whereof shineth the most perfect beauty, the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning herself, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old I was set up;" that law, which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card to guide the world by; that law, which hath been of God and with God everlastingly; that law, the author and observer whereof is one only God to be blessed for ever; how should either men or angels be able perfectly to behold? The book of this law we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof, which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore.

Rom. xi. 33.

Prov. viii. 22.

Seeing, therefore, that according to this law He worketh, "of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things;" although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the affairs of this present world: "Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites:" "let no man doubt but that every thing is well done, because the world is ruled by so good a guide," as transgresseth not His own law: than which nothing can be more absolute, perfect, and just.

Rom. xi. 36.

Boet. lib. 4. de consol. philos. [pros. 5.]

The law whereby He worketh is eternal, and therefore can have no show or colour of mutability: for which cause, a part of that law being opened in the promises which God hath made, (because his promises are nothing else but declarations what God will do for the good of men,) touching those promises the Apostle hath witnessed, that God may as possibly "deny himself," and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the counsel of God, he termeth it likewise a thing "unchangeable;" the counsel of God, and that law of God whereof now we speak, being one. Nor is the freedom

2 Tim. ii. 13.

Heb. vi. 17.

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of the will of God any whit abated, let, or hindered, by means of this; because the imposition of this law upon himself is his own free and voluntary act.

This law therefore we may name eternal, being "that order which God before all ages hath set down with himself, for himself to do all things by."

The law which natural agents have given them to observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

III. I am not ignorant that by "law eternal" the learned for the most part do understand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himself in all his works to observe, but rather that, which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the several conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak apply the name of Law unto that only rule of working which superior authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, term any kind of rule or canon, whereby actions are framed, a law. Now that law, which, as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call Eternal, receiveth, according unto the different kinds of things which are subject unto it, different and sundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents, we call usually Nature's law; that which Angels do clearly behold, and without any swerving observe, is a law celestial and heavenly; the law of Reason, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this world, and with which by reason they may most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special revelation from God, Divine law; Human law, that which out of the law either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto *this second law eternal;* and even those things which to this eternal law are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by *the first eternal law.* For what good or evil is there under the sun; what action correspondent or repugnant unto the law which God hath imposed upon his creatures, but in, or upon it, God doth work according to the law which himself hath eternally purposed to keep; that is to say, the *first law eternal?* So that a twofold law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in all things.[a]

[a] "Id omne, quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ." Th. i. 1, 2.

Wherefore to come to the law of nature: albeit thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keep; yet forasmuch as those things are termed most properly natural agents, which keep the law of their kind unwittingly, as the heavens and elements of the world, which can do no otherwise than they do; and forasmuch as we give unto intellectual natures the name of Voluntary agents, that so we may distinguish them from the other; expedient it will be, that we sever the law of nature observed by the one from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one tenure, statute, and law, is spoken of by all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travail of wading herein is given of God to the sons of men, that perceiving how much the least thing in the world hath in it more than the wisest are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. Moses, in describing the work of creation, attributeth speech unto God: "God said, Let there be light: let there be a firmament: let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place: let the earth bring forth: let there be lights in the firmament of heaven." Was this only the intent of Moses, to signify the infinite greatness of God's power by the easiness of his accomplishing such effects, without travail, pain, or labour? Surely, it seemeth that Moses had therein, besides this, a further purpose, namely, first, to teach that God did not work as a necessary but a voluntary agent, intending beforehand, and decreeing with himself, that which did outwardly proceed from him: secondly, to shew that God did then institute a law natural to be observed by creatures; and therefore,

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Eccles. iii. 9, 10.

q. 93. art. 4—6. "Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi Creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur." August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xix. cap. 22. Immo et peccatum, quatenus a Deo juste permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inserit, juxta illud Augustini, "Jussisti Domine, et sic est, ut pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus." Confes. lib. i. cap. 12. Nec male scholastici; "Quemadmodum," inquiunt, "videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod a fine particulari suo, atque adeo a lege æterna exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem a lege etiam æterna ipsis in casu particulari constitutum; sic verisimile est homines, etiam cum peccant et desciscunt a lege æterna ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis."

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according to the manner of laws, the institution thereof is described, as being established by solemn injunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of nature's law. This world's first creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternal law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the natural course of the world: since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: He "made a law for the rain;" He gave his "decree unto the sea, that the waters should not pass his commandment." Now, if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for awhile, the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother-elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, through a languishing faintness begin to stand and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away, as children at the withered breasts of their mother, no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himself, whom these things do now all serve? See we not plainly, that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?

Job xxviii. 26.

Jer. x. 22.

Psalm xix. 5.

Notwithstanding, with nature it cometh sometimes to pass as with art. Let Phidias have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his work will lack that

beauty which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had. He that striketh an instrument with skill, may cause notwithstanding a very unpleasant sound, if the string whereon he striketh chance to be incapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural consist, that of Theophrastus takes place, *Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον οὐδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ.* "Much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no means yield to receive that impression which were best and most perfect." Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the heathen observed often: but the true original cause thereof, divine malediction, laid for the sin of man upon these creatures which God had made for the use of man, this being an article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their merely natural capacity and understanding. But howsoever these swervings are now and then incident into the course of nature; nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth, but those things which nature worketh are wrought, either always or for the most part, after one and the same manner.

Theophrast. in Metaph. [c. 3.]

Arist. Rhet. i. cap. 39.

If here it be demanded, what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to that higher law whereof we have already spoken; and because all other laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates,[a] that "each thing, both in small and in great, fulfilleth the task which destiny hath set down;" and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, "what they do they know not, yet is it in show and appearance as though

[a] *Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον . . . . ὃ πρήσσουσιν οὐκ οἴδασιν, ὃ δὲ πρήσσουσι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι, καί θ' ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι.*

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they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not discern the things which they look on:" nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact, than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who is the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? "In him we live, move, and are." Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine art performed, using nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in nature herself working, but in the Guide of nature's work.

Acts xvii. 28.

Whereas therefore things natural, which are not in the number of voluntary agents, (for of such only we now speak, and of no other,) do so necessarily observe their certain laws, that as long as they keep those forms[a] which give them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meanwhile, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why; it followeth, that all which they do in this sort proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same.

The manner of this divine efficiency being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason, than creatures unreasonable by their sense are able to comprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Only thus much is discerned, that the natural generation and process of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the settled stability of divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the disposition whereof, in the purity of God's own knowledge and will, is rightly termed

[a] Form in other creatures is a thing proportionable unto the soul in living creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernible than only by effects. According to the diversity of inward forms, things of the world are distinguished into their kinds.

by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves, here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called natural Destiny. That law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical or an original draught written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same, useth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used, to work his own will and pleasure withal. Nature therefore is nothing else but God's instrument:[a] in the course whereof Dionysius, perceiving some sudden disturbance, is said to have cried out, "Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvitur:" "either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater than himself hindered; or if that be impossible, then hath he determined to make a present dissolution of the world; the execution of that law beginning now to stand still, without which the world cannot stand."

This workman, whose servitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the heathens imagining to be more, gave him in the sky the name of Jupiter, in the air the name of Juno, in the water the name of Neptune, in the earth the name of Vesta and sometimes of Ceres, the name of Apollo in the sun, in the moon the name of Diana, the name of Æolus and divers other in the winds; and to conclude, even so many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of things natural in the world. These they honoured, as having power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them. But unto us there is one only Guide of all agents natural, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored, and honoured by all for ever.

That which hitherto hath been spoken, concerneth natural agents, considered in themselves. But we must further remember also, (which thing to touch, in a word, shall suffice,) that as in this respect they have their law, which law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own

[a] Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. cap. 3. "Omne quod movetur ab aliquo, est quasi instrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum est autem, etiam apud indoctos, ponere, instrumentum moveri non ab aliquo principali agente."

Book I. Ch. iv.

perfection; so likewise another law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one body; a law which bindeth them each to serve unto other's good, and all to prefer the good of the whole before whatsoever their own particular; as we plainly see they do, when things natural in that regard forget their ordinary natural wont; that which is heavy, mounting sometimes upwards of its own accord, and forsaking the centre of the earth, which to itself is most natural, even as if it did hear itself commanded to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distress of nature in common.

The law which Angels do work by.

IV. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural, consider a little the state of heavenly and divine creatures: touching Angels, which are spirits immaterial and

Psa. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7. Ephes. iii. 10.

intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace,

Dan. vii. 10. Matt. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Luke ii. 13.

even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself, being to set down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more

Matt. vi. 10.

than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven. God, which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwise move intellectual creatures, and

Matt. xviii. 10.

especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God, in admiration of so great excellency they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably

Psalm xci. 11, 12. Luke xv. 7. Heb. i. 14. Acts x. 3. Dan. ix. 23. Matt. xviii. 10. Dan. iv. 13.

for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness, maketh them unweariable and even unsatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner of good unto all the creatures of God, but especially unto the children of men: in the countenance of whose nature, looking downward, they behold themselves beneath themselves; even as upward, in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us resembled, Thus far even

the Paynims have approached: thus far have they seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing, that "the fiery throne of God is attended on by those most industrious angels, careful how all things are performed amongst men;"[a] and the Mirror of human wisdom plainly teaching, that God moveth angels, even as that thing doth stir man's heart, which is thereunto presented amiable. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto these three general kinds: first, most delectable love arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory, and beauty of God, invisible saving only unto spirits that are pure: secondly, adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend: thirdly, imitation,[b] bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved grace.

Arist. Met. l. xii. c. 7.

Job xxxviii. 7. Matt. xviii. 10. Psalm cxlviii. 2. Heb. i. 6. Isa. vi. 3.

Of angels, we are not to consider only what they are and do in regard of their own being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongst themselves, and of society or fellowship with men. Consider angels each of them severally in himself, and their law is that which the prophet David mentioneth, "All ye his angels praise him." Consider the angels of God associated; and their law is that which disposeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another. Consider finally the angels as having with us that communion which the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth, and in regard whereof, angels have not disdained to profess themselves our "fellow-servants;" from hence there springeth up a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministerial employment. Every of which their several functions are by them performed with joy.

Psalm cxlviii. 2. Luke ii. 13. Matt. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Apoc. xxii. 9.

A part of the angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue.

2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.

[a] "Σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παραστᾶσιν πολυμόχθοι
Ἄγγελοι, οἵσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται."
Fragm. iii. ex Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 724, 8.

[b] This is intimated wheresoever we find them termed "the sons of God," as Job i. 6, and xxxviii. 7.

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Impossible it was, that ever their will should change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein now the elect angels are without possibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God, they apprehended it not in itself, without dependency upon God; because so long, God must needs seem infinitely better than any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always, how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore, that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God, and their dependency on him, was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their admiration, love, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride; since their fall, their practices have been clean contrary unto those before mentioned: for being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some among the minerals, dens, and caves that are under the earth; they have, by all means, laboured to effect a universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth, utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathen honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *dii inferi*, "gods infernal;" and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols, some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world, and dissolved the works of the Devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

John viii. 44. I Pet. v. 8. Apoc. ix. 11. Gen. iii. 15. 1 Chr. xxi. 1. Job i. 7; ii. 2. John xiii. 27. Acts v. 3. Apoc. xx. 8.

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

V. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is, whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not; all other things besides are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby

they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of Goodness. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good.[a] Again, sith there can be no goodness desired which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble, the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seek the Highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself. Yet this doth no where so much appear as it doth in man, because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodness is, that general perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coveting as much as may be to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain personally, doth seek to continue itself another way; that is, by offspring and propagation. The next degree of goodness is that which each thing coveteth by affecting resemblance with God, in the constancy and excellency of those operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they strive unto, by working either always, or for the most part, after one and the same manner; his absolute exactness they imitate, by tending unto that which is most exquisite in every particular. Hence have arisen a number of axioms in philosophy,[b] shewing how "the works of nature do always aim at that which cannot be bettered."

These two kinds of goodness rehearsed are so nearly united to the things themselves which desire them, that we scarcely perceive the appetite to stir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more apparent; especially of such as are not expressly desired, unless they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause than for knowledge itself desired. Concerning perfections in this kind; that by proceeding in the

[a] Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. Arist. de An. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[b] Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν, μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. Arist. 2. de cœl. cap. 5.

Book I. Ch. vi.

knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of virtue, man, amongst the creatures of this inferior world, aspireth to the greatest conformity with God. This is not only known unto us, whom he himself hath instructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongst men are not judged the nearest unto him. With Plato, what one thing more usual, than to excite men unto love of wisdom, by shewing, how much wise men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raise them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not gods, yet as gods, high, admirable, and divine? And Mercurius Trismegistus, speaking of the virtues of a righteous soul,[a] "Such spirits," saith he, "are never cloyed with praising and speaking well of all men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, because they study to frame themselves according to the *pattern* of the Father of spirits."

Men's first beginning to grow to the knowledge of that Law which they are to observe. Vide Isa. vii. 16.

VI. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels of God and the children of men this difference: angels already have full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted unto them; men, if we view them in their spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheless, from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the angels themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disjoined and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.

Unto that which hath been already set down concerning natural agents this we must add, that albeit therein we have comprised as well creatures living as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheless, a difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have, though weak, yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in

[a] Ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει ὑμνοῦσα, εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας (πάντως) εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα. (c. 10. §. 21.) lib. iv. f. 12.

dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation, and of fertility: so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them.

The soul of man therefore, being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all, the ability of reaching higher than unto sensible things.[a] Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the soul of man doth only store itself with conceits of things of inferior and more open quality, which afterwards do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the meanwhile, above the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradiction in speech, we then count it to have some use of natural reason. Whereunto, if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true art and learning, (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know, nor greatly regard,) there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now, and innocents. Which speech if any condemn, as being over hyperbolical, let them consider but this one thing: no art is at the first finding out so perfect as industry may after make it; yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speak of, and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more, very near, in all parts of natural knowledge, than sithence in any one part thereof the whole world besides hath done.

Aristotelical Demonstration.

[a] Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ (*leg.* αὐτοῦ) ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνηται. Merc. Tris. (c. 10. fin.) lib. iv. f. 12.

Ramistry.

In the poverty of the other new devised aid, two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient; the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities as every where offering themselves are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be. So as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may define it to be, an Art which teacheth the way of speedy discourse, and restraineth the mind of man that it may not wax over-wise.

Education and instruction are the means, the one by use, the other by precept, to make our natural faculty of reason both the better and the sooner able to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil. But at what time a man may be said to have attained so far forth the use of reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those Laws whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deal more easy for common sense to discern, than for any man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in philosophers, who best know the nature both of fire and of gold, to teach what degree of the one will serve to purify the other, so well as the artizan, who doth this by fire, discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

Of Man's Will, which is the thing that Laws of action are made to guide.

VII. By reason man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are and are not sensible. It resteth therefore, that we search how man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things unsensible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unless there be some end, the desire whereof provoketh unto motion; how should that divine power of the soul, that "spirit of our mind," as the Apostle termeth it, ever stir itself unto action, unless it have also the like spur? The end for which we are moved to work, is sometimes the goodness which we conceive of the very working itself, without any further respect at all; and the cause that procureth action is the mere desire of action, no other good besides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is said, "Illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur:" they thought the very disturbance of things established an

Eph. iv. 23.

Sallust. [Cat. 21.]

hire sufficient to set them on work." Sometimes that which we do is referred to a further end, without the desire whereof we would leave the same undone; as in their actions that gave alms to purchase thereby the praise of men. Book I. Ch. vii. Matt. vi. 2.

Man in perfection of nature, being made according to the likeness of his Maker, resembleth him also in the manner of working; so that whatsoever we work as men, the same we do wittingly work and freely: neither are we according to the manner of natural agents any way so tied, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the very doing itself, causeth not action, unless apprehending it as good we so like and desire it: that we do unto any such end, the same we choose and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unless the thing which we take be so in our power, that we might have refused and left it. If fire consume the stubble, it chooseth not so to do, because the nature thereof is such that it can do no other. To choose, is to will one thing before another; and to will, is to bend our souls to the having or doing of that which they see to be good. Goodness is seen with the eye of the understanding, and the light of that eye is reason. So that two principal fountains there are of human action, Knowledge and Will; which Will, in things tending towards any end, is termed Choice. Concerning Knowledge, "Behold, (saith Moses,) I have set before you this day good and evil, life and death." Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, "Choose life;" that is to say, the things that tend unto life, them choose. Deut. xxx. 19.

But of one thing we must have special care, as being a matter of no small moment; and that is, how the Will, properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of Will is that good which Reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as joy, and grief, and fear, and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of Appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with

affections or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the Will are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, Appetite is the Will's solicitor, and Will is Appetite's controller; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject; neither is any other desire termed properly Will, but that where Reason and understanding, or the show of Reason, prescribeth the thing desired. It may be therefore a question, whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible provoketh Appetite, and Appetite causeth action, Reason being never called to counsel; as when we eat or drink, and betake ourselves unto rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men having attained to the use of Reason are voluntary: for as the authority of higher powers hath force even in those things, which are done without their privity, and are of so mean reckoning that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not; in like sort, voluntarily we are said to do that also, which the Will, if it listed, might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expressly use our Reason or understanding, and so immediately apply our Wills thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the Will doth yield her assent, as it were, with a kind of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparent as in express mandates or prohibitions, especially upon advice and consultation going before.

Where understanding therefore needeth, in those things Reason is the director of man's Will, by discovering in action what is good. For the laws of well-doing are the dictates of right Reason. Children, which are not as yet come unto those years whereat they may have; again, innocents, which are excluded by natural defect from ever having; thirdly, madmen, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right Reason to guide themselves, have for their guide the Reason that guideth other men, which are tutors over them to seek and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light of Reason, whereby good may be known from evil, and which discovering the same rightly is termed right.

The Will, notwithstanding, doth not incline to have or do that which Reason teacheth to be good, unless the same do also teach it to be possible. For albeit the Appetite, being

more general, may wish any thing which seemeth good, be it never so impossible; yet for such things the reasonable Will of man doth never seek. Let Reason teach impossibility in any thing, and the Will of man doth let it go; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibility thereof being manifest.[a]

There is in the Will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object so good, but it may have the show of some difficulty or unpleasant quality annexed to it, in respect whereof the Will may shrink and decline it; contrariwise (for so things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not some appearance of goodness whereby to insinuate itself. For evil, as evil, cannot be desired:[b] if that be desired which is evil, the cause is the goodness which is, or seemeth to be, joined with it. Goodness doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected which are most precious, only because the value of them lieth hid. Sensible Goodness is most apparent, near, and present; which causeth the Appetite to be therewith strongly provoked. Now pursuit and refusal in the Will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodness, which the understanding apprehendeth, grounding itself upon sense, unless some higher Reason do chance to teach the contrary. And if Reason have taught it rightly to be good, yet not so apparently that the mind receiveth it with utter impossibility of being otherwise, still there is place left for the Will to take or leave. Whereas therefore amongst so many things as are to be done, there are so few, the goodness whereof Reason in such sort doth or easily can discover, we are not to marvel at the choice of evil even then when the contrary is probably known. Hereby it cometh to pass, that custom, inuring the mind by long practice, and so leaving there a sensible impression, prevaileth more than reasonable persuasion what way soever. Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of man not

[a] O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos! (Virg. Æn. viii. 560.)

[b] Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. Paulo post: Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ, οὔτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθοῦ, οὔτε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ. Alcin. de Dog. Plat. (c. 29.)

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incline itself thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth oversway.

Nor let any man think that this doth make any thing for the just excuse of iniquity. For there was never sin committed, wherein a less good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the singular disgrace of Nature, and the utter disturbance of that divine order, whereby the pre-eminence of chiefest acceptation is by the best things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itself, if Reason were diligent to search it out. Through the neglect thereof, abused we are with the show of that which is not; sometimes the subtilty of Satan inveigling us, as it did Eve, sometimes the hastiness of our Wills preventing the more considerate advice of sound Reason, as in the Apostles, when they no sooner saw what they liked not, but they forthwith were desirous of fire from heaven; sometimes the very custom of evil making the heart obdurate against whatsoever instructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour spake weeping, "O Jerusalem, how often, and thou wouldest not!" Still therefore that wherewith we stand blameable, and can no way excuse it, is, that in doing evil we prefer a less good before a greater, the greatness whereof is by reason investigable and may be known. The search of knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the Will so hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof is divine malediction; whereby the instruments[a] being weakened wherewithal the soul (especially in reasoning) doth work, it preferreth rest in ignorance before wearisome labour to know. For a spur of diligence therefore, we have a natural thirst after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by reason of that original weakness in the instruments, without which the understanding part is not able in this world by discourse to work, the very conceit of painfulness is as a bridle to stay us. For which cause the Apostle, who knew right well that the weariness of the flesh is a heavy clog to

2 Cor. xi. 3.

Luke ii. 54.

Matt. xxiii. 37.

Eph. v. 14. Heb. xii. 1. 12. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Prov. ii. 4. Luke xiii. 24.

[a] "A corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, and the earthly mansion keepeth down the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we discern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before us. Who then can seek out the things that are in heaven?" Sap. ix. 15, 16.

the Will, striketh mightily upon this key, "Awake thou that sleepest; Cast off all which presseth down; Watch; Labour; Strive to go forward and to grow in knowledge."

Of the natural way of finding out Laws by Reason to guide the Will unto that which is good.

VIII. Wherefore to return to our former intent of discovering the natural way, whereby rules have been found out concerning that goodness wherewith the Will of man ought to be moved in human actions; as every thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the utmost good and greatest perfection whereof nature hath made it capable, even so man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and covet it. All particular things which are subject unto action, the Will doth so far forth incline unto, as Reason judgeth them the better for us, and consequently the more available to our bliss. If Reason err, we fall into evil, and are so far forth deprived of the general perfection we seek. Seeing therefore, that for the framing of men's actions the knowledge of good from evil is necessary, it only resteth that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to know the good and another the evil by.[a] For he that knoweth what is straight doth even thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straightness in bodies capable thereof is crookedness. Goodness in actions is like unto straightness; wherefore that which is done well, we term *right*. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that travelleth, because by it he cometh soonest to his journey's end: so in action, that which doth lie the evenest between us and the end we desire must needs be the fittest for our use. Besides which fitness for use, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most divinely have given to the active perfection of men a name expressing both beauty and goodness; because goodness in ordinary speech is for the most part applied only to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodness do here imply both.

Καλοκαγαθία.

And of discerning goodness there are but these two ways;

[a] Τῷ εὐθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν· κριτὴς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. Arist. de An. lib. i. (cap. 3. t. 85.)

the one, the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other, the observation of those signs and tokens, which, being annexed always unto goodness, argue, that where they are found, there also goodness is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard that all shun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark by hap-hazard, than tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge' sake. As therefore physicians are many times forced to leave such methods of curing as themselves know to be the fittest, and being overruled by their patients' impatience are fain to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure which the cured will yield unto; in like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present age full of tongue and weak of brain, behold we yield to the stream thereof; into the causes of goodness we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it shall be sufficient, when they are so near at hand that easily they may be conceived without any far-removed discourse: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worse in itself, is notwithstanding now, by reason of common imbecility, the fitter and likelier to be brooked.

Signs and tokens to know good by are of sundry kinds; some more certain and some less. The most certain token of evident goodness is, if the general persuasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrown, till such time as we go from signs unto causes, and shew some manifest root or fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to pass that so many have been overseen. In which case surmises and slight probabilities will not serve, because the universal consent of men is the perfectest and strongest in this kind, which comprehendeth only the signs and tokens of goodness. Things casual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of, cannot still have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cause, yet thus much we may know; that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the judgments of all men generally, or for the most part, run one and the same way, especially in matters of natural discourse. For of things necessarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, "They keep either always

or for the most part, one tenure."[a] The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself. For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature herself must needs have taught;[b] and God being the author of Nature, her voice is but his instrument. By her, from Him, we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The Apostle St. Paul having speech concerning the Heathen, saith of them, "They are a law unto themselves." Rom. ii. 14. His meaning is, that by force of the light of Reason, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the world, men being enabled to know truth from falsehood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the will of God is; which will himself not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the makers of those Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out.

A Law, therefore, generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodness of operation. The rule of divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wisdom set down within himself. The rule of natural agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom of God, known to God himself, the principal Director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of natural agents which work after a sort of their own accord, as the beasts do, is the judgment of common sense or fancy concerning the sensible goodness of those objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghostly or immaterial natures, as spirits and angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high goodness of that ob-

[a] Ἡ αἰεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. Arist. Rhet. l. i. (c. 10.)

[b] "Non potest error contingere, ubi omnes idem opinantur." Monticat. in l. Polit. "Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius speciei communiter inest, id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species et natura." *Idem.* "Quod a tota aliqua specie fit, universalis particularisque naturæ fit instinctu." Ficin. de Christ. Rel. (cap. 1.) "Si proficere cupis, primo firme id verum puta, quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur." Cusa in Compend. cap. 1. "Non licet naturale universaleque hominum judicium falsum vanumque existimare." Teles. Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. Ὃ δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 2.

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ject, which with unspeakable joy and delight doth set them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth is the sentence that Reason giveth concerning the goodness of those things which they are to do. And the sentences which Reason giveth are some more, some less general, before it come to define in particular actions what is good.

The main principles of Reason are in themselves apparent: for to make nothing evident of itself unto man's understanding, were to take away all possibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of Theophrastus is true, "They that seek a reason of all things do utterly overthrow Reason."[a] In every kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed, the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibility of error, clear and manifest without proof. In which kind, axioms or principles more general are such as this, "that the greater good is to be chosen before the less." If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is, why the Will of Man, which doth necessarily shun harm and covet whatsoever is pleasant and sweet, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sin, gall; and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith virtuous actions are compassed, yet still to rejoice and delight in them: surely this could never stand with Reason, but that Wisdom thus proscribing groundeth her Laws upon an infallible rule of comparison; which is, "That small difficulties when exceeding great good is sure to ensue, and on the other side momentary benefits when the hurt which they draw after them is unspeakable, are not at all to be respected." This rule is the ground whereupon the wisdom of the Apostle buildeth a law, enjoining patience unto himself; "The present lightness of our affliction worketh unto us, even with abundance upon abundance, an eternal weight of glory; while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal:" therefore Christianity is to be embraced, whatsoever calamities in those times it was accompanied withal. On the same ground our Saviour proveth the law most reasonable, that forbids those crimes which men for gain's sake fall into.

2 Cor. v. 17.

[a] Ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. Theoph. in Metaph. (c. 5.)

"For a man to win the world, if it be with the loss of his soul, what benefit or good is it?" Axioms less general, yet so manifest that they need no further proof, are such as these, "God to be worshipped;" "Parents to be honoured;" "Others to be used by us as we ourselves would be by them." Such things, as soon as they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further discourse to be assured of their goodness.

Matt. xvi. 26.

Notwithstanding whatsoever such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, and drawn from out of the very bowels of heaven and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to us discernible, not only so far forth as serveth for our vital preservation, but further also in a two-fold higher respect. For, first, if all other uses were utterly taken away, yet the mind of man being by nature speculative and delighted with contemplation in itself, they were to be known even for mere knowledge and understanding's sake. Yea, further besides this, the knowledge of every the least thing in the world hath in it a second peculiar benefit unto us, inasmuch as it serveth to minister rules, canons, and laws, for men to direct those actions by, which we properly term human. This did the very Heathens themselves obscurely insinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *Jus*, or Right, to be the daughter of Heaven and Earth.

We know things either as they are in themselves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himself, and other things in relation unto man, I may justly term the Mother of all those principles, which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees, in that Law of Nature, whereby human actions are framed. First, therefore, having observed that the best things, where they are not hindered, do still produce the best operations, (for which cause, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the best is in all congruity of Reason to guide the residue, that it prevailing most, the work principally done by it may have greatest perfection); when hereupon we come to observe in ourselves, of what excellency our souls are, in comparison of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baser of our souls; seeing that all these concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well, unless the chiefest do

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command and direct the rest. The soul then ought to conduct the body, and the spirit of our minds the soul. This is therefore the first Law, whereby the highest power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it unto action.

Arist. Polit. i. cap. 5.

Touching the several grand mandates, which, being imposed by the understanding faculty of the mind, must be obeyed by the Will of Man, they are by the same method found out, whether they import our duty towards God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not here stand to open, by what degrees of discourse the minds even of mere natural men have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but also what power, force, wisdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that known relation which God hath unto us as unto children,[a] and unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himself is the principal cause,[b] these axioms and laws natural concerning our duty have arisen, "that in all things we go about, his aid is by prayer to be craved:"[c] "that he cannot have sufficient honour done unto him, but the uttermost of that we can do to honour him we must:"[d] which is in effect the same that we read, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind:" which Law our Saviour doth term "The first and the great commandment."

Deut. vi. 5.

Matt. xxii. 38.

Touching the next, which, as our Saviour addeth, is "like unto this," (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, inasmuch as it is the root out of which all Laws of duty to men-ward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God,) the like natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves. For seeing those things which are equal must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every man's hand as any man can wish unto his

[a] Οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. Plat. in Theæt. (tom. iii. p. 67. ed. Bipont.)

[b] Ὅ τε γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 2.

[c] Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ σμικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος Θεὸν ἀεί που καλοῦσι. Plat. in Tim. (tom. ix. p. 301.)

[d] Arist. Ethic. lib. viii. cap. ult.

own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm, I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, than they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves, and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and canons natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, "That because we would take no harm, we must therefore do none;" "That sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must ourselves avoid all extremity in our dealings;" "That from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abstain;"[a] with such like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two general heads already mentioned all other specialties are dependent.[b]

Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings, is the sentence of Reason, determining and setting down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive, declaring only what may be done; or, thirdly, admonitory, opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether between doing and not doing of one thing, which in itself is absolutely good or evil; as it had been for Joseph to yield or not to yield to the impotent desire of his lewd mistress, the one evil, the other good simply. The second is, when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one, saving only in case of so great urgency, were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of divorce amongst

Gen. xxxix. 9.

Mark x. 4.

[a] "Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse." Lib. in arenam C. de inof. test. "Quod quisque juris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem uti debere." Lib. quod quisque. "Ab omni penitus injuria atque vi abstinendum." Lib. i. sect. 1. Quod vi, aut clam.

[b] "On these two commandments hangeth the whole Law." Matt. xxii. 40.

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the Jews. The last, when of divers things good, one is principal and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and laid the price at the Apostles' feet; which possessions they might have retained unto themselves without sin: again, in the Apostle St. Paul's own choice, to maintain himself by his own labour; whereas in living by the church's maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed. In Goodness therefore there is a latitute or extent, whereby it cometh to pass, that even of good actions some are better than other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excel another, but all should be either absolutely good, as hitting jump that indivisible point or centre wherein goodness consisteth; or else missing it, they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomness and oftenness of doing well. But the nature of Goodness being thus ample, a Law is properly that which Reason in such sort defineth to be good that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or human Nature is that which men by discourse of natural Reason have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions.

Acts iv. 37; v. 4.

2 Thess. iii. 8.

Laws of Reason have these marks to be known by. Such as keep them resemble most lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working which Nature herself doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole world. The works of Nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect; even so theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, those Laws are investigable by Reason, without the help of Revelation supernatural and divine. Finally, in such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the world hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in Sophocles observeth, concerning a branch of this Law; "It is no child of to-day's or yesterday's birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long sithence."[a] It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all. Which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason

[a] Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
Ζῇ τοῦτο, κουδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. Soph. Antig. [v. 456.]

doth contain: but this law is such, that being proposed, no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it but any man (having natural perfection of wit and ripeness of judgment) may by labour and travail find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are such, as it is not easy to find men ignorant of them. Law rational, therefore, which men commonly use to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which human Nature knoweth itself in reason universally bound unto, which also for that cause may be termed, most fitly, the Law of Reason; this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeming or unbeseeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil, for them to do. Book I. Ch. viii.

Now although it be true, which some have said,[a] that "whatsoever is done amiss, the Law of Nature and Reason thereby is transgressed," because even those offences which are by their special qualities breaches of supernatural laws, do also, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reason, which willeth universally to fly from evil; yet do we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to contain in it all manner of laws whereunto reasonable creatures are bound, but (as hath been shewn) we restrain it to those only duties, which all men by force of natural wit either do, or might understand to be such duties as concern all men. "Certain half-waking men there are," (as St. Augustine noteth,) "who neither altogether asleep in folly, nor yet thoroughly awake in the light of true understanding, have thought, that there is not at all any thing just and righteous in itself; but look wherewith nations are inured, the same they take to be right and just. Whereupon their conclusion is, that seeing each sort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of its own nature, must be every where one and the same; therefore in itself there is nothing right. These good folks, saith he, (that I may not trouble their wits with the rehearsal of too many things,) have not looked so far into the world as to perceive that, 'Do as De Doctr. Christ. l. iii. c. 14.

[a] Th. l. 2. q. 94. art. 3. "Omnia peccata sunt in universum contra rationem et naturæ legem." Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xxii. cap. 1. "Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est."

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thou wouldst be done unto,' is a sentence which all nations under heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sentence to the love of God, and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes; refer it to the love of thy neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out of the world." Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) St. Augustine's judgment: namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles universally agreed upon; and that out of those principles, which are in themselves evident, the greatest moral duties we owe towards God and man may without any great difficulty be concluded.

If then it be here demanded, by what means it should come to pass (the greatest part of the Law moral being so easy for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have been ignorant, even of principal moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sin: I deny not but lewd and wicked custom, beginning perhaps at the first among few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things to smother the light of natural understanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine whether things wherewith they have been accustomed be good or evil. For example's sake, that grosser kind of heathenish idolatry, whereby they worshipped the very works of their own hands, was an absurdity to Reason so palpable, that the prophet David, comparing idols and idolaters together, maketh almost no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other; "They that make them are alike unto them, and so are all that trust in them." That wherein an idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish, is by the Wise Man thus expressed, "He is not ashamed to speak unto that which hath no life: he calleth on him that is weak for health: he prayeth for life unto him which is dead: of him which hath no experience, he requireth help: for his journey he sueth to him which is not able to go: for gain, and work, and success in his affairs, he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power." The cause of which senseless stupidity is afterwards imputed to custom. "When a father mourneth grievously for his son that was taken away suddenly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he

Ps. cxxxv. 18.

Wisd. xiii. 17.

Wisd. xiv. 15, 16.

worshipped as a god, ordaining to his servants ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus by progress of time this wicked custom prevailed, and was kept as a law;" the authority of rulers, the ambition of craftsmen, and such like means, thrusting forward the ignorant, and increasing their superstition. Unto this which the Wise Man hath spoken, somewhat besides may be added. For whatsoever we have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of man's natural understanding, this we always desire withal to be understood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in man, or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that Supreme Cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his justice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow than that which the Apostle noteth, even men endued with the light of Reason, to walk notwithstanding "in the vanity of their mind, having their cogitations darkened, and being strangers from the life of God, through the ignorance which is in them, because of the hardness of their hearts." And this cause is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, speaking of the ignorance of idolaters, who see not how the manifest Law of Reason condemneth their gross iniquity and sin; they have not in them, saith he, so much wit as to think, "Shall I bow to the stock of a tree? All knowledge and understanding is taken from them; for God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see." That which we say in this case of Idolatry serveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of general blindness hath prevailed against the manifest Laws of Reason. Within the compass of which laws we do not only comprehend whatsoever may be easily known to belong to the duty of all men, but even whatsoever may possibly be known to be of that quality, so that the same be by necessary consequence deduced out of clear and manifest principles. For if once we descend unto probable collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the territory where free and arbitrary determinations, the territory where Human Laws take place, which Laws are after to be considered.

Ephes. iv. 17, 18.

Isa. xliv. 18, 19.

IX. Now the due observation of this Law which Reason teacheth us, cannot but be effectual unto their great good who observe the same. For we see the whole world and each part

The benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.

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thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things, and also itself. Contrariwise, let any principal thing, as the sun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once cease, or fail, or swerve, and who doth not easily conceive that the sequel thereof would be ruin both to itself and whatsoever dependeth on it? And is it possible, that Man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but even a very world in himself, his transgressing the Law of his Nature should draw no manner of harm after it? Yes,

Rom. ii. 9.

"tribulation and anguish unto every soul that doeth evil." Good doth follow unto all things by observing the course of their nature, and on the contrary side evil by not observing it; but not unto natural agents that good which we call Reward, not that evil which we properly term Punishment. The reason whereof is, because amongst creatures in this world, only man's observation of the Law of his Nature is Righteousness, only man's transgression Sin. And the reason of this is, the difference in his manner of observing or transgressing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwise than voluntarily the one or the other. What we do against our wills, or constrainedly, we are not properly said to do it, because the motive-cause of doing it is not in ourselves, but carrieth us (as if the wind should drive a feather in the air) we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In such cases therefore the evil which is done moveth compassion. Men are pitied for it, as being rather miserable in such respect than culpable. Some things are likewise done by man, though not through outward force and impulsion, though not against, yet without their wills; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter absence of wit and judgment. For which cause, no man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious men and innocents to be punishable. Again, some things we do neither against nor without, and yet not simply and merely with our wills, but with our wills in such sort moved, that albeit there be no impossibility but that we might, nevertheless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this consideration, one evil deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing, or

the difficulty of doing otherwise, is greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from ourselves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and allegeth that his wits were not his own; inasmuch as himself might have chosen, whether his wits should by that means have been taken from him. Now rewards and punishments do always presuppose something willingly done well or ill; without which respect, though we may sometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward, the other simply a hurt, not a punishment. From the sundry dispositions of man's Will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the sequel of rewards and punishments, which are by these and the like rules measured: "Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done."[a] By these and the like rules, men's actions are determined of and judged, whether they be in their own nature rewardable or punishable.

Rewards and punishments are not received, but at the hands of such as being above us have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in external actions, we shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all do acknowledge, that sith every man's heart and conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and known to none but itself, either like or disallow itself, and accordingly either rejoice, very Nature exulting, as it were, in certain hope of reward, or else grieve, as it were, in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case be looked for from any other, saving only from Him who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts: therefore He is the only rewarder and revenger of all such actions; although not of such actions only, but of all, whereby the Law of Nature is broken, whereof Himself is author. For which cause, the Roman Laws, called The Laws of the Twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of

[a] "Voluntate sublata, omnem actum parem esse." lib. fœdissimam c. de adult. "Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro fecto reputari." lib. si quis in Testament.

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man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but divine punishment.[a]

How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed; and to agreement about Laws, whereby the fellowship or communion of independent Societies standeth.

X. That which hitherto we have set down, is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishness, which imagine that religion and virtue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto ourselves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how nature itself teacheth laws and statutes to live by.[b] The laws, which have been hitherto mentioned, do bind men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do, or not to do. But forasmuch as we are not only by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of men's uniting themselves at the first in politic societies, which societies could not be without government, nor government without a distinct kind of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up public societies; the one, a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonweal, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by Law animated, held together, and set on work in such actions as the common good requireth. Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the Will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature: in a word, unless presuming man to be, in regard of his depraved

a "Divos caste adeunto, pietatem adhibento: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit."

b Ἔστι γὰρ, ὃ μαντεύονταί τι πάντες, φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. Arist. Rhet. 1. (c. 13.)

mind, little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance unto the common good for which societies are instituted; unless they do this, they are not perfect. It resteth therefore, that we consider how Nature findeth out such Laws of government as serve to direct even Nature depraved to a right end.

All men desire to lead in this world a happy life: that life is led most happily, wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle, in exhorting men to contentment, although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to understand, that those are even the lowest of things necessary; that if we should be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these is such an impediment, as till it be removed suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cause, first God assigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a Law to observe: for this cause, after men began to grow to a number, the first thing we read they gave themselves unto was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this means whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religion. True it is, that the kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires. But inasmuch as a righteous life presupposeth life; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live; therefore the first impediment which naturally we endeavour to remove is penury and want of things without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are necessary; more if we seek (as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleasure. To this end, we see how quickly sundry arts mechanical were found out, in the very prime of the world. As things of greatest necessity are always first provided for, so things of greatest dignity are most accounted of by all such as judge rightly. Although, therefore, riches be a thing which every man wisheth, yet no man of judgment can esteem it better to be rich, than wise, virtuous, and religious. If we be both, or either of these, it is not because we are so born: for into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked

1 Tim. vi 8.

Gen. i. 29; ii. 17; iv. 2, 26.

Matt. vi. 33.

Gen. iv. 20—22.

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in mind as we are in body. Both which necessities of man had at the first no other helps and supplies than only domestical; such as that which the Prophet implieth, saying, "Can a mother forget her child?" such as that which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, "He that careth not for his own is worse than an infidel:" such as that concerning Abraham, "Abraham will command his sons and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord." But neither that which we learn of ourselves, nor that which others teach us, can prevail, where wickedness and malice have taken deep root. If, therefore, when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction, human or divine, could prevent effusion of blood; how could it be chosen, but that when families were multiplied and increased upon earth, after separation, each providing for itself, envy, strife, contention, and violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not Nature furnished man with wit and valour, as it were with armour, which may be used as well unto extreme evil as good? Yea, were they not used by the rest of the world unto evil? Unto the contrary only by Seth, Enoch, and those few, the rest in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times, not unjustly, for the days are evil: but compare them with those times wherein there were no civil societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment established, with those times wherein there were not above eight righteous persons living upon the face of the earth; and we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy days.

Isa. xlix. 15.

1 Tim. v. 8.

Gen. xviii. 19.

Gen. iv. 8.

Gen. vi. 5.

Gen. v.

2 Pet. ii. 5.

To take away all such mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto composition and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kind of government public, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew, that when force and injury were offered, they might be defenders of themselves; they knew, that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good

means to be withstood; finally, they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial: and therefore, that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon. Without which consent there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men, a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless, for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary.

Arist. Polit. lib. iii. et iv.

To Fathers, within their private families, Nature hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world, even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houses. Howbeit, over a whole grand multitude, having no such dependency upon any one, and consisting of so many families as every politic society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should have complete lawful power but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God; because not having the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or, if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them over whom they exercise the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is subject. It is no improbable opinion, therefore, which the arch-philosopher was of, that as the chiefest person in every household was always as it were a king, so when numbers of households joined themselves in civil societies together, kings were the first kind of governors amongst them. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason why the name of Father continued still in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as also the ancient custom of governors to do as Melchizedek, and being kings to exercise the office of priests, which fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion: howbeit, this is not the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of

Arist. Polit. lib. i. cap. 3. Vide et Platon. in 3. de Legibus. [tom. viii. p. 114. sq.]

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one kind have caused sundry other to be devised So that, in a word, all public regiment, of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny, but that the Law of Nature doth now require of necessity some kind of regiment; so that to bring things unto the first course they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of public government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world.

The case of man's nature standing therefore as it doth, some kind of regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule;[a] till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. If things be simply good or evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for such things.[b] The first kind therefore of things appointed by laws human containeth whatsoever being in itself naturally good or evil, is notwithstanding more secret than that it can be discerned by every man's present conceit, without some deeper discourse and judgment. In which discourse, because there is difficulty, and possibility many ways to err, unless such things

[a] "Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis, qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præstantem, qui cum prohiberet injuria tenuiores, æquitate constituenda summos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ." Cic. Offic. lib. ii. [c. 12.]

[b] Τὸ γονέας τιμᾷν καὶ φίλους εὐποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προστάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. Arist. Rhet. ad Alex. [c. 2.]

were set down by laws, many would be ignorant of their duties, which now are not; and many that know what they should do, would nevertheless dissemble it, and to excuse themselves pretend ignorance and simplicity, which now they cannot.[a]

And because the greatest part of men are such as prefer their own private good before all things, even that good which is sensual before whatsoever is most divine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one and proner to the other, than that duty prescribed them by law can prevail sufficiently with them: therefore unto laws, that men do make for the benefit of men, it hath seemed always needful to add rewards, which may more allure unto good, than any hardness deterreth from it; and punishments, which may more deter from evil, than any sweetness thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is natural, *virtue rewardable, and vice punishable;* so the particular determination of the reward or punishment belongeth unto them by whom Laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is positive; and such lawful as men shall think with discretion convenient by Law to appoint.

In Laws, that which is natural bindeth universally; that which is positive, not so. To let go those positive kinds of Laws which men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make unto our purpose, a little more fully to consider what things are incident unto the making of the positive laws for the government of them that live united in public society. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain constraining force; and to constrain men unto any thing inconvenient, doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey, none but wise men be admitted. Laws are matters of principal consequence; men of common capacity, and but ordinary judgment, are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our

[a] Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut et ignorantiam protelet in occasionem, et conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem." Tertull. lib. de spectacul. [c. 1.]

obedience unto laws dependeth upon this point. Let a man, though never so justly, oppose himself unto them that are disordered in their ways; and what one among them commonly doth not stomach at such contradiction, storm at reproof, and hate such as would reform them? Notwithstanding, even they which brook it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speak with all indifferency; that the law hath no side-respect to their persons; that the law is as it were an oracle proceeding from wisdom and understanding.

Howbeit, laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of laws. That which we spake before, concerning the power of government, must here be applied unto the power of making laws whereby to govern, which power God hath over all: and by the natural law, whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws, to command whole politic societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

Laws they are not therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent, by voice, sign, or act; but also when others do it in their names, by right, originally at the least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch commandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion; hath

not his edict the force of a law whether they approve or dislike it? Again, that which hath been received long sithence, and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet, what consent was ever thereunto sought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore, utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement. Wherefore, as any man's deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the act of a public society of men done five hundred years sithence, standeth as theirs who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predecessors, and they in their successors do live still. Laws therefore human, of what kind soever, are available by consent.

If here it be demanded, how it comes to pass that this being common unto all laws which are made, there should be found even in good laws so great variety as there is; we must note the reason hereof to be, the sundry particular ends, whereunto the different disposition of that subject or matter for which laws are provided, causeth them to have a special respect in making laws. A law there is mentioned amongst the Grecians, whereof Pittacus is reported to have been author; and by that law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober. No man could ever have thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby only to punish the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact: for who knoweth not, that harm advisedly done is naturally less pardonable, and therefore worthy of sharper punishment? But forasmuch as none did so usually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they would be so much the more freely outrageous; it was for their public good, where such disorder was grown, to frame a positive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known laws of

Arist. Polit. lib. ii. cap. ult.

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making laws; as that law-makers must have an eye to that place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of laws cannot serve for all kinds of regiment; that where the multitude beareth sway, laws that shall tend to the preservation of that state must make common smaller offices to go by lot, for fear of strife and division likely to arise; by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for the discharge of such offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, and not missed without grudge and discontentment; whereas at an uncertain lot, none can find themselves grieved, on whomsover it lighteth; contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to pass by popular election, that neither the people may envy such as have those honours, inasmuch as themselves bestow them, and that the chiefest may be kindled with desire to exercise all parts of rare and beneficial virtue; knowing they shall not lose their labour by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people. If the helm of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthiest, that then laws providing for continuance thereof must make the punishment of contumely and wrong, offered unto any of the common sort, sharp and grievous; that so the evil may be prevented whereby the rich are most likely to bring themselves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take so great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their persons are contumeliously trodden upon. In other kinds of regiment, the like is observed concerning the difference of positive laws, which to be every where the same is impossible, and against their nature.

Staundf. Preface to the Pleas of the Crown.

Now as the learned in the laws of this land observe, that our statutes sometimes are only the affirmation or ratification of that which by common law was held before; so here it is not to be omitted, that generally all laws human which are made for the ordering of politic societies, be either such as establish some duty, whereunto all men by the law of reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that a duty now, which before was none. The one sort we may for distinction's sake call *mixedly*, and the other *merely* human. That which plain or necessary reason bindeth men unto, may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by human law. For example, if confusion of blood in marriage, the

liberty of having many wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreasonable custom, doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand of right reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left to rectify such foul disorder without prescribing by law the same things which reason necessarily doth enforce, but is not perceived that so it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he writeth, saying, that "even what things they naturally know, in those very things, Jude 10. as beasts void of reason, they corrupted themselves;" or if there be no such special accident, yet forasmuch as the common sort are led by the sway of their sensual desires, and therefore do more shun sin for the sensible evils which follow it amongst men, than for any kind of sentence which reason doth pronounce against it;[a] this very thing is cause sufficient, why duties belonging unto each kind of virtue, albeit the law of reason teach them, should notwithstanding be prescribed even by human law. Which law in this case we term *mixed*, because the matter whereunto it bindeth is the same which reason necessarily doth require at our hands, and from the law of reason it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before stood bound in conscience to do as the law of reason teacheth; they are now by virtue of human law become constrainable, and if they outwardly transgress, punishable. As for laws which are merely human, the matter of them is any thing which reason doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; so that till such time as law hath passed amongst men about it, of itself it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this: lands are by human law in some places, after the owner's decease, divided unto all his children; in some, all descend to the eldest son. If the Law of Reason did necessarily require but the one of these two to be done, they which by law have received the other, should be subject to that heavy sentence which denounceth against all that decree wicked, unjust, and unreasonable things, *woe*. Isaiah x. 1. Whereas now, whichsoever be received, there is no Law of Reason transgressed; because there is probable reason why either of them may be expedient; and for either of them more than probable reason there is not to be found.

[a] Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πειθαρχοῦσι καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 10.

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Laws, whether mixedly or merely human, are made by politic societies; some only, as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually joined, and make such a body as we call the Church. Of laws human in this latter kind, we are to speak in the third book following. Let it therefore suffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciously endued our nature, and thereby enabled the same to find out both those laws which all men generally are for ever bound to observe; and also such as are most fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered state of government. Now besides that law which simply concerneth men, as men; and that which belongeth unto them, as they are men linked with others in some form of politic society, there is a third kind of law which toucheth all such several bodies politic, so far forth as one of them hath public commerce with another. And this third is, the Law of Nations. Between men and beasts there is no possibility of sociable communion, because the well-spring of that communion is a natural delight which man hath to transfuse from himself into others, and to receive from others into himself, especially those things wherein the excellency of his kind doth most consist. The chiefest instrument of human communion therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable understanding. And for that cause, seeing beasts are not hereof capable, forasmuch as with them we can use no such conference, they being in degree, although above other creatures on earth, to whom nature hath denied sense, yet lower than to be sociable companions of man, to whom nature hath given reason; it is of Adam said, that amongst the beasts "he found not for himself any meet companion." Civil society doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living; because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than otherwise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to signify, professed himself a citizen, not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural desire in us (a manifest token that we wish, after a sort, a universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard

Arist. Polit. i. cap. 2.

Gen. ii. 20.

Cic. Tusc. v. [c. 37.] et i. de Legib. [c. 12.]

of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them. And this not only for traffic's sake, or to the end that when many are confederated, each may make other the more strong; but for such cause also as moved the Queen of Sheba to visit Solomon; and in a word, because nature doth presume, that how many men there are in the world, so many gods, as it were, there are; or at leastwise such they should be towards men.

1 Kings x. 1. 2 Chron. ix. 1. Matt. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31.

Touching laws which are to serve men in this behalf; even as those Laws of Reason, which (man retaining his original integrity) had been sufficient to direct each particular person in all his affairs aud duties, are not sufficient, but require the access of other laws, now that man and his offspring are grown thus corrupt and sinful: again, as those laws of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in public society, together with that harmless disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve, when men's iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds; in like manner, the national laws of natural commerce between societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of these three kinds, that distinction between Primary and Secondary laws; the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary laws of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and strangers, such as serve for commodious traffic, and the like. Secondary laws in the same kind, are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with; I mean Laws of Arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the Law of Nations doth contain, I omit to search.

The strength and virtue of that law is such that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their several laws and ordinances, more than a man, by his private resolutions, the law of the whole commonwealth or state wherein he liveth. For as civil law being the act of the whole body politic, doth therefore overrule each several part of the same body; so there is no reason that any one commonwealth

of itself should, to the prejudice of another, annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause, the Lacedæmonians forbidding all access of strangers into their coasts, are in that respect both by Josephus and Theodoret deservedly blamed, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanity's sake all the nations on earth should embrace.

Joseph. lib. ii. contra Apion. [c. 36.] Theod. lib. ix. de sanand. Græc. Affec. [p. 611. ed. Par. 1642.]

Now as there is great cause of communion, and consequently of laws, for the maintenance of communion amongst nations; so amongst nations Christian, the like in regard even of Christianity hath been always judged needful. And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations the force of general councils doth stand. For as one and the same law divine, whereof in the next place we are to speak, is unto all Christian churches a rule for the chiefest things; by means whereof they all in that respect make one church, as having all but "one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptism:" so the urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity in these things, as also for order in some other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations; laws, by virtue whereof all churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend, religious, and sacred consultations, which are termed Councils General.

Ephes. iv. 5.

A thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselves; a thing always afterward kept and observed throughout the world; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began, by factious and vile endeavours, to abuse that divine intention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civil courts and parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometimes there is cunning used to frame them according to the private intents of men over potent in the commonwealth; so the grievous abuse which hath been of councils, should rather cause men to study how so gracious a thing may again be reduced to that first perfection, than in regard of stains and blemishes, sithence growing, be held for ever in extreme disgrace. To speak of this matter as the cause requireth, would require very long discourse. All I will presently say is this,

Acts xv. 28.

whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto divine law bindeth us, but yet in such sort, that men are not thereof on all sides resolved; or for the setting down of some uniform judgment to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessity, are notwithstanding offensive and scandalous, when there is open opposition about them; be it for the ending of strifes, touching matters of Christian belief, wherein the one part may seem to have probable cause of dissenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of polity, order, and regiment in the church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts which our Lord and Saviour with so great instancy gave, as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed, rather than these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword.

John xiv. 27.

It followeth therefore, that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoin hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be spoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himself by Scripture made known such laws as serve for direction of men.

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural Laws, as do serve for men's direction.

XI. All things, (God only excepted,) besides the nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. Insomuch, as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of use, it may unto our perfection add somewhat. And whatsoever such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same we properly term our good; our sovereign good and blessedness, that wherein the highest degree of all our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained unto, there can rest nothing further to be desired; and therefore with it our souls are fully content and satisfied, in that they have they rejoice, and thirst for no more. Wherefore of good things desired, some are such, that for themselves we covet them not, but only because they serve as instruments unto that for which we are to seek: of this sort are riches. Another kind there is, which although we desire for itself, as health, and virtue, and knowledge; nevertheless, they are not the last mark whereat we aim, but have their

further end whereunto they are referred; so as in them we are not satisfied, as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another. We labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference to a future harvest:[a] but we must come at length to some pause. For, if every thing were to be desired for some other, without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither; yea, whatsoever we do were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being were to annihilate utterly our persons; so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for itself simply, and for no other: that is, simply for itself desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation to any other. The ox and the ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for itself. But why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for itself, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred unto a further end.

Now that which man doth desire, with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in itself, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or any thing here attained, because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite: for the better, the more desirable; that therefore is most desirable wherein there is infinity of goodness: so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God;

Vide Arist. Ethic. lib. x. c. 10. et Metaph. lib. xii. c. 6. et c. 4. et c. 30.

[a] "He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Gal. vi. 8.

therefore He is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in Him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with Him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the thing wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God as an object wherein the powers of our souls 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.

Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, we are subject unto sundry imperfections,[a] griefs of body, defects of mind; yea, the best things we do are painful, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: which tediousness cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with God is complete. Complete union with him must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds, apt to receive so glorious an object. Capable we are of God, both by understanding and will: by understanding, as He is that sovereign Truth which comprehends the rich treasures of all wisdom; by will, as He is that Sea of Goodness whereof whoso tasteth shall thirst no more. As the will doth now work upon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained; so likewise upon the same hereafter received it shall work also by love. "Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis," (saith St. Aug. de Trin. lib. ix. c. ult.

[a] Μόνον, ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ. Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας. κἀγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ Θεῷ τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι περὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Merc. Tris. [c. 6.]

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Augustine:) "The longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste and are replenished." Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit unto us; we shall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodness of beauty in itself. The soul being in this sort, as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite good, shall, as it is receptive, be also perfected with those supernatural passions of joy, peace, and delight. All this endless and everlasting.[a] Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our blessedness is termed "a crown which withereth not," doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing itself, nor proceed from any natural necessity that our souls should so exercise themselves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Under Man, no creature in the world is capable of felicity and bliss. First, because their chiefest perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, as ours doth. Secondly, because whatsoever external perfection they tend unto, it is not better than themselves, as ours is. How just occasion have we therefore, even in this respect, with the Prophet, to admire the goodness of God? Lord, what is man, that thou shouldst exalt him above the works of thy hands, so far as to make thyself the inheritance of his rest and the substance of his felicity?

2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. i. 4.

Now, if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should have it? All men have. Therefore this desire in man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the same; how should it then be in our power to do it coldly or remissly? So that our desire being natural, is also in that degree of earnestness whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiom of Nature, that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate. This desire of ours being natural should be frustrate, if that which may satisfy the same were a thing impossible for man to aspire unto. Man doth seek a triple perfection: first, a

[a] "The just shall go into life everlasting." Matt. xxv. [46] "They shall be as the angels of God." Matt. xxiii. [30.]

sensual, consisting in those things which very like itself requireth either as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then, an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with; lastly, a spiritual and divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They who make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle to have no god but only their belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the second they bend themselves, who seek especially to excel in all such knowledge and virtue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of moral and civil perfection. That there is somewhat higher than either of these two, no other proof doth need than the very process of man's desire, which being natural should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not seem to rest satisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserved, or with performance of such actions as advance him most deservedly in estimation; but doth further covet, yea, oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestness, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital use; that which exceedeth the reach of sense; yea, somewhat above capacity of reason, somewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth than conceiveth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not; yet very intentive desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures are laid aside, they give place to the search of this but only suspected desire. If the soul of man did serve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures; which creatures enjoying what they live by, seek no further, but in this contentation do shew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise. For although the beauties, riches, honours, sciences, virtues, and perfections of all men living, were in the present possession of one; yet somewhat beyond and above all this, there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature, even in this life, doth plainly

Phil. iii. 19.

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claim and call for a more divine perfection than either of these two that have been mentioned.

This last and highest state of perfection whereof we speak, is received of men in the nature of a reward.[a] Rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our natural means therefore unto blessedness are our works; nor is it possible that Nature should ever find any other way to salvation than only this. But examine the works which we do, and since the first foundation of the world what one can say, My ways are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatened eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cause, we term it the Mystery, or secret way of salvation. And therefore St. Ambrose in this matter appealeth justly from man to God, "Cœli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignoravit:—Let God himself that made me, let not man that knows not himself, be my instructor concerning the mystical way to heaven." "When men of excellent wit (saith Lactantius) had wholly betaken themselves unto study, after farewell bidden unto all kind as well of private as public action, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seek and to find out the reason of all affairs, as well divine as human, than to stick fast in the toil of piling up riches, and gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit, they did both fail of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; because truth, which is the secret of the Most High God, whose proper handy-work all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our own. For God and man should be very near neighbours, if man's cogitations were able to take a survey of the counsels and appointments of that Majesty everlasting. Which being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by itself should look into the bosom of divine Reason; God did not

Ambros. contra Sym. [Epist. 18. §. 7.]

[a] Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." Matt. v. 12. "Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur." Aug. de Doct. Christ. cap. 6.

suffer him, being desirous of the light of wisdom, to stray any longer up and down, and with bootless expense of travel to wander in darkness that had no passage to get out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and bestow upon him the knowledge of the truth by way of donative, to the end that man might both be clearly convicted of folly; and being through error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him."[a] Thus far Lactantius Firmianus, to shew, that God himself is the teacher of the truth, whereby is made known the supernatural way of salvation and law for them to live in that shall be saved. In the natural path of everlasting life the first beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of man's creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, absolute righteousness and integrity in all his actions; and last of all, the justice of God rewarding the worthiness of his deserts with the crown of eternal glory. Had Adam continued in his first estate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his posterity. Whereas, I confess notwithstanding, with the wittiest of the School-divines,[b] "That if we speak of strict justice, God could no way have been bound to

[a] "Magno et excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinæ penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus et privatis et publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium contulerunt, existimantes multo esse præclarius humanarum divinarumque rerum investigare ac scire rationem, quam struendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti sunt id quod volebant, et operam simul atque industriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id est arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia et dispositiones illius majestatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio divina notesceret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, et notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut et humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, et erranti ac vago viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet." Lactant. lib. i. cap. 1.

[b] Scot. lib. iv. Sent. dist. 49. 6. "Loquendo de stricta justitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intensæ, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem justitia qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogantis in præmiis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessario, quod per illam justitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti."

requite man's labours in so large and ample a manner as human felicity doth import; inasmuch as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the other's value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined, in lieu of man's endeavours, to bestow the same, by the rule of that justice which best beseemeth him, namely, the justice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with pressed, and heaped, and even over-enlarged measure; yet could it never hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such justice should add to the nature of that reward the property of everlasting continuance; sith possession of bliss, though it should be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution." But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appear in so rewarding the sons of men, albeit they should exactly perform whatsoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howsoever God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded must have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The light of nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliss, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteousness. From salvation, therefore, and life, all flesh being excluded this way, behold how the wisdom of God hath revealed a way mystical and supernatural, a way directing unto the same end of life by a course which groundeth itself upon the guiltiness of sin, and through sin desert of condemnation and death. For in this way, the first thing is the tender compassion of God respecting us drowned and swallowed up in misery; the next is redemption out of the same by the precious death and merit of a mighty Saviour,

John xiv. 6. which hath witnessed of himself, saying, "I am the way," the way that leadeth us from misery into bliss. This supernatural way had God in himself prepared before all worlds. The way of supernatural duty which to us he hath prescribed, our Saviour in the Gospel of St. John doth note, terming it

John vi. 29. by an excellency the work of God: "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent." Not that God doth require nothing unto happiness at the hands of men, saving only a naked belief (for hope and charity we may not exclude); but that without belief all other things are as no-

thing, and it is the ground of those other divine virtues. Concerning Faith, the principal object whereof is that eternal verity which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom in Christ; concerning Hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charity, the final object whereof is that incomprehensible beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Son of the living God: concerning these virtues, the first of which beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive vision of God in the world to come; the second beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed, and as yet but only heard of, endeth with real and actual fruition of that which no tongue can express; the third beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endless union, the mystery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no salvation, was there ever any mention made saving only in that law which God himself hath from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God. Laws therefore concerning these things are supernatural, both in respect of the manner of delivering them, which is divine; and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in Nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained, besides the course of nature, to rectify nature's obliquity withal.

The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in holy Scripture.

XII. When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless. The law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught even with laws of Nature, insomuch that Gratian,[a] defining Natural Right, (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those general duties that concern men naturally even as they are men,) termeth "natural right, that which the Books of the Law and the Gospel do contain." Neither is it

[a] "Jus naturale est, quod in Lege et Evangelio continetur." p. 1. d. 1.

vain that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws in this kind: for they are either such as we of ourselves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands; or, if they be so clear and manifest that no man endued with reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the school of Nature, as serving to prove things less manifest, and to induce a persuasion of somewhat which were in itself more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be cleared, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most singular use and profit many ways for men's instruction. Besides, be they plain of themselves, or obscure, the evidence of God's own testimony, added to the natural assent of reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same.

Wherefore, inasmuch as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to be also of sundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done; requisite it cannot but seem the rule of divine Law should herein help our imbecility, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good, and what evil. The first principles of the Law of Nature are easy; hard it were to find men ignorant of them. But concerning the duty which Nature's Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so far hath the natural understanding even of sundry whole nations been darkened, that they have not discerned, no, not gross iniquity to be sin.[a] Again, being so prone as we are to fawn upon ourselves, and

[a] "Joseph. lib. secundo contra Apion." (c. 37.) "Lacedæmonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitalitatem reprehendendi, fœdumque neglectum nuptiarum? Elienses vero et Thebani ob coitum cum masculis plane impudentem et contra naturam, quem recte et utiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarunt, etiam suis legibus miscuere." Vid. Th. 12. q. 49. 4, 5, 6. "Lex naturæ sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum." August. (aut quisquis auctor est) lib. de Quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. "Quis nesciat quid bonæ vitæ conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non vult, aliis minime debeat facere? At vero ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppressa consuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent: non quod penitus obliterata est, sed quia maxima ejus auctoritate carebant, idololatriæ studebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data ergo lex erat, ut et quæ sciebantur auctoritatem haberent, et quæ latere cœperant manifestarentur." (Quæst. iv.)

to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling sense whereof we are most wretched; even so much the more, because not knowing them, we cannot so much as desire to have them taken away; how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath delivered a law as sharp as the two-edged sword, piercing the very closest and most unsearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, human laws by no means possibly, reach unto? Hereby we know even secret concupiscence to be sin, and are made fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impossible to be discerned by the light of Nature itself; are there not many which few men's natural capacity, and some which no man's hath been able to find out? They are, saith St. Augustine, but a few, and they endued with great ripeness of wit and judgment, free from all such affairs as might trouble their meditations, instructed in the sharpest and the subtilest points of learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but only the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of the flesh what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwise than from the school of Nature? Whereby it appeareth, how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator, the Father of all mercy, eternal thanks, for that he hath delivered his law unto the world; a law wherein so many things are laid open, clear, and manifest; as a light, which otherwise would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loss of infinite thousands of souls, most undoubtedly now saved.

We see, therefore, that our sovereign good is desired naturally; that God, the author of that natural desire, had appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that man, having utterly disabled his nature unto those means, hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from heaven a law to teach him how that which is desired naturally must now supernaturally be attained. Finally, we see, that because those latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unnecessary, therefore together with such supernatural duties as could not possibly have been otherwise known to the world,

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the same law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such natural duties as could not by light of Nature easily have been known.

The benefit of having divine Laws written.

XIII. In the first age of the world God gave laws unto our fathers, and by reason of the number of their days their memories served instead of books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the same, by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoved them to be specially mindful. In which respect, we see how many times one thing hath been iterated unto sundry, even of the best and wisest amongst them. After that the lives of men were shortened, means more durable to preserve the laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in use, not without precise direction from God himself. First therefore of Moses it is said, that he "wrote all the words of God;" not by his own private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himself, "I have written." Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to do the like? Unto the holy evangelist St. John, how often express charge is given, "Scribe, write these things?" Concerning the rest of our Lord's disciples, the words of St. Augustine are, "Quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit."

Exod. xxiv. 4.

Hos. viii. 12.

Apoc. i. 11; xiv. 13.

Aug. lib. i. de Cons. Evang. cap. ult.

Now, although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto; finally, though his laws do require at our hands the same obedience, howsoever they be delivered; his providence, notwithstanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify? The singular benefit that hath grown unto the world by receiving the laws of God, even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God otherwhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God, to yield to traditions urged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to his written law,

honouring equally and adoring both as divine? Our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authority of tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth itself by report and descendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to persuade themselves; howsoever, if the simple were so persuaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind, consider but only that little of things divine which the heathen have in such sort received.[a] How miserable had the state of the Church of God been long ere this, if, wanting the sacred Scripture, we had no record of his laws but only the memory of man receiving the same by report and relation from his predecessors?

By Scripture, it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much, but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories, to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey, and honour him; yea, many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken, to have the several books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then, that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other

[a] I mean those historical matters concerning the ancient state of the first world, the Deluge, the sons of Noah, the children of Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, the life and doings of Moses their captain, with such like: the certain truth whereof delivered in Holy Scripture, is of the Heathen, which had them only by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seen, is the show of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be saved: what? shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous branches, wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely, no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever; which if our bodies did want, we might, notwithstanding any such defect, retain still the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts, whereof though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to have them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve; in like sort, all those writings which contain in them the Law of God, all those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of Holy Writ, they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all, if we did want it.

The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.

XIV. Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all sorts of laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the laws of duties supernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very solemn manner disputed, whether all things necessary unto salvation be necessarily set down in the Holy Scriptures or no.[a] If we define that necessary unto salvation, whereby the way to salvation is in any sort made more plain, apparent, and easy to be known; then is there no part of true philosophy, no art of account, no kind of science, rightly so called, but the Scripture must contain it. If only those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding, and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chief is to know what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach. Whereunto we may answer with

[a] "Utrum cognitio supernaturalis, necessaria viatori, sit sufficienter tradita in sacra Scriptura?" This question proposed by Scotus is affirmatively concluded.

truth, that there is not in the world any art or science, which, proposing unto itself an end (as every one doth some end or other), hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered simply whatsoever is needful to the same end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in other sciences and known beforehand. He that should take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needs deliver unto them whatsoever precepts are requisite unto that end; otherwise he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently unless he be able first to speak; it followeth, that ability of speech is in this case a thing most necessary. Notwithstanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator, should therefore deliver all the precepts of grammar; because his profession is to deliver precepts necessary unto eloquent speech; yet so, that they which are to receive them be taught beforehand so much of that which is thereunto necessary, as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things that are necessary unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kind or form; as all things which are necessary, and either could not at all, or could not easily be known by the light of natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary. In the number of these principles, one is the sacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore persuaded by other means that these Scriptures are the oracles of God, themselves do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands necesssary unto salvation.

Further, there hath been some doubt likewise, whether *containing in Scripture* do import express setting down in plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort, that, by reason, we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions, instances have

sundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants: these, with such other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture no where to be found by express literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehension in Scripture being therefore received, still there is doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete measure of things necessary be made up. For let us not think, that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man shall be able to sound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially, if things contained by collection do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and conjecturally surmised. But let necessary collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessity urged upon this church, under the name of reformed church-discipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, allege but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and us, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be necessary.

It hath been already shewed, how all things necessary unto salvation, in such sort as before we have maintained, must needs be possible for men to know; and that many things are in such sort necessary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impossible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all flesh is excluded from possibility of salvation, which to think were most barbarous; or else, that God hath by supernatural means revealed the way of life so far forth as doth suffice. For this cause, God hath so many times and ways spoken to the sons of men: neither hath he by speech only, but by writing also, instructed and taught his Church. The cause of writing hath been, to the end that things by him revealed unto the world, might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of assurance; by how much that which standeth on record, hath in both those respects pre-eminence above that which passeth from

hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no books but the ears, of men to record it. The several books of Scripture having had each some several occasion and particular purpose which caused them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that special end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth that every book of Holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, natural, historical, foreign, supernatural, so much as the matter handled requireth. Now forasmuch as there have been reasons alleged sufficient to conclude that all things necessary unto salvation must be made known, and that God himself hath therefore revealed his will, because otherwise men could not have known so much as is necessary; his surceasing to speak to the world, since the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the delivery of the same in writing, is unto us a manifest token that the way of salvation is now sufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full instruction than God hath already furnished us withal.

Ephes. v. 29. 2 Tim. iii. 8. Tit. i. 12. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

The main drift of the whole New Testament is that which St. John setteth down as the purpose of his own history; "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life through his name." The drift of the Old, that which the Apostle mentioneth to Timothy, "The Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation." So that the general end both of Old and New is one; the difference between them consisting in this, that the Old did make wise by teaching salvation through Christ that should come; the New, by teaching that Christ the Saviour is come; and that Jesus, whom the Jews did crucify, and whom God did raise again from the dead, is he. When the Apostle therefore affirmeth unto Timothy, that the Old was able to make him wise to salvation, it was not his meaning, that the Old alone can do this unto us which live sithence the publication of the New. For he speaketh with presupposal of the doctrine of Christ known also unto Timothy; and therefore first it is said, "Continue thou in those things which thou hast learned, and art persuaded, knowing of whom thou hast been taught them." Again, those Scriptures he granteth were able to make him wise to salvation; but he addeth, "through the faith which is in Christ." Wherefore

John xx. 31. 2 Tim iii. 15. 2 Tim. iii. 14. Ver. 15.

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without the doctrine of the New Testament, teaching that Christ hath wrought the redemption of the world; which redemption the Old did foreshew he should work: it is not the former alone which can on our behalf perform so much as the Apostle doth avouch, who presupposeth this, when he magnifieth that so highly. And as his words concerning the Books of ancient Scripture do not take place but with presupposal of the Gospel of Christ embraced; so our own words also, when we extol the complete sufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, must in like sort be understood with this caution, that the benefit of Nature's light be not thought excluded as unnecessary, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified.

There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling soever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God himself requireth, be it natural or supernatural, belonging simply unto men, as men; or unto men, as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth, therefore, that Nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides. And therefore they which add traditions, as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error. For they only plead, that whatsoever God revealeth as necessary for all Christian men to do or believe, the same we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwise, which no man denieth; when that which they should confirm, who claim so great reverence to traditions, is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them only because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the self-same force and authority with the written Laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, "That the Apostles did in every church

Whitakerus adversus

institute and ordain some rites and customs, serving for the seemliness of church-regiment; which rites and customs they have not committed unto writing." Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church, than other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the Apostles' writings. For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Bellarmin. quæst. 6. cap. 6.

Of Laws positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.

XV. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a public society upon the particulars thereof; or by all the nations of men upon every several society; or by the Lord himself upon any or every of these: there is not amongst these four kinds any one, but containeth sundry both natural and positive laws. Impossible it is, but that they should fall into a number of gross errors, who only take such laws for positive as have been made or invented of men; and holding this position, hold also, that all positive, and none but positive laws are mutable. Laws natural do always bind; laws positive not so, but only after they have been expressly and wittingly imposed. Laws positive there are in every of those kinds before mentioned. As in the first kind, the promises which we have passed unto men, and the vows we have made unto God; for these are laws which we tie ourselves unto, and till we have so tied ourselves they bind us not. Laws positive in the second kind are such as the civil constitutions, peculiar unto each particular commonweal. In the third kind, the law of heraldry in war is positive: and in the last, all the judicials which God gave unto the people of Israel to observe. And although no laws but positive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positive. Positive laws are either permanent, or else changeable, according as the matter itself is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the matter doth exact.

Laws that concern supernatural duties, are all positive; and either concern men supernaturally as men, or else as parts of a supernatural society; which society we call the Church. To concern men as men supernaturally, is to concern them as

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duties, which belong of necessity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them unless God had opened them himself; inasmuch as they do not depend upon any natural ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those natural ways of salvation, by which we are not now able to attain thereunto. The Church being a supernatural society, doth differ from natural societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate ourselves in the one, are men, simply considered as men; but they to whom we be joined in the other, are God, angels, and holy men. Again, the Church being both a society, and a society supernatural, although as it is a society, it have the self-same original grounds which other public societies have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain bond of association; which bond is the Law that appointeth what kind of order they shall be associated in: yet unto the Church, as it is a society supernatural, this is peculiar; that part of the bond of their association which belongs to the Church of God, must be a law supernatural, which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of Reason doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongst the Heathen; but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the Church, saving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty.

Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the laws which God hath tied men unto: those laws divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic society, or to men as they are of that politic society which is the Church, without any further respect had unto any such variable accident, as the estate of men, and of societies of men, and of the Church itself in this world is subject unto;[a] all Laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea, although they be Positive Laws, unless being positive, God himself, which made them, alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of laws in general, is thus far forth constant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof laws were instituted, and being

[a] "Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of men." Isa. xxix. 13.

instituted are not changeable without cause, neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, laws that were made for men or societies or churches in regard of their being such, as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise a while after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered than before; the laws of God himself, which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the one's constancy, and the mutability of the other. And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. John doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, "*Evangelium æternum*," an eternal Gospel; because there can be no reason wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed, as long as the world doth continue: whereas the whole law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of God's ordaining it.

Apoc. xiv. 6.

But that we may at length conclude this first general introduction unto the nature and original birth, as of all other laws, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture containeth, concerning the Author whereof, even infidels have confessed, that He can neither err nor deceive;[a] albeit, about things easy and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation; because as a man, whose wisdom is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in some disdain to have his counsel solemnly asked about a toy; so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no less than they do, by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious than profane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or small, than to wade through matters of principal weight and mo-

[a] Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔν τε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, οὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὔδ' ὕπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ. Plat. in fine 2 Polit.

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ment, without ever caring what the law of God hath either for or against our designs. Concerning the custom of the very Painims, thus much Strabo witnesseth: "Men that are civil do lead their lives after one common Law appointing them what to do. For that otherwise a multitude should with harmony amongst themselves concur in the doing of one thing, (for this is civilly to live,) or that they should in any sort manage community of life, it is not possible. Now laws or statutes are of two sorts. For they are either received from gods, or else from men. And our ancient predecessors did surely most honour and reverence that which was from the gods: for which cause, consultation with oracles was a thing very usual and frequent in their times."[a] Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easy access for all men? "By thy commandments (this was David's confession unto God) thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies." Again, "I have more understanding than all my teachers, because thy testimonies are my meditations." What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these books, who travelled sea and land to gain the treasures of some few days' talk with men, whose wisdom the world did make any reckoning of? That little which some of the heathens did chance to hear concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful sort affect; their speeches, as oft as they make mention thereof, are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits, which did every where else conquer hardness, were with profoundness here over-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath endued us with sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life

Psal. cxix. 98.

Ver. 99.

Vide Orphei Carmina.

[a] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἕν τι κατὰ ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις (ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι), καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα δίττον· ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐσέμνυνον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολύς. Strab. Georg. lib. xvi. (tom. ii. p. 1105. ed. Amstel. 1707.)

doth need; and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach unto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be known, should lie obscure; finally, with the heavenly support of prophetical revelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could never have been able to find out,[a] or to have known the necessity of them unto our everlasting good: use we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteous before him; in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

XVI. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force Laws are, according unto their several kinds: the law which God with himself hath eternally set down to follow in his own works: the law which he hath made for his creatures to keep: the law of natural and necessary agents: the law which angels in heaven obey: the law whereunto, by the light of reason, men find themselves bound, in that they are men: the law which they make by composition for multitudes and politic societies of men to be guided by: the law which belongeth unto each nation: the law that concerneth the fellowship of all: and lastly, the law which God himself hath supernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular, and more plausible to vulgar ears, if this first discourse had been spent in extolling the force of laws, in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence, by whom public laws are injuriously traduced. But forasmuch as with such kind of matter the passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, than their knowledge any way set forward unto the trial of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, though less easy, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws is derived from the Father of lights, to teach men a reason why just and reason-

Jam. i. 17.

[a] Ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται, πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. Philo de Mos. (lib. ii. in init.)

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able laws are of so great force, of so great use in the world; and to inform their minds with some method of reducing the laws, whereof there is present controversy, unto their first original causes, that so it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, just, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thoroughly understood or soundly judged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first original; seeing that our whole question concerneth the quality of ecclesiastical laws, let it not seem a labour superfluous, that in the entrance thereunto, all these several kinds of laws have been considered; inasmuch as they all concur as principles; they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner; by means whereof it cometh to pass, that the force which they have is not observed of many.

Arist. Phys. lib. i. cap. 1.

Easier a great deal it is for men by Law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of law: the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him.[a] But if we will give judgment of the laws under which we live; first, let that law eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful estimation of all laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt, but that laws apparently good, are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high everlasting law, even as the book of that law hath said concerning itself, "By me kings reign, and by me princes decree justice." Not as if men did behold that book, and accordingly frame their laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth and (as it were) readeth itself to the world by them, when the

Prov. viii. 15.

[a] Arist. Ethic. x. [10.] Τὸ κρῖναι ῥᾳθῶς, μέγιστον. Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.

laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of laws made; nevertheless, sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not; should not this breed a fear into our hearts how we speak or judge in the worst part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to Him towards whom we profess all submission and awe? Surely there must be very manifest iniquity in laws, against which we shall be able to justify our contumelious invectives. The chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is ignorance how laws inferior are derived from that supreme or highest law.

The first that receive impression from thence are natural agents; the law of whose operations might be haply thought less pertinent, when the question is about laws for human actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the rules and axioms of natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our salvation, than our persuasion concerning the law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that mystical union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Christ as any one part of his flesh is unto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needs protect it; what proof more strong, than if a manifest law so require, which law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other law doth the Apostle for this allege, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things natural; "No man hateth his own flesh, but doth love and cherish it?" The axioms of that law therefore, whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the moral, yea, even in the spititual actions of men, and consequently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever.

Ephes. v. 29.

Neither are the Angels themselves so far severed from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in this our state of mortality, such correspondence there is as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one for the other's more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselves fellow-servants with the sons of men, but that

Apoc. xix. 10.

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both having one Lord, there must be some kind of law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a pattern and a spur? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth unto saints as they are linked together in the bond of spiritual society, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publicly done by the Church we are not somewhat to respect what the Angels of heaven do? Yea, so far hath the Apostle St. Paul proceeded, as to signify that even about the outward orders of the Church, which serve but for comeliness, some regard is to be had of Angels, who best like us when we are most like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the law of Angels wecan not judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God.

1 Pet. i. 12. Ephes. iii. 10; 1 Tim. v. 21.

1 Cor. xi. 10.

Our largeness of speech how men do find out what things reason bindeth them of necessity to observe, and what it guideth them to choose in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of laws which severally concern all men, from such as belong unto men either civilly or spiritually associated; such as pertain to the fellowship which nations, or which Christian nations, have amongst themselves; and in the last place, such as concerning every or any of these, God himself hath revealed by his Holy Word; all serveth but to make manifest, that as the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, some finally ecclesiastical; which if we measure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themselves are so different, there will be, in our understanding and judgment of them, confusion. As that first error sheweth whereon our opposites in this cause have grounded themselves; for as they rightly maintain, that God must be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unless they be framed after his law; so it is their error to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the sacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, sleep, move, we set forth the glory of God as natural agents do, albeit we have no express pur-

Ps. cxlviii. 7—9.

pose to make that our end, nor any advised determination therein to follow a law, but do that we do (for the most part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and moral actions, another law taketh place; a law, by the observation whereof we glorify God in such sort, as no creature else under man is able to do; because other creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuse nor approve themselves. Men do both, as the Apostle teacheth; yea, those men which have no written law of God to shew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts the universal law of mankind, the Law of Reason, whereby they judge as by a rule which God has given unto all men for that purpose. The law of reason doth somewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorify God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting Saviour, this we are taught by divine law, which law both ascertaineth the truth, and supplieth unto us the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life; but in supernatural it alone guideth. Proceed we further; let us place man in some public society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy, but we must add yet a further law. For although, even here likewise, the laws of nature and reason be of necessary use; yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, human and positive law, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the law of nations, and of nations Christian. For which cause, the law of God hath likewise said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." The public power of all societies is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey, unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce, that the Law of Reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary: because, except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are at this present day so rent with mutual

Rom. i. 21.

Rom. ii. 15.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Book I. Ch. xvi.

contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the polity of the Church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth.

It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet in society with others, none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands.[a] Yea, I am persuaded, that of them, with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters among men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unframable unto societies wherein they live, is, for that they discern not aright what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is their question either concerning the regiment of the Church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions, in our own church? Of all these things they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some show of probability; and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance. For the better inuring, therefore, of men's minds with the true distinction of laws, and of their several force, according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it shall not peradventure be amiss to shew in some one example, how they all take place. To seek no further, let but that be considered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are

Job xxxiv. 3.

[a] Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. Arist. Ethic. lib. v. cap. 3.

food, and what are not, we judge naturally by sense; neither need we any other law to be our director in that behalf than the self-same which is common unto us with beasts. But when we come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodness hath provided for all things living; the law of Reason doth here require the duty of thankfulness at our hands, towards him at whose hands we have it. And lest appetite in the use of food should lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this case obedience to that law of Reason, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The same things divine law teacheth also, as at large we have shewed it doth all parts of moral duty, whereunto we all of necessity stand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certain kinds of food the Jews sometimes had, and we ourselves likewise have a mystical, religious, and supernatural use, they of their paschal lamb and oblations, we of our bread and wine in the Eucharist; which use none but divine law could institute.

Psal. clxv. 15, 16.

Now as we live in civil society, the state of the commonwealth wherein we live both may and doth require certain laws concerning food; which laws, saving only that we are members of the commonwealth, where they are of force, we should not need to respect as rules of action; whereas now in their place and kind they must be respected and obeyed. Yea, the self-same matter is also a subject wherein sometime ecclesiastical laws have place; so that unless we will be authors of confusion in the Church, our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself to be that way guided, which the public judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which case, that of Zonaras concerning fasts may be remembered: "Fastings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the orders of the holy fathers," the positive laws of the Church of Christ, must be plainly told, "that good things do lose the grace of their goodness, when in good sort they are not performed."[a] And as here men's private fancies must give place to the higher judgment of that church, which is in authority a mother over them; so the very actions of whole churches have, in regard of commerce and fellowship with other churches,

[a] Ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. Zonar. in Can. Apost. 66.

Book I. Ch. xvi.

Acts xv. 20.

been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else been thought more convenient for them to observe; as by that order of abstinence from things strangled and blood, may appear; an order grounded upon that fellowship which the churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews. Thus we see how even one and the self-same thing is under divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other. Wherefore, that here we may briefly end: Of Law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power: both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

BOOK II.

CONCERNING THEIR FIRST POSITION WHO URGE REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; NAMELY, THAT SCRIPTURE IS THE ONLY RULE OF ALL THINGS WHICH IN THIS LIFE MAY BE DONE BY MEN.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS SECOND BOOK.

1. An Answer to their first Proof brought out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.
2. To their second, 1 Cor. x. 34.
3. To their third, 1 Tim. iv. 5.
4. To their fourth, Rom. xiv. 23.
5. To their Proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from the authority of Holy Scripture.
6. To their Proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.
7. An Examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions.
8. A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

As that which in the title hath been proposed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the ecclesiastical law whereby we

are governed; so neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who administer government, and unto whom the execution of that law belongeth, they have their Judge who sitteth in heaven, and before whose tribunal-seat they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this church) the want either of care or of conscience in them hath bred. We are no patrons of those things therefore; the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the uttermost of that ability which he hath given; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the laws themselves; come we to those things which in the very whole entire form of our church polity have been (as we persuade ourselves) injuriously blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the same, and instead thereof to establish a much worse; only through a strong misconceit they have that the same is grounded on divine authority. Now, whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discussed by reason, than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch a heap is made: surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discussed, and omitting such mean specialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselves: I know no cause why either the number or the length of these controversies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love and goodness the Father of all peace and unity grant.

Unto which scope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things be examined, which are as seeds from whence the rest that ensue have grown. And of such the most general is that, wherewith we are here to make our entrance: a question not moved (I think)

Book II. Ch. i.

any where in other churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determined; the rather for that it hath grown from no other root than only a desire to enlarge the necessary use of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an error, enlarging it further than (as we are persuaded) soundness of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they hold that one only law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as the taking up of a rush or straw. About which point there should not need any question to grow, and that which is grown might presently end, if they did yield but to these two restraints. The first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speak so low as that instance doth import of taking up a straw, but rather keep themselves at the least within the compass of moral actions, actions which have in them vice or virtue. The second, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of Reason; the general axioms, rules, and principles of which law being so frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, even out of Scripture, such duties may be deduced by some kind of consequence (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth, out of any truth, may be concluded); howbeit no man is bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not presently considered of, the action shall in that respect be condemned as unlawful. In this we dissent, and this we are presently to examine.

T. C. l. i. p. 59, 60.

The first pretended proof of the first position out of Scripture.

I. In all parts of knowledge, rightly so termed, things most general are most strong. Thus it must be, inasmuch as the certainty of our persuasion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of those generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cause admit not such infallible evidence of proof, as leaveth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claim the general assent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do

not fear to give very hard and heavy sentence upon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must have special regard, that their first foundations and grounds be more than slender probabilities. This whole question, which hath been moved about the kind of church-regiment, we could not but for our own resolution's sake endeavour to unrip and sift; following therein, as near as we might, the conduct of that judicial method which serveth best for invention of truth. By means whereof, having found this the head theorem of all their discourses, who plead for the change of ecclesiastical government in England, namely, "That the Scripture of God is in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin;" we hold it necessary that the proofs hereof be weighed. Be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our assent till we be further and better satisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongst them will scorn or refuse to hear.

First, therefore, whereas they allege, "That Wisdom doth teach men every good way;"[a] and have thereupon inferred that no way is good in any kind of action unless wisdom do by Scripture lead unto it; see they not plainly how they restrain the manifold ways which wisdom hath to teach men by, unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wisdom was Adam's instructor in Paradise; wisdom endued the Fathers who lived before the law with the knowledge of holy things; by the wisdom of the law of God, David attained te excel others in understanding, and Solomon likewise to excel David by the self-same wisdom of God, teaching him many things besides the law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions; so that whatsoever we do in this world, and may do it ill, we shew ourselves therein by well-doing to be wise. Now if wisdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in some certain kind, according to

Prov. ii. 9.

Psal. cxix. 99.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 20. "I say, that the word of God containeth whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life. For so Solomon saith, in the second chapter of the Proverbs, 'My son, if thou receive my words, &c. then thou shalt understand justice, and judgment, and equity, and every good way.'"

Book II. Ch. ii.

that of St. Paul[a] concerning the use of Scripture, but did simply, without any manner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach every way of doing well, there is no Art but Scripture should teach it, because every art doth teach the way how to do something or other well. To teach men, therefore, wisdom professeth, and to teach them every good way; but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on earth, or the angels of heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable fountain of wisdom; which wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. As her ways are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not merely one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of nature; with some things she inspireth them from above by spiritual influence; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one special kind admire her, that we disgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

The second proof out of Scripture.

II. "That all things be done to the glory of God,"[b] the blessed Apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that virtue divine, which being made manifest, causeth men and angels to extol his greatness, and in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant, that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his name we glorify, when we testify our acknowledgment of his glory. Which albeit we most effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheless it may

[a] 2 Tim. iii. 16. "The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect unto all good works." He meaneth all and only those good works which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto salvation are necessary. Or if we understand by *men of God*, God's Ministers, there is not required in them a universal skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatsoever men are bound to do that they may be saved; and with this kind of knowledge the Scripture sufficeth to furnish them as touching matter.

[b] 1 Cor. x. 31. T. C. l. i. p. 26. "St. Paul saith, 'That whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do it to the glory of God.' But no man can glorify God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in respect of the Commandment and Word of God: therefore it followeth, that the Word of God directeth a man in all his actions."

be perhaps a question, whether St. Paul did mean, that we sin as oft as ever we go about any thing without an express intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himself, "I do in all things please all men, seeking not my own commodity, but rather the good of many, that they may be saved." 1 Cor. x. 33. Shall it hereupon be thought, that St. Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with an express intent even thereby to further the common salvation of men? We move, we sleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do only to satisfy some natural desire, without present, express, and actual reference unto any commandment of God. Unto his glory even these things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and spiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of nature, his power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow, that of necessity we shall sin, unless we expressly intend this in every such particular.

But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general presupposed willingness to please God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot so glorify the name of God as we should, without an actual intent to do him in that particular some special obedience; yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent desire to fulfil that law which maketh known what his will is, although no special clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before men's eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinds of laws which notify the will of God, as in the former book hath been proved at large; nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. "Do therefore all things unto the glory of God, (saith the Apostle,) be inoffensive both to the Jews and Grecians, and the Church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking my own commodity, but many's, that they may be saved." 1 Cor. x. 31—33. In the least thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively against the good of men, whose benefit we ought to seek for as for our own, we

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plainly shew that we do not acknowledge God to be such as indeed he is, and consequently that we glorify him not. This the blessed Apostle teacheth; but doth any Apostle teach, that we cannot glorify God otherwise than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth us to do?

The churches dispersed amongst the heathen in the east part of the world are by the Apostle St. Peter exhorted to
1 Pet. ii. 12. have their "conversation honest among the Gentiles, that they, which speak evil of them as evil-doers, might, by the good works which they should see, glorify God in the day of visitation." As long as that which Christians did was good, and no way subject unto just reproof, their virtuous conversation was a mean to work the heathen's conversion unto Christ. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impossible, but that infidels themselves did discern in matters of life and conversation, when believers did well and when otherwise; when they glorified their heavenly Father, and when not; it followeth, that some things wherein God is glorified, may be some other way known than only by the sacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being utterly ignorant, did notwithstanding judge rightly of the quality of Christian men's actions. Most certain it is, that nothing but only sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorify him in all things, is to do
Rom. ii. 24. 1 Cor. x. 32. Rom. ii. 23. nothing whereby the name of God may be blasphemed; nothing whereby the salvation of Jew or Grecian, or any in the Church of Christ, may be let or hindered; nothing whereby the law is transgressed. But the question is, whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in?

The third Scripture proof, 1 Tim. iv. 5. and that which St. Paul said of meats and drinks, that they are sanctified unto us by the Word of God, the same is to be understood of all things else whatsoever we have the use of. T. C. l. i. p. 26.

III. And though meats and drinks be said to be sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, yet neither is this a reason sufficient to prove, that by Scripture we must of necessity be directed in every light and common thing which is incident unto any part of man's life. Only it sheweth that unto us the Word, that is to say, the Gospel of Christ, having not delivered any such difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of Moses did unto the Jews, there is no cause but that we may use indifferently all things as long as we do not (like swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of his liberality and goodness by whose providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apostle gave warning

beforehand to take heed of such as should enjoin to "abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, by them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, because it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer." The Gospel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himself must sanctify by a reverend and holy use. Which will hardly be drawn so far as to serve their purpose, who have imagined the Word in such sort to sanctify all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor raiment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed must needs be sin in them which do not first know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

1 Tim. iv. 3—5.

IV. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood upon; that place of St. Paul, they say, is of all other most clear, where "speaking of those things which are called indifferent," in the end he concludeth, That "whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;" but faith is not but in respect of the Word of God; therefore whatsoever is not done by the Word of God, is sin." Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs have reference unto some uttered word as the object of belief: nevertheless, sith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer, or by the manifest likelihood of truth which they have in themselves; hereupon it riseth, that whatsoever we are persuaded of, the same we are generally said to believe. In which generality the object of Faith may not so narrowly be restrained, as if the same did extend no further than only to the Scriptures of God. "Though (saith our Saviour) ye believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." "The other Disciples said unto Thomas, We have seen the Lord;" but his answer unto them was, "Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not believe." Can there be any thing more plain, than that which by these two sentences appeareth; namely, that there may be a certain belief

The fourth Scripture proof, Rom. xiv. 23. T. C. l. i. p. 27.

Psalm. xix. 8. Apoc. iii. 14. 2 Cor. i. 18.

John x. 38.

John. xx. 25.

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grounded upon other assurance than Scripture; any thing more clear, than that we are said not only to believe the things which we know by another's relation, but even whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it be by reason or by sense?

Forasmuch therefore as it is granted that St. Paul doth mean nothing else by Faith, but only a full persuasion that that which we do is well done;[a] against which kind of Faith or persuasion, as St. Paul doth count it sin to enterprise any thing, so likewise some of the very heathen have taught,[b] as Tully, "That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubtest, whether it be right or wrong;" whereby it appeareth that even those which had no knowledge of the word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man; I hope we shall not seem altogether unnecessarily to doubt of the soundness of their opinion, who think simply that nothing but only the word of God can give us assurance in any thing we are to do, and resolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully persuaded that they did well to think (if they had so thought) that in Christ, God the Father was, although the only ground of this their faith had been the wonderful works they saw him do? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end persuade himself, that he did well to think that body which now was raised, to be the same which had been crucified? That which gave Thomas this assurance was his sense; "Thomas, because thou hast seen, thou believest," saith our Saviour. What Scripture hath Tully for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who allege him, think he did well to set down in

John xx. 29.

[a] "And if any will say, that St. Paul meaneth there a πληροφορίαν and full persuasion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it: but from whence can that spring but from Faith? How can we persuade and assure onrselves that we do well, but whereas we have the Word of God for our warrant?" T. C. l. i. p. 27.

[b] "What also that some even of those Heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubtest, whether it be right or wrong. Whereby it appeareth, that even those which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man: and that the chiefest difference is, that where they sent men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth them to the school of Christ in his Word, which only is able through Faith to give them assurance and resolution in their doings." T. C. l. i. p. 60.

writing a thing so consonant unto truth. Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are sacred, and that they have proceeded from God; ourselves we assure that we do right well in so believing. We have for this point a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it his word. For if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all; yet still that Scripture which giveth credit to the rest, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we ever come unto any pause whereon to rest our assurance this way: so that unless beside Scripture, there were something which might assure us that we do well, we could not think we do well; no, not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy rule of well-doing.

On which determination we might be contented to stay ourselves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into larger speech by reason of their so great earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alleged words, as being of all other most pregnant. Whereas therefore they still argue, "That wheresoever faith is wanting, there is sin; and, "in every action not commanded, faith is wanting;" *ergo*, "in every action not commanded, there is sin:" I would demand of them; first, forasmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith sin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of necessity they must add somewhat, and at leastwise thus set it down: in every action not commanded of God, or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is sin. The next thing we are to inquire is, What those things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be so permitted? When there are unto one end sundry means; as for example, for the sustenance of our bodies many kinds of food, many sorts of raiment to clothe our nakedness, and so in other things of like condition: here the end itself being necessary, but not so any one mean thereunto; necessary that our bodies should be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or raiment necessary; therefore we hold these things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own discretion, except a principal bond of some higher duty

T. C. l. ii. p. 58.

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remove the indifferency that such things have in themselves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as Ananias did, for whom to have sold or held his possessions it was indifferent, till his solemn vow and promise unto God had strictly bound him one only way; or if God himself have precisely abridged the same, by restraining us unto, or by barring us from some one or more things of many, which otherwise were in themselves altogether indifferent. Many fashions of priestly attire there were, whereof Aaron and his sons might have had their free choice without sin, but that God expressly tied them unto one. All meats were indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as swine's flesh. Impossible therefore it is that we should otherwise think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the same he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone. "All things are lawful unto me," saith the Apostle, speaking, as it seemeth, in the person of the Christian gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent; whereunto his answer is, that nevertheless, "all things are not expedient;" in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient.

Acts v.

Exod. xxviii. 4, 43. xxxix.

Lev. xi.

1 Cor. vi. 12.

Now in things, although not commanded of God, yet lawful because they are permitted, the question is, What light shall shew us the conveniency which one hath above another? For answer, their final determination is, that "Whereas the heathen did send men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth us to the school of Christ in his Word, which only is able through faith to give us assurance and resolution in our doings." Which word *only*, is utterly without possibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unless the word of the Lord hath determined of the free use of them, there could have been no lawful use of them at all: which notwithstanding is untrue; because it is not the Scripture's setting down such things as indifferent, but their not setting down as necessary that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our present purpose serveth nothing at all. We inquire not now, whether any thing be free to be used which Scripture hath not set down as free; but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in choosing any one of them before another, we

sin, if any thing but Scripture direct us into this our choice. When many meats are set before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as most convenient. If Scripture require me so to do, then is not the thing indifferent, because I must do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any; Scripture doth not require of me to make any special choice of one: I do notwithstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to do. A hard case, that hereupon I should be justly condemned of sin. Nor let any man think, that following the judgment of natural discretion in such cases, we can have no assurance that we please God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how shall any operation proceeding in natural sort, be in that respect unacceptable? The nature which himself hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way, without commandment of his to the contrary.

My desire is to make this cause so manifest, that if it were possible, no doubt or scruple concerning the same might remain in any man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter. As it is now true that Christ is risen from the dead; which thing was not true at such time as Christ was living on earth, and had not suffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the sinful stain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in such sort that, from the first beginning of the world unto the last consummation thereof, it neither hath been, nor can be otherwise. I see not how they can restrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now, and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is, for want of faith, sin. Then let them cast back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world. Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Job, and the rest that lived before any syllable of the law of God was written, did they not sin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his sacred Word, the same he was unto them by such like means, as Eliphaz in Job describeth. If therefore we sin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the like in all such actions as were not by

Job iv. 19.

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revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unless God from Heaven did by vision still shew them what to do, they might do nothing, not eat, not drink, not sleep, not move.

Yea, but even as in darkness, candle-light may serve to guide men's steps, which to use in the day were madness; so when God hath once delivered his Law in writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it must needs be sin for men to do any thing which was not there commanded them to do, whatsoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, either that the light of Scripture once shining in the world, all other light of Nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer use it; or if it stand us in any stead, yet as Aristotle speaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the state of servitude, saying, "They have reason so far forth as to conceive when others direct them, but little or none in directing themselves by themselves;" so likewise our natural capacity and judgment must serve us only for the right understanding of that which the sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who succeeded Moses, or the blessed Apostles which followed them, been settled in this persuasion, never would they have taken so great pains in gathering together natural arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their duties. To use unto them any other motive than *Scriptum est*, "Thus it is written," had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which, I grant, they allege commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they should have alleged, had they been thus persuaded, that so far forth we do sin as we do any thing otherwise directed than by Scripture. St. Augustine was resolute in points of Christianity to credit none, how godly and learned soever he were, unless he "confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them." Let them therefore, with St. Augustine, reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on some reason not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly consent with them.

Arist. Pol. i. [c. 5.]

August. Ep. 18.

The first Assertion endeavoured to be proved by the use of taking

V. But against this it may be objected, and is, That the Fathers do nothing more usually in their books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil: "Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore."

Arguments negatively from the authority of Scripture; which kind of disputing is usual in the Fathers.

These disputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to shew that the Prophets themselves have so reasoned. Which arguments being sound and good, it should seem that it cannot be unsound or evil to hold still the same assertion, against which hitherto we have disputed. For if it stand with reason thus to argue, such a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it; how should it seem unreasonable to think that whatsoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it must make it lawful? But how far such arguments do reach, it shall the better appear by considering the matter wherein they have been urged.

First, therefore, this we constantly deny, that of so many testimonies as they are able to produce for the strength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in question) condemn either all opinions as false, or all actions as unlawful which the Scripture teacheth us not. The most that can be collected out of them is only, that in some cases a negative argument taken from Scripture is strong, whereof no man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the strength of some negative argument prove this kind of negative argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture prescribeth not condemned? The question between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawful or unlawful for men to do. The sentences alleged out of the Fathers, are as peremptory, and as large in every respect for matter of opinion, as of action. Which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwise to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the same kind of necessity unto salvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know, and with full persuasion to believe, much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemn the knowledge of so many arts and sciences as are otherwise learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of ancient Catholic Fathers, which seem to close up within the bosom thereof all manner of good and lawful knowledge; wherefore should their words be thought more effectual to shew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in speculation and knowledge we ought not to go any further

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than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief, no less than of action, the Fathers must needs be, and are even as plain against credit besides the relation, as against practice without the injunction of the Scripture. St. Augustine hath said, "Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, or of what thing soever the question be; I say not, if we, but if an angel from heaven shall tell us any thing beside that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and the Gospel, let him be accursed."[a] In like sort Tertullian: "We may not give ourselves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor choose any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the Apostles themselves for authors, which themselves brought nothing of their own will; but the discipline which they received of Christ, they delivered faithfully unto the people;" in which place the name of Discipline importeth not, as they who allege it would fain have it construed, but as any man (who noteth the circumstance of the place, and the occasion of uttering the words) will easily acknowledge, even the self-same thing it signifieth which the name of Doctrine doth; and as well might the one as the other there have been used. To help them further, doth not St. Jerome after the self-same manner dispute, "We believe it not, because we read it not?" yea, "We ought not so much as to know the things which the Book of the Law containeth not," saith St. Hilary. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto, any thing which sense, or experience, or report, or art, doth propose, unless we find the same in Scripture? No, it is too plain, that so far to extend their speeches, is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief, wherewith the words of the holy prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed truth

Aug. cont. Liter. Petil. l. iii. c. 6.

Tertul. de Præscrip. [c. 6.]

Hieron. contra Helvid. [§ 19. p. 141.]

Hilar. in Ps. cxxxii. [§. 6.]

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. "Augustine saith, Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, &c. And lest the answer should restrain the general saying of Augustine, unto the Doctrine of the Gospel, so that he would thereby shut out the Discipline; even Tertullian himself, before he was imbrued with the heresy of Montanus, giveth testimony unto the Discipline in these words, We may not give ourselves," &c.

which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus, as their speeches were meant, so by us they must be restrained.

As for those alleged words of Cyprian,[a] "The Christian Religion shall find, that out of this Scripture rules of all doctrines have sprung, and that from hence doth spring, and hither doth return, whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline doth contain:" surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cause, if it had been but once read over in the author himself out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal Commandment of Love; in the honour whereof he speaketh after this sort:[b] "Surely this Commandment containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one word is the abridgment of all the volumes of Scripture: this nature, and reason, and the authority of thy word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all religion doth consist. This is the first Commandment and the last: this being written in the Book of Life, is (as it were) an everlasting lesson both to men and angels. Let Christian religion read this one word, and meditate upon this commandment, and out of this Scripture it shall find the rules of all learning to have sprung, and from hence to have risen, and hither to return, whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and bootless which charity confirmeth not." Was this a sentence (trow you) of so great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one commandment of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and

[a] "Let him hear what Cyprian saith, The Christian religion (saith he) shall find, that," &c. T. C. l. ii. p. 8.

[b] "Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur et prophetas, et in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamat auctoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit consummationem omnis religio. Primum est hoc mandatum et ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conscriptum indeficientem, et homnibus, et angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum et in hoc mandato meditetur Christiana Religio, et inveniet ex hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanasse, et hinc nasci et huc reverti quicquid Ecclesiastica continet Disciplina, et in omnibus irritum esse et frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat."

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so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as now they do all means besides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech rather to pass by number than to stay for weight.

Tertul. lib. de Monog. [c. 4.]

Well, but Tertullian doth in this case speak yet more plainly: "The Scripture (saith he) denieth what it noteth not;" which are indeed the words of Tertullian.[a] But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the kings of Israel, and amongst those kings, David; the Scripture reckoneth up the sons of David, and amongst those sons, Solomon. To prove that amongst the kings of Israel there was no David but only one, no Solomon but one in the sons of David; Tertullian's argument will fitly prove. For inasmuch as the Scripture did propose to reckon up all, if there were more, it would have named them. In this case "the Scripture doth deny the thing it noteth not." Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me some piece of manifest injury, which would hereby fasten upon me a general opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reign of king Henry the Eighth, because it nowhere noteth that any such king did reign. Tertullian's speech is probable concerning such matter as he there speaketh of. "There was (saith Tertullian) no second Lamech like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." As therefore it noteth one such to have been in that age of the world, so had there been more, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? "There was no second Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." Were it consonant unto reason to divorce these two sentences, the former of which doth shew how the latter is restrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the latter of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth think true, is by the Scripture denied, unless it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a case so weak and feeble hath been so much persisted in.

But to come unto those their sentences wherein matters of action are more apparently touched, the name of Tertullian is, as before, so here again pretended; who writing unto his

[a] "And in another place Tertullian saith, That the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not." T. C. l. ii. p. 81.

wife two books, and exhorting her in the one to live a widow, in case God before her should take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to join herself to an infidel, as in those times some Christian widows had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world, he urgeth very earnestly St. Paul's words, "only in the Lord:"[a] 1 Cor. vii. 39. whereupon he demanded of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed and granted licence to do against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth enjoin? And because in defence it might perhaps be replied, Seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are infidels, if either party chance to be after converted unto Christianity, this should not make separation between them, as long as the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolve marriage being made? After great reasons shewed why God doth in converts, being married, allow continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful, when they are free, should enter into bonds of wedlock with such, he concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, "They that please not the Lord, do even thereby offend the Lord; they do even thereby throw themselves into evil;"[b] that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this, prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of Tertullian, as they are by them alleged, are two ways misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to all things in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of women's persons; and in the latter, where *received with hurt*, is put instead of *wilful*

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 80. "And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not against the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appear by other places, where he saith, 'That whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received;'" lib. ii. ad Uxorem.

[b] "Quæ Domino non placent, utique Dominum offendunt, utique malo se inferunt." [Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. 7.]

incurring that which is evil. And so in sum, Tertullian doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, "Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received;" but, "Those women that please not the Lord by their kind of marrying, do even thereby offend the Lord, they do even thereby throw themselves into evil."

Somewhat more show there is in a second place of Tertullian, which notwithstanding when we have examined, it will be found as the rest are.[a] The Roman Emperor's custom was at certain solemn times to bestow on his soldiers a donative; which donative they received, wearing garlands upon their heads. There were, in the time of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, many who, being soldiers, had been converted unto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that military course of life. In which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time coming to the tribune of the army to receive his donative, came, but with a garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did. The tribune, offended hereat, demanded what this great singularity should mean: to whom the soldier, *Christianus sum*, "I am a Christian." Many there were so besides him, which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a question, whether a Christian soldier might herein do as the unchristian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very sound in Christian belief, did rather commend the zeal of this man than approve his action. Tertullian was at the same time a Montanist, and an enemy unto the Church for condemning that prophetical spirit which Montanus and his followers did boast they had received; as if in them Christ had performed his

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. "And to come yet nearer, where he disputeth against the wearing of crown or garland, (which is indifferent in itself,) to those which objecting asked, Where the Scripture saith, that a man might not wear a crown? He answereth, by asking, Where the Scripture saith that they may wear? And unto them replying that 'It is permitted which is not forbidden,' he answereth, that 'It is forbidden, which is not permitted.' Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline, but even in matters arbitrary and variable by the advice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unless there be some word which doth permit the use of them: it is not enough that the Scripture speaketh not against them, unless it speak for them: and finally, where it displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not, we must of necessity have the word of his mouth to declare his pleasure."

last promise: as if to them he had sent the Spirit that should be their perfecter and final instructor in the mysteries of Christian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occasions of contradiction. Wherefore, in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not so much commend it, he wrote his book *De Corona Militis*, not dissembling the stomach wherewith he wrote it. For, first, the man he commendeth "as one more constant than the rest of his brethren, who presumed (saith he) that they might well enough serve two Lords." Afterwards, choler somewhat arising within him, he addeth, "It doth even remain that they should also devise how to rid themselves of his martyrdoms, towards the prophecies of whose Holy Spirit they have already shewed their disdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but some of them send the Scriptures before, truss up bag and baggage, make themselves in a readiness that they may fly from city to city; for that is the only point of the Gospel which they are careful not to forget. I know even their pastors very well what men they are; in peace lions, harts in time of trouble and fear:" now these men, saith Tertullian, they must be answered: "Where [say they] do we find it written in Scripture, that a Christian man may not wear a garland?"

Tert. de Coron. Milit. [c. 1.]

And as men's speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alleged, and the answers to things objected in that book, will now and then perhaps espy the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands are charged as transgressors of nature's law, and guilty of sacrilege against God, the Lord of nature, inasmuch as flowers in such sort worn, can neither be smelt nor seen well by those that wear them; and God made flowers sweet and beautiful, that being seen and smelt unto they might so delight. Neither doth Tertullian bewray this weakness in striking only, but also in repelling their strokes with whom he contended. They ask, saith he, "What Scripture is there which doth teach that we should not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we should? For in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give sentence beforehand that their part ought also by

Ibid. [c. 2.]

Scripture to be aided." Which answer is of no great force. There is no necessity, that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I thould thereby acknowledge myself bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwise are strong and effectual to persuade. Which thing himself well enough understanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but use silence, his resolution in fine is, that in the Church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by use, long usage is a law sufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other law, custom itself doth stand for law; that inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to allege reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatsoever is reasonable, the same is lawful, whosoever is the author of it; that the authority of custom is great; finally, that the custom of Christians was then, and had been a long time, not to wear garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend who presumed to violate such a custom by not observing that thing, the very inveterate observation whereof was a law sufficient to bind all men to observe it, unless they could shew some higher law, some law of Scripture, to the contrary. This, presupposed, it may stand then very well with strength and soundness of reason, even thus to answer, "Whereas they ask, What Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a garland? we are in this case rather to demand, What Scripture commandeth them? They cannot here allege, that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted." For long-received custom forbidding them to do as they did, (if so be it did forbid them,) there was no excuse in the world to justify their act, unless in the Scripture they could shew some law, that did license them thus to break a received custom. Now whereas in all the books of Tertullian besides, there is not so much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very book these sentences are brought, to

make us believe that Tertullian was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For Tertullian doth plainly hold even in that book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary, but necessary, inasmuch as the received custom of the Church did tie and bind them not to wear garlands, as the heathens did; yea, and further also he reckoneth up particularly a number of things whereof he expressly concludeth, "Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies;" [Ibid. c. 4.] which is as much as if he had said in express words, "Many things there are which concern the discipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scripture negatively urged may not in any case persuade us, but they must be observed, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any such thing." Tertullian therefore undoubtedly doth not in this book shew himself to be of the same mind with them, by whom his name is pretended.

VI. [a]But sith the sacred Scriptures themselves afford often- The first Assertion

[a] 1 John i. 5. "God is light, and there is in him no darkness at all." Heb. vi. 18. "It is impossible that God should lie." Numb. xxiii. 19. "God is not as man, that he should lie." T. C. l. ii. p. 48. "It is not hard to shew that the Prophets have reasoned negatively. As when in the person of the Lord the Prophet saith, *Whereof I have not spoken*, Jer. xix. 5. *And which never entered into my heart*, Jer. vii. 31. And where he condemneth them, because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord, Isaiah xxx. 2. And it may be shewed, that the same kind of argument hath been used in things which are not of the substance of salvation or damnation, and whereof there was no commandment to the contrary, (as in the former there was, Levit. xviii. 21. and xx. 3; Deut. xvii. 16.) In Joshua the children of Israel are charged by the Prophet that they asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord, when they entered into covenant with the Gibeonites, Joshua ix. 14. And yet that covenant was not made contrary unto any commandment of God. Moreover, we read that when David had taken this counsel, to build a Temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his Word, that there should be such a standing-place, where the Ark of the Covenant and the Service should have a certain abiding; and albeit there was no word of God which forbade David to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection and zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth against David's resolution to build the Temple, with this reason; namely, that he had given no commandment of this who should build it, 1 Chron. xvii. 6."

endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.

times such arguments as are taken from divine authority both one way and the other; "The Lord hath commanded, therefore it must be:" and again, in like sort, "He hath not, therefore it must not be;" some certainty concerning this point seemeth requisite to be set down. God himself can neither possibly err, nor lead into error. For this cause his testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth and most infallible certainty. Yea, further, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, and lack nothing which they should have for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his speech, the argument even negatively is evermore strong and forcible concerning those things that are apparently requisite unto the same end. As for example: God intending to set down sundry times that which in Angels is most excellent, hath not any where spoken so highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the Apostle St. Paul's argument.

The purpose of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they should offer sacrifice, and what sacrifice was to be offered. To burn their sons in fire unto Baal he did not command them, he spake no such thing, neither came it into his mind; therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the prophet Jeremy useth more than once, as being so effectual and strong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but forbidden them, and that expressly; yet the prophet chooseth rather to charge them with the fault of making a law unto themselves, than the crime of transgressing a law which God had made. For when the Lord hath once himself precisely set down a form of executing that wherein we are to serve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than not to do that which we are commanded. In this we seem to charge the law of God with hardness only, in that with foolishness: in this we shew ourselves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be controllers of his wisdom: in this we fail to perform the thing which God seeth meet, convenient,

Levit. xviii. 21. xx. 3. Deut. xxviii.

and good; in that we presume to see what is meet and convenient, better than God himself. In those actions, therefore, the whole form whereof God hath of purpose set down to be observed, we may not otherwise do than exactly as he hath prescribed: in such things negative arguments are strong. Again, with a negative argument David is pressed concerning the purpose he had to build a temple unto the Lord: "Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in. Wheresoever I have walked with all Israel, spake I one word to any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me a house?" The Jews urged with a negative argument touching the aid which they sought at the hands of the king of Egypt; "Wo to those rebellious children (saith the Lord) which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not asked counsel at my mouth, to strengthen themselves with the strength of Pharaoh." Finally, the league of Joshua with the Gibeonites is likewise with a negative argument touched. It was not as it should be: and why? the Lord gave them not that advice: "They sought not counsel at the mouth of the Lord." By the virtue of which examples, if any man should suppose the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in such sort as we in this question are pressed therewith, they greatly deceive themselves. For unto which of all these was it said, that they had done amiss in purposing to do, or in doing, any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our question is, Whether all be sin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not, Whether the Israelites did at any time amiss by following their own minds without asking counsel of God. No, it was that people's singular privilege, a favour which God vouchsafed them above the rest of the world, that in the affairs of their estate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himself gave them extraordinary direction and counsel as oft as they sought it at his hands. Thus God did first by speech unto Moses; after by Urim and Thummim unto priests; lastly, by dreams and visions unto prophets, from whom in such cases they were to receive the answer of God. Concerning Joshua therefore, thus spake the Lord unto Moses, saying, "He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask

1 Chron. xvii. 6.

Isaiah xxx. 1, 2.

Josh. ix. 14.

Numb. xxvii. 21.

counsel for him by the judgment of Urim before the Lord;" whereof had Joshua been mindful, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not so smoothly have passed unespied till there was no help. The Jews had prophets to have resolved them from the mouth of God himself whether Egyptian aids should profit them, yea or no; but they thought themselves wise enough, and him unworthy to be of their counsel. In this respect therefore was their reproof, though sharp, yet just, albeit there had been no charge precisely given them that they should always take heed of Egypt. But as for David, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a temple, because there was in Scripture no commandment that he should build it, were very injurious; the purpose of his heart was religious and godly, the act most worthy of honour and renown; neither could Nathan choose but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beseech God to prosper him therein. But God saw the endless troubles which David should be subject unto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer so good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. David supposed that it could not stand with the duty which he owed unto God to set himself in a house of cedar-trees, and to behold the ark of the Lord's covenant unsettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by causing Nathan to shew him plainly that it should be no more imputed unto him for a fault than it had been unto the judges of Israel before him, his case being the same which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, nor more unfit for such an action. Wherefore, concerning the force of negative arguments so taken from the authority of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this less than nothing.

1 Chron. xvii.

And touching that which unto this purpose is borrowed from the controversy sometime handled between Mr. Harding[a]

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 50. "Mr. Harding reproacheth the Bishop of Salisbury with this kind of reasoning; unto whom the Bishop answereth, The argument of authority negatively is taken to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's Word, and is used not only by us, but also by many of the Catholic Fathers. A little after he sheweth the reason why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatively is good; namely, For that the word of God is perfect. In another place unto Mr. Harding, casting him in the teeth with negative arguments, he allegeth places

and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one Universisy, it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "They learned in the same, that which in contrary camps they did practise:"[a] of these two the one objecting, that with us arguments taken from authority negatively are over common; the Bishop's answer hereunto is, that "This kind of argument is thought to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word; and is used not only by us, but also by St. Paul, and by many of the Catholic Fathers. St. Paul saith, God said not unto Abraham, 'In thy seeds all the nations of the earth shall be blessed:' but, 'In thy seed, which is Christ;' and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewise, saith Origen, 'The bread which the Lord gave unto his disciples, saying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserved till the next day.' Such arguments Origen and other learned fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoever misliking Mr. Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath specially charged us, that we should neither put to them nor take from them; and therefore it seemeth good unto them that have learned of Christ, *Unus est magister vester, Christus*, and have heard the voice of God the Father from heaven, *Ipsum audite*. But unto them that add to the word of God what them listeth, and make God's will subject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own tradition's sake, unto them it seemeth not good." Again, the English Apology alleging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons; it pleaseth Mr. Harding to jest out the matter, to use the help of his wits where strength of truth failed him, and to answer with scoffing at negatives. The Bishop's defence in this case is, "The ancient learned fathers having to deal with politic heretics, that in defence

Book II. Ch. vi.

Art. i. divis. 29.

Gal. iii. 16.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

Matt. xxiii.

Matt. xvii.

Defens. par. v. cap. 15. divis. 1.

out of Irenæus, Chrysostom, Leo, which reasoned negatively of the authority of the Scriptures. The places which he allegeth be very full and plain in generality, without any such restraints as the answerer imagined; as they are there to be seen."

[a] Vell. Paterc. "Jugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes, in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis facerent." [l. ii. c. 9.]

Book II. Ch. vi.

of their errors avouched the judgment of all the old bishops and doctors that had been before them, and the general consent of the primitive and whole universal Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to discover the shameless boldness and nakedness of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewise forced to use the negative, and so to drive the same heretics, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives, which thing to do it was never possible. The ancient father Irenæus thus stayed himself, as we do, by the negative, 'Hoc neque Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apostoli tradiderunt; —This thing neither did the Prophets publish, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apostles deliver.' By a like negative, Chrysostom saith, 'This tree neither Paul planted, nor Apollos watered, nor God increased.' In like sort Leo saith, 'What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have spoken, nor the Gospel hath preached, nor the Apostles have delivered?' And again, 'How are the new devices brought in that our fathers never knew?' St. Augustine, having reckoned up a great number of the Bishops of Rome, by a general negative, saith thus, 'In all this order of succession of bishops, there is not one bishop found that was a Donatist.' St. Gregory, being himself a Bishop of Rome, and writing against the title of *Universal Bishop*, saith thus, 'None of all my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly title; no Bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity.' By such negatives, Mr. Harding, we reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion; we tell you, none of the catholic, ancient, learned fathers, either Greek or Latin, ever used either your private mass, or your half communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers. Paul never planted them, Apollos never watered them, God never increased them; they are of yourselves, they are not of God." In all this there is not a syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning arguments negative, taken from human authority, they are here proved to be in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofs, when the authors of needless innovations are opposed with such negatives, as that of Leo, "How are these new devices brought in which our fathers never

Lib. i. cap. 1.

De incomp. nat. Dei, Hom. 3.

Epist. xciii. c. 12.

Epist. xcvii. c. 3.

Epist. clxv.

Lib. iv. Ep. 32.

knew?" When their grave and reverend superiors do reckon up unto them as Augustine did to the Donatists, large catalogues of fathers wondered at for their wisdom, piety, and learning, amongst whom for so many ages before us no one did ever so think of the Church's affairs as now the world doth begin to be persuaded; surely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negative. Much less when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter itself do bear them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it? The fathers, I grant, do use very general and large terms, even as Hiero the king did in speaking of Archimedes, "From henceforward whatsoever Archimedes speaketh, it must be believed." His meaning was not that Archimedes could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilful in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed, that men's speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment, peruse the bishop's speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of Irenæus, Chrysostom, and Leo, which three are chosen from among the residue, because the sentences of the others (even as one of theirs also) do make for defence of negative arguments taken from human authority, and not from divine only. They mention no more restraint in the one than in the other; yet I think themselves will not hereby judge, that the fathers took both to be strong, without restraint unto any special kind of matter wherein they held such argument forcible. Nor doth the bishop either say or prove any more, than that an argument in some kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the order-

VII. An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that we travel about a

Book II. Ch. vii. ing of men's actions or persuasions.

matter not greatly needful. For the scope of all their pleading against man's authority, is to overthrow such orders, laws, and constitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they have in this case spoken, I would for brevity's sake let pass; but that the drift of their speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected.

Wherefore to say that simply an argument taken from man's authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatively nor negatively,[a] is hard. By a man's authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of another's mind
1 Cor. i. 11. that buildeth upon it; as the Apostle somewhat did upon their report of the house of Chloe; and the Samaritans in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a simple woman.
John iv. 39. For so it is said in St. John's Gospel, "Many of the Samaritans of that city believed in him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He hath told me all things that ever I did." The strength of man's authority is affirmatively such, that the weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgment and justice are not hereupon proceedings grounded?
Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16. Saith not the Law, that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be confirmed?" This the law of God would not say, if there were in a man's testimony no force at all to prove any thing. And, if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is some credit to be given to the testimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we see the contrary both acknowledged and universally practised also throughout the world. The sentences of wise and expert men were never but highly esteemed. Let the title of a man's right be called in question, are we not bold to rely and build

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 25. "When the question is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The reason is, because the infirmity of man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it; neither yet be free from error in those things which he speaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to some liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an orator to persuade the simpler sort, than for a disputer to enforce him that is learned."

upon the judgment of such as are famous for their skill in the Laws of this land? In matter of state, the weight many times of some one man's authority is thought reason sufficient even to sway over whole nations. And this is not only with the simple sort; but the learneder and wiser we are, the more such arguments in such cases prevail with us. The reason why the simpler sort are moved with authority, is the conscience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to pass, that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to dislike them than know wherefore they should allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwise with them that are skilful, authority is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how just cause there is why to some men's authority so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) was more effectual to persuade even such men as Galen himself than to move a silly empiric. So that the very self-same argument in this kind, which doth but induce the vulgar sort to like, may constrain the wiser to yield. And therefore not orators only with the people, but even the very profoundest disputers in all faculties, have thereby often with the best learned prevailed most. As for arguments taken from human authority, and that negatively, for example's sake, if we should think the assembling of the people of God together by the sound of a bell, the presenting of infants at the holy font by such as we commonly call their godfathers, or any other the like received custom, to be impious, because some men of whom we think very reverently, have in their books and writings no where mentioned or taught that such things should be in the Church, this reasoning were subject unto just reproof; it were but feeble, weak, and unsound. Notwithstanding even negatively an argument from human authority may be strong, as namely thus: The Chronicles of England mention no more than only six kings bearing the name of Edward since the time of the last conquest; therefore it cannot be there should be more. So that if the question be of the authority of a man's testimony, we cannot simply avouch either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the simpler sort, and not to

constrain men of understanding and ripe judgment to yield assent; or that negatively it hath in it no strength at all. For unto every of these the contrary is most plain.

Neither doth that which is alleged concerning the infirmity of men overthrow or disapprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things escape them; and in many things they may be deceived; yea, those things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon sundry indirect considerations let pass; and although themselves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpose deceive others. Howbeit, infinite cases there are wherein all these impediments and lets are so manifestly excluded, that there is no show or colour whereby any such exception may be taken, but that the testimony of man will stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory the Thirteenth, and others, have been Popes of Rome, I suppose we are certainly enough persuaded. The ground of our persuasion, who never saw the place nor persons beforenamed, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here, notwithstanding, allege those mentioned human infirmities as reasons why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and strength of man's testimony were to shake the very fortress of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture could not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things. Some way therefore, notwithstanding man's infirmity, yet his authority may enforce assent.

Upon better advice and deliberation so much is perceived, and at the length confessed, that arguments taken from the authority of men, may not only so far forth as hath been declared, but further also be of some force in human sciences; which force, be it never so small, doth shew that they are not utterly naught. But in matters divine it is still maintained

stiffly, that they have no manner of force at all.[a] Howbeit, the very self-same reason, which causeth to yield that they are of some force in the one, will at the length constrain also to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural strength of man's wit may by experience and study attain unto such ripeness in the knowledge of things human, that men in this respect may presume to build somewhat upon their judgment; what reason have we to think but that even in matters divine, the like wits furnished with necessary helps, exercised in Scripture with like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto so much perfection of knowledge, that men shall have just cause, when any thing pertinent unto faith and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the sentence of so grave, wise, and learned in that faculty shall judge most sound? For the controversy is of the weight of such men's judgments. Let it therefore be suspected; let it be taken as gross, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatsoever, concerning things divine above Nature, shall at any time be spoken as out of the mouths of mere natural men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are discerned; for this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aspire unto knowledge by; whose exercises, labours, and divine studies he hath so blessed, that the world for their great and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration; may we reject even their judgment likewise, as

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 19. "Although that kind of argument of authority of men is good neither in human nor divine sciences; yet it hath some small force in human sciences, forasmuch as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to some ripeness of judgment in those sciences, which in divine matters hath no force at all; as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them than a blind man of colours, yea so far is it from drawing credit if it be barely spoken without reason and testimony of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspicion of untruth, whatsoever proceedeth from him; which the Apostle did well note, when, to signify a thing corruptly spoken, and against the truth, he saith, That it is spoken according to man, Rom. iii. He saith not, as a wicked and lying man, but simply as a man: and although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for so much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is most advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and disordered affections, (whereof either of them turneth him from speaking of the truth,) no man's authority, with the Church especially, and those that are called and persuaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring any assurance unto the conscience."

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being utterly of no moment? For mine own part, I dare not so lightly esteem of the Church, and of the principal pillars therein.

The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men is, that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture with Christian men being received as the Word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have necessary reason for, yea, that which we see with our eyes, is not thought so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth, because we hold that his speech revealeth there what himself seeth, and therefore the strongest proof of all, and the most necessarily assented unto by us, (which do thus receive the Scripture,) is the Scripture. Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For which cause even in matters divine, concerning some things we may lawfully doubt and suspend our judgment, inclining neither to one side or other; as namely, touching the time of the fall both of man and angels; of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that men have their souls rather by creation than propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived always in the state of virginity as well after his birth as before, (for of these two, the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of necessity we must believe; the other, her continuance in the same state always, hath more likelihood of truth than the contrary;) finally, in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in a most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded as those grounds of persuasions which are to be had will bear. Which

thing I do so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are, for want of right information in this point, oftentimes grievously vexed. When bare and unbuilded conclusions are put into their minds, they, finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine, that this proceedeth only from lack of Faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them as it doth in true believers. By this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity; whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is, which the truth hath either in itself or through proof, such is the heart's assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that proof derived from the authority of man's judgment is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore, although ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all; inasmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony divine should deceive. Howbeit, in defect of proof infallible, because the mind doth rather follow probable persuasions than approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrine were proposed, and on the one side no kind of proof appearing, there should on the other be alleged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest divines in the world have ever thought; although it did not appear what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that judgment, yet to their very bare judgment somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecilities which are incident unto our nature.

And whereas it is thought, that especially with the Church, and those that are called and persuaded of the authority of the Word of God, man's authority with them especially should not prevail; it must and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them especially, as far as equity requireth, and farther

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we maintain it not.[a] For men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto Reason, the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it; but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place. Irenæus, writing against Marcion, which held one God author of the Old Testament, and another of the New, to prove that the Apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Jews, he copiously allegeth sundry their sermons and speeches uttered concerning that matter and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of allegations, in the end he concludeth, "While we labour for these demonstrations out of Scripture, and do summarily declare the things

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 21. "Of divers sentences of the Fathers themselves, (whereby some have likened them to brute beasts without reason, which suffer themselves to be led by the judgment and authority of others, some have preferred the judgment of one simple rude man alleging reason, unto companies of learned men,) I will content myself at this time with two or three sentences. Irenæus saith, Whatsoever is to be shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselves, lib. iii. cap. 12. Jerome saith, No man, be he never so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apostles, in Psal. lxxxvi. Augustine saith, That he will believe none, how godly and learned soever he be, unless he confirm his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them. Ep. 18. And in another place, Hear this, The Lord saith; Hear not this, Donatus saith, Rogatus saith, Vincentius saith, Hilarius saith, Ambrose saith, Augustine saith; but hearken unto this, The Lord saith. Ep. viii. And again, having to do with an Arian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the Council of Nice, nor the other the Council of Arimine, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himself by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures, which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both, matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, ought to be debated. Cont. Max. Arian. l. iii. c. 14. And in another place against Petilian the Donatist, he saith, Let not these words be heard between us, I say, You Say; let us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by, speaking of the Scriptures, he saith, There let us seek the Church, there let us try the cause. De Unit. Eccles, cap. 3. Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth."

which many ways have been spoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my speech tedious: Quoniam ostensiones quæ sunt in Scripturis, non possunt ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis—Because demonstrations that are in Scripture may not otherwise be shewed, than by citing them out of the Scriptures themselves where they are." Which words make so little unto the purpose, that they seem, as it were, offended at him which hath called them thus solemnly forth to say nothing. And concerning the verdict of St. Jerome, if no man, be he never so well learned, have after the Apostles any authority to publish new doctrine as from heaven, and to require the world's assent as unto truth received by prophetical revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned men's judgments in opening that truth, which, by being conversant in the Apostle's writings, they have themselves from thence learned? St. Augustine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken to what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I think) that we should stop our ears against his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean simply that audience should altogether be denied unto men; but either that if men speak one thing, and God himself teach another, then he, not they, is to be obeyed; or if they both speak the same thing, yet then also man's speech is unworthy of hearing, not simply, but in comparison of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this case forbidden to hear what men of judgment think it to be? If not, then this allegation also might very well have been spared.

In that ancient strife which was between the catholic Fathers and Arians, Donatists, and others of like perverse and froward disposition, as long as to Fathers or councils alleged on the one side, the like by the contrary side were opposed, impossible it was that ever the question should by this means grow unto any issue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give sentence on both sides; by Scripture the controversy between them was such as might be determined. In this case what madness was it with such kinds of proofs to nourish their contention, when there were such effectual means to end all controversy that was between them! Hereby therefore it doth not as yet

appear, than an argument of authority of man affirmatively, is in matters divine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inserted into the minds of the vulgar sort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong even in gross and palpable errors, that a man whose capacity will scarce serve him to utter five words in sensible manner, blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *yea*, as good as the *nay* of all the wise, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which insolency must be repressed, or it will be the very bane of Christian religion.

Our Lord's disciples marking what speech he uttered unto them, and at the same time calling to mind a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Master it seemed unto them that there was some contradiction, which they could not themselves answer with full satisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propose to our Saviour, saying, "Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come?" They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways, even in matters of their own profession. They notwithstanding thought the judgment of the very Scribes in matters divine to be of some value; some probability they thought there was that Elias should come, inasmuch as the Scribes said it. Now no truth can contradict any truth. Desirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might stand together; that which they knew could not be false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seem true, only because the Scribes had said it. For the Scripture, from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of error for thinking the judgment of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for esteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God.

We cannot therefore be persuaded that the will of God is, we should so far reject the authority of men as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a question, whether they that urge us unto this be themselves so persuaded indeed. Men do sometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confess they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general with all men for the most part. When the judgments of learned men

are alleged against them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppose unto them the judgments of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them some force and weight, for which they are loath the cause they maintain should be so much weakened as their testimony is available. Again, what reason is there why, alleging testimonies as proofs, men give them some title of credit, honour, and estimation, whom they allege, unless beforehand it be sufficiently known who they are? What reason hereof but only a common ingrafted persuasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to countervail those exceptions which might be taken against them, and that such men's authority is not lightly to be shaken off?

Shall I add further, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of Scripture itself, as Scriptures commonly are alleged, shall (being sifted) be found to depend upon the strength of this so much despised and debased authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftener than we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence must needs be of all other most invincible; yet this strength it hath not, unless it avouch the self-same thing for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable appearance that so it doth, or reason such as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, even such as are readiest to cite for one thing five hundred sentences of Holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleged? Is not their surest ground, most commonly, either some probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking those Scriptures as they do? Which notwithstanding, to mean otherwise than they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselves on human authority, even when they most pretend divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controversy about that discipline which is so earnestly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleged to prove that the whole Christian world for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it, *The Discipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, sift, and resolve their alleged proofs, till you come to the very root

from whence they spring, the heart wherein their strength lieth; and it shall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the most which can be inferred upon such plenty of divine testimonies is only this, That some things which they maintain, as far as some men can probably conjecture, do seem to have been out of Scripture not absurdly gathered. Is this a warrant sufficient for any man's conscience to build such proceedings upon, as have been and are put in ure for the establishment of that cause?

But to conclude, I would gladly understand how it cometh to pass, that they which so peremptorily do maintain that human authority is nothing worth, are in the cause which they favour so careful to have the common sort of men persuaded, that the wisest, the godliest, and the best learned in all Christendom, are that way given, seeing they judge this to make nothing in the world for them? Again, how cometh it to pass, they cannot abide that authority should be alleged on the other side, if there be no force at all in authorities on one side or other? Wherefore labour they to strip their adversaries of such furniture as doth not help? Why take they such needless pains to furnish also their own cause with the like? If it be void and to no purpose that the names of men are so frequent in their books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to suffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is solved, "They do it not but after the truth made manifest, first by Reason, or by Scripture: they do it not, but to control the enemies of truth, who bear themselves bold upon human authority making not for them, but against them rather."[a] Which answers are nothing: for in what place, or upon what consideration soever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

VIII. But to the end it may more plainly appear that we are to judge of their sentences, and of the cause itself wherein

[a] "If at any time it happened unto Augustine (as it did against the Donatists and others) to allege the authority of the ancient Fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a sure foundation of his cause in the Scriptures, and that also being provoked by the adversaries of the truth, who bare themselves high of some Council, or of some man of name that had favoured that part." T. C. lib. ii. c. 21.

they are alleged; first, it may not well be denied that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil: for although it be granted, that no action is properly termed good or evil unless it be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former assertion, That all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil; because even those things are done voluntarily by us which other creatures do naturally, inasmuch as we might stay our doing of them if we would. Beasts naturally do take their food and rest when it offereth itself unto them. If men did so too, and could not do otherwise of themselves, there were no place for any such reproof as that of our Saviour Christ unto his disciples, "Could ye not watch with me one hour?" That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, must needs be done with deliberate consideration of some reasonable cause wherefore we rather should do it than not. Whereupon it seemeth that in such actions only, those are said to be good or evil which are capable of deliberation: so that many things being hourly done by men, wherein they need not use with themselves any manner of consultation at all, it may perhaps hereby seem that well or ill-doing belongeth only to our weightier affairs, and to those deeds which are of so great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unsound also. I do rather incline to think, that seeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary, and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice, and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it; where the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth itself that it needeth not to be sought for, in those things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend itself, if there were not some apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we use, where there is doubt what we should incline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needless in regard of the agent, which seeth already what to resolve upon. It hath no apparent absurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil.

Matt. xxvi. 40.

Whatsoever is good, the same is also approved of God; and according unto the sundry degrees of goodness, the kinds of divine approbation are in like sort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved or disallowed of God for them. "No man hateth his own flesh." "If ye do good unto them that do so to you, the very publicans themselves do as much." "They are worse than infidels that have no care to provide for their own." In actions of this sort, the very light of Nature alone may discover that which is so far forth in the sight of God allowable. Some things in such sort are allowed, that they be also required as necessary unto salvation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper necessity final; so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course be saved, nor by any means be excluded from life observing them. In actions of this kind, our chiefest direction is from Scripture; for Nature is no sufficient teacher what we should do that we may attain unto life everlasting. The insufficiency of the light of Nature is by the light of Scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light than this hath added there doth not need unto that end.

Eph. v. 29. Matt. v. 46. 1 Tim. v. 8.

Finally, some things, although not so required of necessity, that to leave them undone excludeth from salvation, are notwithstanding of so great dignity and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no commandment, either in Nature or Scripture, which doth exact them at our hands; yet those motives there are in both, which draw most effectually our minds unto them. In this kind there is not the least action, but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss. For which cause our Saviour doth plainly witness, that there shall not be as much as "a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward." Hereupon dependeth whatsoever difference there is between the states of saints in glory; hither we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection of man by way of service towards God: hereunto that fervour and first love of Christians did bend itself, causing them "to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles' feet." Hereat St. Paul undoubtedly did aim, in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto.

Matt. x. 42. Acts iv. 34, 35. 1 Thess. ii. 7, 9.

Wherefore seeing, that in all these several kinds of actions, there can be nothing possibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command; and that his very commandments in some kind, as namely, his precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may be otherwise known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight: let them with whom we have hitherto disputed, consider well how it can stand with reason to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all-sufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our devisings. What the Scripture purposeth, the same in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we swerve not in judgment, one thing especially we must observe, namely, that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to pass, that first such as imagine the general and main drift of the body of sacred Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full instruction in all things unto salvation necessary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwise in this life attain unto; they are by this very mean induced either still to look for new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add to the word of God uncertain Tradition, that so the doctrine of man's salvation may be complete; which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to be so complete, that we utterly refuse as much as once to acquaint ourselves with any thing further. Whatsoever, to make up the doctrine of man's salvation, is added as in supply of the Scripture's insufficiency, we reject it. Scripture purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the scope and purpose of God in delivering the Holy Scripture, such as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary side, racking and stretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into sundry as great inconveniences. These,

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pretending the Scripture's perfection, infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done must needs be contained. We count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted. As, therefore, God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to say, in all points sufficient unto that use for which he appointed it; so the Scripture, yea, every sentence thereof, is perfect, and wanteth nothing requisite unto that purpose for which God delivered the same. So that if hereupon we conclude, that because the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude so of every sentence, as of the whole sum and body thereof, unless we first of all prove that it was the drift, scope, and purpose of Almighty God in Holy Scripture to comprise all things which man may practise.

But admit this, and mark, I beseech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church should clean have abrogated amongst them the law of nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both general principles for directing of human actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived from them; upon which conclusions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs?[a] Not that the Scripture itself doth cause any such thing, (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is resolute assurance and certainty in that it teacheth,) but the necessities of this life urging men to do that which the light of nature, common discretion, and judgment of itself, directeth them unto; on the other side, this doctrine teaching them that so to do were to sin against their own souls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity whatsoever they go about and have not first the sacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it choose

[a] "Where this doctrine is accused of bringing men to despair; it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to despair, against which this doctrine offereth the remedy; it must need be that it bringeth comfort and joy to the conscience of man." T. C. lib. ii. p. 61.

but bring the simple a thousand times to their wits' end? how can it choose but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life, to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do, (seem we in Scripture never so expert,) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what misery this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all men's lives and actions. Make all things sin which we do by direction of nature's light, and by the rule of common discretion, without thinking at all upon Scripture: admit this position, and parents shall cause their children to sin as oft as they cause them to do any thing before they come to years of capacity, and be ripe for knowledge in the Scripture: admit this, and it shall not be with masters as it was with him in the Gospel; but servants "being commanded to go," shall stand still till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which, as it standeth with Christian duty in some cases, so in common affairs to require it were most unfit.

Luke vii. 8.

Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be insufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved. Others justly condemning this opinion, grow likewise unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law, were not only unnecessary, but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful. Whatsoever is spoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwise than as the truth is, though it seem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praises given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so we must likewise take great heed, lest, in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly, to be less reverently esteemed. I therefore leave it to themselves to consider, Whether they have in this first point

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overshot themselves or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded theirs in this case was.

BOOK III.

CONCERNING THEIR SECOND ASSERTION, THAT IN SCRIPTURE THERE MUST BE OF NECESSITY CONTAINED A FORM OF CHURCH POLITY, THE LAWS WHEREOF MAY IN NOWISE BE ALTERED.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS THIRD BOOK.

1. What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.
2. Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such Form are not of necessity to Salvation.
3. That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers for so teaching.
4. That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.
5. Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.
6. How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the Churches of God.
7. A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting *commanded*, as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general rules of Scripture.
8. Another device to defend the same, by expounding *commanded*, as if it did signify *grounded* on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by the light of natural Reason only.
9. How laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how those laws being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight.
10. That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.
11. Whether Christ must needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himself did deliver.

What the Church is, and in what respect laws of polity are thereunto necessarily required.

I. Albeit the substance of those controversies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth; yet because the subject or matter which this position concerneth, is, *A Form of*

Church Government, or *Church Polity*; it therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for men's more clear and plain understanding in what respect Laws of Polity or Government are necessary thereunto.

That Church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and saving mercy which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands." They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not objects unto our sense; only unto God who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew Nathanael to be an Israelite. But our Saviour, piercing deeper, giveth further testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did, "Behold indeed an Israelite, in whom there is no guile." If we profess, as Peter did, that we love the Lord, and profess it in the hearing of men, charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do so, as long as they see no proof to the contrary. But that our love is sound and sincere, that it cometh from "a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned," who can pronounce, saving only the Searcher of all men's hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are His?

John x. 28.

John i. 47.

John xxi. 15.

I Tim. i. 5.

And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness, belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other side, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a

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sensibly known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ, that part, which since the coming of Christ partly hath embraced and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian religion, we term, as by a more proper name, the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian, that be they Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but *one body*.[a] The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they all profess themselves; 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 things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. "Let all the house of Israel know for certainty (saith Peter) that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, even this Jesus whom ye have crucified." Christians therefore they are not, "which call not him their Master and Lord." And from hence it came, that first at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole world, all that were of the Church visible were called Christians, even amongst the heathen; which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the world, even Christ Jesus himself was execrable;[b] for whose sake all men were so likewise which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himself did foresee, and therefore armed his Church to the end they might sustain it without discomfort. "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake;

Acts i. 36.

John xiii. 13.

Col. iii. 24. iv. 1.

John xv. 21.

[a] "That he might reconcile both unto God in one body." Ephes. ii. 16. "That the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body." Ephes. iii. 16. Vide Th. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Ephes. iv. 5.

[b] 1 Cor. i. 23. Vide et Tacitum, lib. Annal. xv. [c. 44.] "Nero quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque."

yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God good service." "These things I tell you, that when the hour shall come, ye may then call to mind how I told you beforehand of them."

But our naming of Jesus Christ our Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that faith which Christ hath published unto the world. To shew that the angel of Pergamus continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, "Thou keepest my name, and thou hast not denied my faith." Concerning which faith, "the rule thereof (saith Tertullian) is one alone, immoveable, and no way possible to be better framed anew." What rule that is, he sheweth by rehearsing those few articles of Christian belief. And before Tertullian, Ireney; "The Church, though scattered through the whole world, unto the utmost borders of the earth, hath from the Apostles and their disciples received belief." The parts of which belief he also reciteth, in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth, "This faith, the Church being spread far and wide, preserveth as if one house did contain them: these things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one soul, one heart, and no more: it publisheth, teacheth, and delivereth these things with uniform consent, as if God had given it but one only tongue wherewith to speak. He which amongst the guides of the Chnrch is best able to speak, uttereth no more than this; and less than this the most simple do not utter, when they make profession of their faith."

Apoc. iii. 13. Tertul. de Virgin. Veland. [c. 1.]

Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. i. cap. 2, &c.

Now although we know the Christian faith, and allow of it, yet in this respect we are but entering; entered we are not into the visible Church before our admittance by the door of Baptism. Wherefore, immediately upon the acknowledgment of Christian faith, the Eunuch (we see) was baptized by Philip, Paul by Ananias, by Peter a huge multitude containing three thousand souls; which being once baptized, were reckoned in the number of souls added to the visible Church. As for those virtues that belong unto moral righteousness and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but to concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues excludeth from salvation. So doth much

Acts iii. 38. xxii. 16. ii. 41.

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more the absence of inward belief of heart; so do despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity. But we speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is, that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ; and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such.

Is it then possible, that the self-same men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Jesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Jesus Christ, those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder part of the visible Church most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the kingdom of Heaven to a net, whereunto all which cometh, neither is, nor seemeth fish: his Church he compareth unto a field, where tares, manifestly known and seen by all men, do grow intermingled with good corn; and even so shall continue till the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever shall have, some Church visible upon earth. When the people of God worshipped the calf in the wilderness; when they adored the

Matt. xiii. 47.

Matt. xiii. 24.

Exod. xxxii.

brazen serpent; when they served the gods of the nations; when they bowed their knees to Baal; when they burnt incense and offered sacrifices unto idols: true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their prophets justly condemned them as an adulterous seed, and a wicked generation of miscreants, which had forsaken the living God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraced his faithful children. Howbeit, retaining the law of God, and the holy seal of his covenant, the sheep of his visible flock they continued even in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion. Wherefore not only amongst them God always had his Church, because he had thousands which never bowed their knees to Baal; but whose knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were also of the visible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet so complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguished; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any besides himself that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to serve him according unto his holy will.

Ps. cvi. 19, 20. 2 Kings xviii. 4. Jer. xi. 13. 2 Kings xxii. 17. Isa. lvii. 3. i. 4. lx. 15.

Jer. xiii. 21.

1 Kings xix. 18.

For lack of diligent observing the difference, first, between the Church of God, mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world the family of Noah did contain all that were of the visible Church of God. From whence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the African Bishops in the council of Carthage, knowing how the administration of baptism belongeth only to the Church, and supposing that heretics, which were apparently severed from the sound believing Church, could not possibly be of the Church of Jesus Christ, thought it utterly against reason, that baptism administered by men of corrupt belief, should be accounted as a sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built upon the fore-alleged ground, "That heretics are not at all any part of the Church of Christ. Our Saviour founded his Church on a rock, and not upon heresy. Power of baptizing he gave to his Apostles, unto heretics he gave it not. Wherefore they that

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. [Con. Gen. t. i. p. i. p. 151. ed. Bin.]

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are without his Church, and oppose themselves against Christ, do but scatter his sheep and flock. Without the Church, baptize they cannot." Again, "Are heretics Christians, or are they not? If they be Christians, wherefore remain they not in God's Church? If they be no Christians, how make they Christians? Or to what purpose shall these words of the Lord serve: 'He which is not with me, is against me;' and, 'He which gathereth not with me, scattereth?' Wherefore evident it is, that upon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichrist without rebaptization the Holy Ghost cannot descend." But none in this case so earnest as Cyprian: "I know no baptism but one, and that in the Church only; none without the Church, where he that doth cast out the Devil, hath the Devil: he doth examine about belief, whose lips and words do breathe forth a canker: the faithless doth offer the articles of faith; a wicked creature forgiveth wickedness; in the name of Christ, Antichrist signeth; he which is cursed of God, blesseth; a dead carrion promiseth life; a man unpeaceable giveth peace; a blasphemer calleth upon the name of God; a profane person doth exercise priesthood; a sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the altar; and in the neck of all these that evil also cometh; the Eucharist a very bishop of the Devil doth presume to consecrate." All this was true, but not sufficient to prove that heretics were in no sort any part of the visible Church of Christ, and consequently their baptism no baptism. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better advised Council, and also revoked by the chiefest of the authors thereof themselves.

Matt. viii. 24. xvi. 18. xxviii. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil. [Ibid. p. 150.]

Matt. xii. 30.

[These words are attributed to Cæcilius a Bilta, not Cyprian. Ibid. p. 149.]

In Concilio Niceno. Vid. Hieron. Dial. advers. Luciferia.

What is it but only the self-same error and misconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewise possessed, they ask us where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it slept, for so many hundreds of years together, before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion, that Luther did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end: of which Church, all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia, it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free from pollution than Israel; as that solemn oration sheweth, wherein

he pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise; "O Jeroboam, and all Israel, hear you me: have ye not driven away the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made your priests like the people of nations? Whosoever cometh to consecrate with a young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken him; and the priests, the sons of Aaron, minister unto the Lord, every morning and every evening, burnt-offerings and sweet incense; and the bread is set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof to burn every evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him." In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reproved; they of Galatia much more out of square. In St. John's time, Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none, but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious, by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim "be joined to idols," the counsel of the Prophet is, "Let him alone. If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin." "If it seem evil unto you (saith Joshua) to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and mine house will serve the Lord." The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse, if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God: in like sort with Rome, we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truth

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2 Chron. xiii. 4. 9—11.

Hos. iv. 17.

Josh. xxiv. 15.

Rom. xi. 28.

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wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we "all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose Church we are." As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who, under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself.

But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church. If an infidel should pursue to death a heretic professing Christianity, only for Christian profession's sake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church. Heretics therefore are not utterly cut off from the visible Church of Christ. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true visible Church of Christ and heretical companies opposite; they are to be construed as separating heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound believers. For where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church, deny directly and utterly reject the very principles of Christianity; which heretics embrace, and err only by misconstruction. Whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the principles of Christian faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general truth of Christ which they openly profess; yet they are by the Fathers every where spoken of, as men clean excluded out of the right believing Church, by reason of their particular errors, for which all that are of a sound belief must needs condemn them.

Calvin. Epist. 149. [p. 79. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

In this consideration, the answer of Calvin unto Farel, concerning the children of popish parents, doth seem crazed.

"Whereas (saith he) you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether ministers of our order, professing the pure doctrine of the Gospel, may lawfully admit unto baptism an infant whose father is a stranger unto our Churches, and whose mother hath fallen from us unto the papacy, so that both the parents are popish: thus we have thought good to answer; namely, that it is an absurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And sith Papists' children are such, we see not how it should be lawful to minister baptism unto them." Sounder a great deal is the answer of the ecclesiastical college of Geneva unto Knox, who having signified unto them, that himself did not think it lawful to baptize bastards, or the children of idolaters (he meaneth Papists) or of persons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance submitted themselves unto the Church, or else their children being grown unto the years of understanding should come and sue for their own baptism; "For thus thinking, (saith he,) I am thought to be over-severe, and that not only by them which are popish, but even in their judgments also who think themselves maintainers of the truth." Master Knox's oversight herein they controlled. Their sentence was, "Wheresoever the profession of Christianity hath not utterly perished and been extinct, infants are beguiled of their right, if the common seal be denied them." Which conclusion in itself is sound, although it seemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they build it. For the reason which they yield of their sentence, is this: "The promise, which God doth make to the faithful concerning their seed, reacheth unto a thousand generations; it resteth not only in the first degree of descent. Infants, therefore, whose great-grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that respect belong to the body of the Church, although the fathers and grandfathers of whom they descend have been apostates: because the tenure of the grace of God, which did adopt them three hundred years ago and more in their ancient predecessors, cannot with justice be defeated and broken off by their parents' impiety coming between." By which reason of theirs, although it seem that all the world may be baptized, inasmuch as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself, yet we mean

Epist. 283. [Ibid. p. 201.]

Epist. 285. [Ibid. p. 202.]

not at this time, either to uphold, or to overthrow it; only their alleged conclusion we embrace, so it be construed in this sort: "That forasmuch as men remain in the visible Church, till they utterly renounce the profession of Christianity, we may not deny unto infants their right, by withholding from them the public sign of holy baptism, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Christianity is not clean gone and extinguished." For being in such sort born, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them interest and right in baptism.

Albeit not every error and fault, yet heresies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and clean from that salvation which belongeth unto the mystical body of Christ; yea, they also make a separation from the visible sound Church of Christ; altogether from the visible Church neither the one nor the other doth sever. As for the act of excommunication, it neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible, but only from fellowship with the visible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of Rome deny, that her enemies, whom she holdeth always for heretics, do at all appertain to the Church of Christ; when her own do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they say) cannot teach heresy nor propound error, he may notwithstanding himself worship idols, think amiss concerning matters of faith, yea, give himself unto acts diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Christ under the colour and pretence of heresy, when they cannot but grant it possible, even for him to be as touching his own personal persuasion heretical, who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefest place of authority over the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which already we have set down, is for our present purpose sufficient.

By the Church, therefore, in this question, we understand no other than only the visible Church. For preservation of Christianity there is not any thing more needful, than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts

hath divers names; so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct Societies, every of which is termed a Church within itself. In this sense the Church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Christian assemblies, although any number of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church, yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are assembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itself, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was assembled doth no less continue afterwards than before. "Where but three are, and they of the Laity also (saith Tertullian), yet there is a Church;"[a] that is to say, a Christian assembly. But a Church, as now we are to understand it, is a society; that is, a number of men belonging unto some Christian fellowship, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion, is the public exercise of such duties as those mentioned in the Apostles' Acts, "instruction, breaking of bread, and prayer." As therefore they that are of the mystical body of Christ, have those inward graces and virtues wherein they differ from all others which are not of the same body; again, whosoever appertain to the visible body of the Church, they have also the notes of external profession, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the same manner, even the several societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening severalty, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest, must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them as they are public Christian societies. And of such properties common unto all societies Christian, it may not be denied that one of the very chiefest is Ecclesiastical Polity. Which word I therefore the rather use, because the name of Government, as commonly men understand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprise the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speak of Government, what doth the greatest part conceive thereby, but only the exercise of su-

Acts ii. 42.

[a] Tertull. Exhort. ad Castit. [c. 7.] "Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet Laici."

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periority peculiar unto rulers and guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of Church-Polity will better serve, because it containeth both Government, and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary than Church-Polity, which is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the Church of God.

Whether it be necessary that some particular form of church-polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly unto any such form, are not of necessity to salvation.

II. But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language; even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all; nor is it possible that any form of polity, much less of polity-ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be the author of it.[a] "Those things that are not of God (saith Tertullian), they can have no other than God's adversary for their author." Be it whatsoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; either as those things sometimes were, which God supernaturally revealed, and so delivered them unto Moses for government of the commonwealth of Israel; or else as those things which men find out by help of that light which God hath given them unto that end. The very Law of Nature itself, which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God whereof God is the author as well this latter way as the former. But forasmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unless God be so the author of it that it be also set down in Scripture; they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one form of Polity ever was so. Their own to be so taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part, even this which they so much oppugn is also from thence taken. Again, they should tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture which is actually and particularly there set down; or else that also which the general principles

[a] Tertul. de habitu mul. [c. 8.] "Æmuli sint necesse est, quæ Dei non sunt." Rom. ii. 15. Lact. lib. vi. c. 8. "Ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator." Cic. iii. de Repub.

and rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot so much as pretend, that all the parts of their own discipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouths are stopped, when they would plead against all other forms besides their own; seeing their general principles are such as do not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally be consonant unto the general axioms of the Scripture.

But to give them some larger scope, and not to close them up in these straits: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all which deny it necessary that any one complete form of Church-Polity should be in Scripture. First, therefore, whereas it hath been told them that matters of faith, and, in general, matters necessary unto Salvation, are of a different nature from ceremonies, order, and the kind of church-government; and that the one is necessary to be expressly contained in the word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessary not to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleged. Although there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject or dislike this; nevertheless, as it is not easy to speak to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themselves, but that somewhat there will be always which displeaseth; so herein for two things we are reproved.[a] The first is, misdistinguishing, because matters of

[a] Two things misliked; the one that we distinguish matters of discipline or church-government from matters of faith, and necessary unto salvation; the other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: "You which distinguish between these, and say, that matters of faith and necessary unto salvation may not be tolerated in the Church, unless they be expressly contained in the word of God, or manifestly gathered; but that ceremonies, order, discipline, government in the Church, may not be received against the word of God, and consequently may be received if there be no word against them, although there be none for them: you (I say) distinguishing or dividing after this sort, do prove yourself an evil divider. As though matters of discipline and kind of government were not matters necessary to salvation and of faith. It is no small injury which you do unto the word of God, to pin it in so narrow a room as that it should be able to direct us but in the principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building of the Church were uttered in them; and those things were left out that should pertain to the form and fashion of it: or, as if there were in the Scriptures only to cover the

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discipline and church-government are (as they say) matters necessary to salvation and of faith, whereas we put a difference betwixt the one and the other. Our second fault is, injurious dealing with the Scripture of God, as if it contained only the principal points of religion, some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the form and fashion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than only to cover the Church's nakedness, and not chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, to adorn her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberal and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. In which case our apology shall not need to be very long.

That matters of discipline are different from matters of faith and salvation; and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers.

III. 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 conceit of mind to sever things different in nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because we distinguish where we should not, it may not be denied that we misdistinguish. The only trial whether we do so, yea or no, dependeth upon comparison between our conceit and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Christ, this we conceive, that they are not of one suit. Some things are merely of faith, which things it doth suffice that we know and believe; some things not only to be known but done, because they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of mere faith, and must be believed. Precepts concerning the works of charity are matters of action; which to know, unless they be practised, is not enough. This being so clear to all men's understandings, I somewhat marvel that they especially should think it absurd to oppose Church-government, a plain matter of action unto matters of faith, who know that themselves

Church's nakedness, and not also chains, and bracelets, and rings, and other jewels, to adorn her and set her out; or that, to conclude, there were sufficient to quench her thirst, and kill her hunger, but not to minister unto her a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. These things you seem to say, when you say, that matters necessary to salvation, and of faith, are contained in Scripture, especially when you oppose these things to ceremonies, order, discipline, and government." T. C. lib. i. p. 26.

divide the Gospel into Doctrine and Discipline.[a] For if matters of discipline be rightly by them distinguished from matters of doctrine, why not matters of government by us as reasonably set against matters of faith? Do not they under doctrine comprehend the same which we intend by matters of faith? Do not they under discipline comprise the regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us which themselves follow, they give men great cause to doubt that some other thing than judgment doth guide their speech.

What the Church of God standeth bound to know or do, the same in part nature teacheth. And because nature can teach them but only in part, neither so fully as is requisite for man's salvation, nor so easily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge of it, and so be saved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessary things that the school of nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth also whatsoever we neither could with safety be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other sort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error. We teach, that whatsoever is unto salvation termed necessary by way of excellency; whatsoever it standeth all men upon to know or to do that they may be saved; whatsoever there is whereof it may truly be said, "This not to believe, is eternal death and damnation;" or, "This every soul that will live, must duly observe:" of which sort the articles of Christian faith, and the sacraments of the Church of Christ, are: all such things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God should not be able to measure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever she is to walk; heretics and schismatics never ceasing, some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to pervert and obscure the same. But as for those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation as to alter them, is no other-

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 1. "We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the Gospel." And again, p. 5. "I speak of the discipline as of a part of the Gospel. If the discipline be one part of the Gospel, what other part can they assign but doctrine to answer in division to the discipline?"

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wise to change that way, than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof; which be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stones, remaineth still the same path; in such things, because discretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, lest that path which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns.

If this be unsound, wherein doth the point of unsoundness lie? It is not that we make some things necessary, some things accessory and appendent only: for our Lord and Saviour himself doth make that difference, by terming judgment, and mercy, and fidelity, with other things of like nature, "the greater and weightier matters of the law." Is it then in that we account ceremonies (wherein we do not comprise sacraments, or any other the like substantial duties in the exercise of religion, but only such external Rites as are usually annexed unto church actions), is it an oversight that we reckon these things and matters [a] of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary in such sort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable consider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto garments, which cover the body of the Church; the other unto rings, bracelets, and jewels, that only adorn it? The one to that food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her diet liberal, dainty, and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing necessary to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the necessity of that which themselves resemble by things not necessary? Or by what construction shall any man living be able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external regiment in the Church and things necessary unto salvation?

Matt. xxiii. 23.

That we do not take from Scripture any thing

IV. Now as it can be to nature no injury that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her works have observed; namely, that she provideth for all living creatures nourishment

[a] The government of the Church of Christ granted by Fenner himself to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of religion. Against D. Bridges, p. 121: if it be Fenner which was the author of that book.

which may suffice; that she bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needful: although we do not so far magnify her exceeding bounty, as to affirm that she bringeth into the world the sons of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring up out of the earth for them: so I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church's discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impair the honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the sacred Scripture's perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set down; 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, than for nature to have left it to the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs: if neither this can import, nor any other proof sufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time or ever did affirm the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only those bare necessaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to special occasions, as also in other manifold respects, infinite treasures of wisdom are over and besides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may have some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessity it should of purpose subscribe any one particular form of church government, yet touching the manner of governing in general, the precepts that Scripture setteth down are not few, and the examples many, which it proposeth for all church governors even in particularities to follow; yea, that those things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular form of church polity (although not that form which they imagine, but that which we against them uphold,) are in the self-same Scriptures contained: if all this be willingly granted by us, which are accused to pin the word of God in so narrow a room as that it should be able to direct us but in principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and those things left out that should pertain

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which may be thereunto given with soundness of truth. Arist. Pol. lib. i. c. 8. et Plato in Menex. [t. v. p. 281.] Arist. lib. iii. de Animal. c. 4, 5.

to the form and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused be referred to the accuser's own conscience, and let that judge whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

Their meaning who first did plead against the polity of the Church of England, urging that nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God, and what Scripture they thought they might ground this assertion upon.

V. But so easy is it for every man living to err, and so hard to wrest from any man's mouth the plain acknowledgment of error, that what hath been once inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in as long as wit, by wetting itself, is able to find out any shift, be it never so slight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction. So that it cometh herein to pass with men unadvisedly fallen into error, as with them whose state hath no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by subtile conveyance they draw out of casual events arising from day to day, till at length they be clean spent. They which first gave out, "That nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God," thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the law,[a] "Ye shall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye take aught therefrom, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you." Wherefore having an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of England, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one sacrament, kneeling at the other, observing of festival-days more than only that which is called the Lord's-day, enjoining abstinence at certain times from some kinds of meat, churching of women after childbirth, degrees taken by divines in universities, sundry church offices, dignities, and callings; for which they found no commandment in the Holy Scripture, they thought by the one only stroke of that axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an oracle, being sifted, was repelled. True it is concerning the word of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense, or by falsification of the words, wittingly to endeavour that any thing may seem divine which is not, or any thing not seem which is, were plainly to abuse, and even to falsify divine evidence; which injury offered but unto men, is most worthily counted heinous. Which point I wish they did well observe,

[a] "Whatsoever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take aught therefrom." Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32.

with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in these causes, the law of God, the word of the Lord; who, notwithstanding, when they come to allege what word and what law they mean, their common ordinary practice is to quote by-speeches in some historical narration or other, and to urge them as if they were written in most exact form of law. What is to add to the law of God, if this be not? When that which the word of God doth but deliver historically, we construe, without any warrant, as if it were legally meant, and so urge it further than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the laws of God, and make them in number seem more than they are? It standeth us upon to be careful in this case: for the sentence of God is heavy against them that wittingly shall presume thus to use the Scripture.

The same assertion we cannot hold, without doing wrong unto all Churches.

VI. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to reason, that because we are forbidden to add to the law of God any thing, or to take aught from it; therefore we may not, for matters of the Church, make any law more than is already set down in Scripture. Who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all Churches in the world, inasmuch as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were rashness? Let the Church of God, even in the time of our Saviour Christ, serve for example unto all the rest. In their domestical celebration of the Passover,[a] which supper they divided (as it were) into two courses; what Scripture did give commandment, that between the first and the second, he that was chief should put off the residue of his garments, and, keeping on his feast-robe only, wash the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwashed in prayer unto God? which custom Aristæus (be the credit of the author more or less) sheweth wherefore they did so religiously observe. What Scripture did command the Jews every festival-day to fast till the sixth hour? the custom both mentioned by Josephus in the history of his own life, and by the words of Peter signified. Tedious it were to rip up all such things as were in

Acts x. 9.

[a] John xiii. Cœnatorium: de quo Matt. xxii. 12. Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.

Book III. Ch. vii.

that Church established, yea, by Christ himself and by his Apostles observed, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

A shift to maintain, that nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded in the word of God, namely, that commandments are of two sorts; and that all things lawful in the Church are commanded, if not by special precepts, yet by general rules in the word: 1 Cor. x. 32; xiv. 40; xiv. 26. Rom. xiv. 6, 7. T. C. l. i. p. 35.

VII. Well, yet a gloss there is to colour that paradox, and notwithstanding all this, still to make it appear in show not to be altogether unreasonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cause is held by a feeble distinction; that the commandments of God being either general or special, although there be no express word for every thing in specialty, yet there are general commandments for all things, to the end, that even such cases as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleasure, only with caution, that nothing be done against the word of God; and that for this cause the Apostle hath set down in Scripture four general rules, requiring such things alone to be received in the Church, as do best and nearest agree with the same rules, that so all things in the Church may be appointed, not only not against, but by and according to the word of God. The rules are these, "Nothing scandalous or offensive unto any, especially unto the Church of God;" "All things in order and with seemliness;" "All unto edification;" finally, "All to the glory of God." Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were necessary to take so much pains? Which rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, must needs hold that they tie the Church of Christ no otherwise than only because we find them there set down by the finger of the Holy Ghost. So that unless the Apostle by writing had delivered those rules to the Church, we should by observing them have sinned, as now by not observing them.

In the Church of the Jews, is it not granted, that the appointment of the hour for daily sacrifices; the building of synagogues throughout the land to hear the word of God, and to pray in when they came not up to Jerusalem; the erecting of pulpits and chairs to teach in; the order of burial; the rites of marriage, with such-like, being matters appertaining to the Church; yet are not any where prescribed in the law, but were by the Church's discretion instituted? What then shall we think? Did they hereby add to the law, and so dis-

please God by that which they did? None so hardly persuaded of them. Doth their law deliver unto them the self-same general rules of the Apostle, that framing thereby their orders, they might in that respect clear themselves from doing amiss? St. Paul would then of likelihood have cited them out of the Law, which we see he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and canons of that law which is written in all men's hearts; the Church had for ever no less than now stood bound to observe them, whether the Apostle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore these canons do bind as they are edicts of nature, which the Jews observing as yet unwritten, and thereby framing such church orders as in their law were not prescribed, are notwithstanding in that respect unculpable: it followeth, that sundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, so as they be not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them; but the Church only following the light of reason judge them to be in discretion meet.

Secondly, unto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or special it skilleth not: for if being particularly applied, they have in regard of such particulars a force constraining us to take some one certain thing of many, and to leave the rest; whereby it would come to pass, that any other particular but that one being established, the general rules themselves in that case would be broken; then is it utterly impossible that God should leave any thing great or small free for the Church to establish or not.

Thirdly, if so be they shall grant, as they cannot otherwise do, that these rules are no such laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but serve rather to direct the Church in all things which she doth; so that free and lawful it is to devise any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no special commandment being thereby violated; and the same being thought such by them to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth; as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and setting forth the glory of God; that is to say, agreeable unto the general rules of holy Scripture; this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpose. That which should make

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for them, must prove that men ought not to make laws for church regiment, but only keep those laws which in Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the Books of Ecclesiastical Discipline is to shew that men may not devise laws of church government; but are bound for ever to use and to execute only those which God himself hath already devised and delivered in the Scripture. The self-same drift the Admonitioners also had, in urging, that nothing ought to be done in the Church, according unto any law of man's devising, but all according unto that which God in his word hath commanded. Which not remembering, they gather out of Scripture general rules to be followed in making laws; and so in effect they plainly grant that we ourselves may lawfully make laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take laws already made, as they meant who first alleged that principle whereof we speak. One particular platform it is which they respected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all churches; whereas these general rules do not let but that there may well enough be sundry. It is the particular order established in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto those general rules, they know, we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obscure it is not, what meaning they had who first gave out that grand axiom; and according unto that meaning it doth prevail far and wide with the favourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themselves unto the order of our Church? And in every particular, their answer for the most part is, "We find no such thing commanded in the word." Whereby they plainly require some special commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by general rules and canons.

As, therefore, in controversies between us and the Church of Rome, that which they practise is many times even according to the very grossness of that which the vulgar sort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it is so nice and subtile, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon: in which cases we should do the Church of God small benefit, by disputing with them according unto the finest points of their dark conveyances, and suffering that sense of

their doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily received and practised. So considering what disturbance hath grown in the Church amongst ourselves, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a sure foundation, "Nothing ought to be established in the Church, which in the word of God is not commanded:" were it reason, that we should suffer the same to pass without controlment, in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaileth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a shift?

VIII. The last refuge in maintaining this position is thus to construe it, "Nothing ought to be established in the Church, but that which is commanded in the word of God;" that is to say, all church orders must be "grounded upon the word of God;" in such sort grounded upon the word, not that being found out by some "star, or light of reason, or learning, or other help," they may be received, so they be not against the word of God; but according at leastwise unto the general rules of Scripture they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, "We know not what to say well in defence of this position; and therefore, lest we should say it is false, there is no remedy but to say, that in some sense or other it may be true, if we could tell how."

Another answer in defence of the former assertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this sort.

All Church-orders must be commanded in the Word, that is to say, grounded upon the Word, and made according, at the leastwise, unto the general Rules of Holy Scripture.

As for such things as are found out by any star or light of Reason, and are in that respect received, so they be not against the Word of God, all such things it holdeth unlawfully received. Arist. Pol. 1.

First, that scholy had need of a very favourable reader and a tractable, that should think it plain construction, when to be *commanded in the Word*, and *grounded upon the Word*, are made all one. If when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeing that good thereby which nature principally desireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard of St. Paul's judgment:* that which he doth is manifestly grounded upon the word of God, yet not commanded in his word, because without breach of any commandment he might do otherwise.

* 1 Cor. vii.

Secondly, whereas no man in justice and reason can be reproved for those actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no sound divine in the world ever denied to be in part made

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manifest even by the light of nature, and not by Scripture alone: if the Church, being directed by the former of these two, (which God hath given, who gave the other that man might in different sort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I say, do approve and establish that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of Holy Scripture; who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness controlling herein the Church of Christ?

But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the star of reason and learning, and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that star in

Apoc. viii. 10.

the Revelation, called Wormwood; which being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are unto this effect. First,

1 Cor ii. 14.

"The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Secondly, it

Col. ii. 8.

is not for nothing that St. Paul giveth charge to "beware of philosophy," that is to say, such knowledge as men by natural reason attain unto. Thirdly, consider them that have from time to time opposed themselves against the Gospel of Christ, and most troubled the Church with heresy. Have they not always been great admirers of human reason? Hath their deep and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how

1 Cor. i. 19.

heavy his sentences are in this case: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? Seeing the world by wisdom knew not God; in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the

foolishness of preaching to save believers." Fifthly, the word of God in itself is absolute, exact, and perfect. The word of God is a two-edged sword: as for the weapons of natural reason, they are as the armour of Saul, rather cumbersome about the soldier of Christ than needful. They are not of force to do that which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the Holy Ghost: "My preaching (therefore saith St. Paul) hath not been in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit of power; that your faith might not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." Sixthly, if I believe the Gospel, there needeth no reasoning about it to persuade me; if I do not believe, it must be the Spirit of God, and not the reason of man, that shall convert my heart unto him. By these and the like disputes, an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world; as if the way to be ripe in faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if reason were an enemy unto religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine wisdom.

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1 Cor. ii. 4.

The cause why such declamations prevail so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselves in two respects to be deluded. One is, that the wisdom of man being debased, either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing exceeding the reach and compass thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned. Another, that learning, knowledge, or wisdom, falsely so termed, usurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being under that name controlled; their reproof is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equivocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly observed, doth to the former allegations itself make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all men's plainer and fuller satisfaction:

I. First, Concerning the inability of reason, to search out and to judge of things divine, if they be such as those properties of God, and those duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive consideration of heaven and earth; we know that of mere natural men, the Apostle testifieth, How they knew both God, and the law of God. Other things of God there be, which are neither so found, nor, though they be shewed, can ever be approved without the special opera-

Rom. i. 21, 32.

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tion of God's good grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle St. Paul, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witness of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and Moses had foreshewed. Festus, a mere natural man, an infidel, a Roman, one whose ears were unacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach unto that whereof he spake; the suffering, and the rising of Christ from the dead, he rejected as idle superstitious fancies not worth the hearing. The Apostle that knew them by the Spirit, and spake of them with power of the Holy Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifest, what elsewhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely, that nature hath need of grace, whereunto I hope we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath use of nature.

Acts xxv. 19.

Acts xxvi. 24; 1 Cor. ii. 14.

II. Secondly, Philosophy we are warned to take heed of; not that philosophy, which is true and sound knowledge attained by natural discourse of Reason; but that philosophy, which to bolster heresy or error casteth a fraudulent show of reason upon things which are indeed unreasonable; and by that mean, as by a stratagem, spoileth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. "Take heed lest any spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit." He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy, doth not give counsel to be impolitic; but rather to use all prudent foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be over-reached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophy, which doth teach, against that deceitful and vain, which spoileth.

Col. ii. 8.

III. Thirdly, But many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief; and many sound in belief have been also great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith, the other sort out of love with secular knowledge. The harm that heretics did, they did it unto such as were unable to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning; and the remedy against it was ever the skill which the ancient Fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Insomuch, that Cres-

conius the heretic complained greatly of St. Augustine, as being too full of logical subtilties. Heresy prevaileth only by a counterfeit show of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becometh invincible, unless it be convicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance, clearly true, and unable to be withstood. When therefore the Apostle requireth ability to convict heretics, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful to use the principal instrument of their conviction, the light of reason? It may not be denied, but that in the Fathers' writings, there are sundry sharp invectives against heretics, even for their very philosophical reasonings; the cause whereof Tertullian confesseth, not to have been any dislike conceived against the kind of such reasonings, but the end. "We may (saith he), even in matters of God, be made wiser by reasons drawn from the public persuasions, which are grafted in men's minds: so they be used to further the truth, not to bolster error; so they make with, not against, that which God hath determined. For there are some things even known by nature, as the immortality of the soul to many, our God unto all. I will therefore myself also use the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I myself too will use the secret acknowledgment of the commonalty, bearing record of the God of gods. But when I hear men allege, that which is dead, is dead; and while thou art alive, be alive; and after death an end of all, even of death itself: then will I call to mind, both that the heart of the people with God is accounted dust, and that the very wisdom of the world is pronounced folly. If then an heretic fly also unto such vicious, popular, and secular conceits, my answer unto him shall be: 'Thou heretic, avoid the heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God; yet thou that doest this under the name of Christ, differeth from the heathen, in that thou seemest to thyself a Christian. Leave him therefore his conceits, seeing that neither will he learn thine. Why dost thou, having sight, trust to a blind guide? thou which hast put on Christ, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apostle have armed thee, why dost thou borrow a stranger's shield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the resurrection of the flesh.'" In a word, the Catholic Fathers did good unto all

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Tit. i. 9, 11.

Tert. de Resur. Carnis. [c. 3.]

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by that knowledge, whereby heretics hindering the truth in many, might have furthered therewith themselves, but that obstinately following their own ambitious, or otherwise corrupted affections, instead of framing their wills to maintain that which reason taught, they bent their wits to find how reason might seem to teach that which their wills were set to maintain. For which cause the Apostle saith of them justly, that they are for the most part *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, men condemned even in and of themselves. For though they be not all persuaded, that it is truth which they withstand; yet that to be error which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the sooner a great deal attain to know, but that their study is more to defend what once they have stood in, than to find out sincerely and simply what truth they ought to persist in for ever.

Tit. iii. 11.

IV. Fourthly, There is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious; yea, that principal truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it some kind of light; whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished; or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom, wherein Solomon excelled all men; or that rational and oratorial wisdom of the Grecians, which the Apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus; or that Judaical, which he learned in Jerusalem, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel; to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himself, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, even as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise. But there are that bear the title of wise men, and scribes, and great disputers of the world, and are nothing indeed less than what in show they most appear. These being wholly addicted unto their own wills, use their wit, their learning, and all the wisdom they have, to maintain that which their obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming, in the frantic error of their minds, the greatest madness in the world to be wisdom, and the highest wisdom foolishness. Such were both Jews and Grecians which professed, the one sort legal, and the other secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the mystery of Christ: unto the glory

Acts vii. 22. Dan. i. 17. 1 Kings iv. 29, 30. Acts xxii. 3.

of whose most blessed name, whoso study to use both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath endued them with; let them never doubt, but that the same God who is to destroy and confound utterly that wisdom falsely so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes; Scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of Heaven; not Scribes against the kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wisdom; which in the end being proved folly, must needs perish; true understanding, knowledge, judgment, and reason, continuing for evermore. Matt. xiii. 52.

V. Fifthly, Unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. "The word of God is a two-edged sword," put in the hands of reasonable men; and reason is as the weapon that slew Goliath, if they be as David was that use it. Touching the Apostles, he which gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach that which they so did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and silly estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching. They studied with no tongue, they spake with all: of themselves they were rude, and knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance. But because with St. Paul it was otherwise than with the rest, inasmuch as he never conversed with Christ upon earth as they did; and his education had been scholastical altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occasion was taken by certain malignants secretly to undermine his great authority in the Church of Christ, as though the Gospel had been taught him by others than by Christ himself, and as if the cause of the Gentiles' conversion and belief, through his means, had been the learning and skill which he had by being Heb. iv. 12.

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conversant in their books; which thing made them so willing to hear him, and him so able to persuade them; whereas the rest of the Apostles prevailed, because God was with them, and by a miracle from heaven confirmed his word in their mouths. They were mighty in deeds: as for him, being absent, his writings had some force; in presence, his power not like unto theirs. In sum, concerning his preaching, their very by-

2 Cor. x. 10.

word was, λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle speech, empty talk:* his writings full of great words; but in the power of miraculous operations, his presence not like the rest of the Apostles. Hereupon it ariseth, that St. Paul was so often driven to make his apologies. Hereupon it ariseth, that whatsoever time he had spent in the study of human learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of Corinth, that the gospel which he had preached amongst them, did not by other means prevail with them, than with others the same gospel taught by

1 Cor. ii. 4.

the rest of the Apostles of Christ. "My preaching (saith he) hath not been in the persuasive speeches of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." What is it which the Apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst them had been persuasive?

Acts xviii. 4. 11.

No: for of him the sacred history plainly testifieth, that for the space of a year and a half he spake in their synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded both Jews and Grecians. How then is the speech of men persuasive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one human, the other divine. Either St. Paul did only by art and natural industry cause his own speech to be credited; or else God by miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speech of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? if the preaching of the rest had been effectual by miracle, his only by force of his own learning; so great inequality between him and the other Apostles in this thing had been enough to subvert their faith. For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were sent of God as well as they, God would not have furnished them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them, being simple, haply have feared lest their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather

through the weakness of their own wits than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been, that all believers through the preaching of other Apostles, should have their faith strongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation; and they whom he had converted, should have their persuasion built only upon his skill and wisdom who persuaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apostles did; so although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient to enable him to be such a teacher as the rest of the Apostles were, unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the other's doctrine; yet unto our ability, both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add.

VI. Sixthly, Yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and to his truth, believe we or be we as yet faithless, for our conversion or confirmation, the force of natural reason is great. The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpose it is sufficient that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in Him; that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do, but for the light of natural reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong aright unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplication and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him. Let men be taught this either by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but only men; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but only to teach theology? Theology, what is it, but the science of things divine? What

Heb. xi. 6.

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science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and reason? "Judge you of that which I speak," saith the Apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth.

1 Cor. x. 15.

Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason, that the Scripture is the word of God. In the presence of Festus a Roman, and of king Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews' religion, nor the books whereby they were taught it, speaks unto the other of things foreshewed by Moses and the Prophets, and performed in Jesus Christ, intending thereby to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his judges did condemn both Moses and the Prophets, him they could not choose but acquit, who taught only that fulfilled, which they so long since had foretold. His cause was easy to be discerned; what was done, their eyes were witnesses; what Moses and the Prophets did speak, their books could quickly shew: it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. "King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know thou dost." The question is, how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of king Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth cause the rest of the Scripture of God to be of credit.

Acts xxvi. 27.

Because we maintain, that in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto salvation; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and salvation dependeth? As though there were any kind of science in the world which leadeth men unto knowledge, without presupposing a number of things already known. No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth; but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already; some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth; without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The

main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident: for then all men that hear it, would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that every whole is more than any part of that whole, because this in itself is evident. The other we know, that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed, which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture teaches us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation; and it presumeth us taught otherwise, that itself is divine and sacred.

The question then being, by what means we are taught this: some answer, that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition; as namely, that so we believe, because both we from our predecessors, and they from theirs, have so received. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them, may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards, the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered further reason. If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments, such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible, or greatly hard,

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even by such kind of proofs, so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore, if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: if I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me into the number of believers, except reason did somewhat help, and were an instrument which God doth use unto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with infidels or godless persons for their conversion and persuasion in that point?

Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do sometime hold that of this principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of reason may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set down, that other motives and inducements, be they never so strong and consonant unto reason, are notwithstanding ineffectual of themselves to work faith concerning this principle, if the special grace of the Holy Ghost concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwise, I doubt not but men of wisdom and judgment will grant that the Church, in this point especially, is furnished with reason to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries; and that as it were altogether bootless to allege against them what the Spirit hath taught us, so likewise, that even to our ownselves it needeth caution and explication, how the testimony of the Spirit may be discerned, by what means it may be known, lest men think that the Spirit of God doth testify those things which the spirit of error suggesteth. The operations of the Spirit, especially these ordinary which be common unto all true Christian men, are, as we know, things secret and undiscernible even to the very soul where they are, because their nature is of another and higher kind than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodness; yet because these workings of the Spirit in us are so privy and secret, we therefore stand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reason from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God

hath directed us in both, than if we settle ourselves to believe or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit.

But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture to the sense and meaning thereof: because the sentences which are by the Apostles recited out of the Psalms, to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ, did not prove it, if so be the prophet David meant them of himself. This exposition therefore they plainly disprove, and shew by manifest reason that of David the words of David could not possibly be meant. Exclude the use of natural reasoning about the sense of Holy Scripture concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the articles of our faith, who can assure us? That, which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstructed breedeth error; between true and false construction, the difference reason must shew. Can Christian men perform that which Peter requireth at their hands? Is it possible they should both believe, and be able without the use of reason, to render "a reason of their belief;" a reason sound and sufficient to answer them that demand it, be they of the same faith with us, or enemies thereunto? May we cause our faith without reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of learners in the school of Christ, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto such ripeness must needs be somewhat more than only to read the sentences of Scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholy them, to vary them with sundry forms of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend itself unto the world by that easiness and facility which is in it; but a law or a pattern it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow, that will do good in the Church of Christ.

Acts xiii. 36. ii. 34.

1 Pet. iii. 15.

Our Lord and Saviour himself did hope by disputation to do some good, yea, by disputation not only of, but against, the truth, albeit with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the son of David, was truth; yet against this truth, our Lord in the gospel objecteth, "If Christ be the son of David, how doth David call him Lord?" There is as yet no way known how to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the use of natural reason. If we please to

Matt. xxii. 43.

Book III. Ch. viii.

add unto Christ their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could, the sermon of Paul and Barnabas, set down in the Acts, where the people would have offered unto them sacrifice; in that sermon what is there, but only natural reason to disprove their act? "O men, why do ye these things? We are men even subject to the self-same passions with you: we preach unto you to leave these vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himself without witness; in that he hath done good to the world, giving rain and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with joy and gladness." Neither did they only use reason in winning such unto a Christian belief, as were yet thereto unconverted, but with believers themselves they followed the salf-same course. In that great and solemn assembly of believing Jews, how doth Peter prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawn from those effects which were apparently known amongst them: "God, which knoweth the hearts, hath borne them witness in giving unto them the Holy Ghost, as unto you." The light therefore, which the star of natural reason and wisdom casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two, uttered to diminish that opinion which justly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch most nearly the principal duties of men, and the glory of the eternal God.

Acts xiv. 15.

Acts xv. 8.

In all which hitherto hath been spoken, touching the force and use of man's reason in things divine, I must crave that I be not so understood or construed, as if any such thing, by virtue thereof, could be done without the aid and assistance of God's most blessed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which question is, whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising laws for the Church, men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient? For this cause, therefore, we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of reason itself there is no impediment, but that the self-same Spirit, which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason, what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church over and besides them that are

in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with those men, by whom human laws are defined to be ordinances, which such as have lawful authority given them for that purpose do probably draw from the laws of nature and God, by discourse of reason aided with the influence of divine grace: and for that cause, it is not said amiss touching ecclesiastical canons, "That by instinct of the Holy Ghost they have been made, and consecrated by the reverend acceptation of the world."

Violatores, cap. xxv. q. 1.

How laws for the regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men following therein the light of reason, and how those laws being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his sight.

IX. Laws for the Church are not made as they should be, unless the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by; wherein that Scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let pass as needless to be consulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet because both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture and partly reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending examples and laws, laws some natural and some positive: examples there neither are for all cases which require laws to be made, and when there are, they can but direct as precedents only. Natural laws direct in such sort, that in all things we must for ever do according unto them; Positive so, that against them in no case we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is that they should remain in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yield us precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth natural laws, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positive, which way to make laws unrepugnant unto them; yea though all these should want, yet what kind of

ordinances would be most for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this must be by reason found out. And therefore, "to refuse the conduct of the light of nature," saith St. Augustine, "is not folly alone but accompanied with impiety."[a]

The greatest amongst the school-divines studying how to set down by exact definition the nature of an human law (of which nature all the Church's constitutions are) found not which way better to do it than in these words: "Out of the precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common and undemonstrable principles, man's reason doth necessarily proceed unto certain more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according unto the reason of man, they have the names of human laws, so that such other conditions be therein kept as the making of laws doth require,"[b] that is, if they whose authority is thereunto required do establish and publish them as laws. And the truth is, that all our controversy in this cause concerning the orders of the Church is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out is the force of man's reason. That which doth guide and direct his reason is first the general law of nature; which law of nature and the moral law of Scripture are in the substance of law all one. But because there are also in Scripture a number of laws particular and positive, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated; we are in making laws to have thereunto an especial eye. As for example, it might perhaps seem reasonable unto the Church of God, following the general laws concerning the nature of marriage, to ordain in particular that cousin-germans shall not marry. Which law notwithstanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there should be in Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of marriage to be so far forth abridged.

[a] "Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere non modo stultum est sed et impium." August. lib. iv. de Trin. cap. 6.

[b] Tho. Aqui. 1, 2. q. 91, art. 3. "Ex præceptis legis naturalis, quasi ex quibusdam principiis communibus et indemonstrabilibus, necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda. Et istæ particulares dispositiones adinventæ secundum rationem humanam dicuntur *leges humanæ*, observatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis."

The same Thomas therefore whose definition of human laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *human laws are measures* in respect of men whose actions they must direct; howbeit such measures they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by, *which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature.* So that laws human must be made according to the general laws of nature, and without contradiction unto any positive law in Scripture. Otherwise they are ill made. Book III. Ch. ix. Quæst. 95. art. 3.

Unto laws thus made and received by a whole church, they which live within the bosom of that church must not think it a matter indifferent either to yield or not to yield obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of God? "My son keep thy father's commandment," saith Solomon, "and forget not thy mother's instruction: bind them both always about thine heart." It doth not stand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our mother the Church we should shew ourselves disobedient. Let us not say we keep the commandments of the one, when we break the law of the other: for unless we observe both, we obey neither. And what doth let but that we may observe both, when they are not the one to the other in any sort repugnant? For of such laws only we speak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the laws of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the laws thus made God himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them is to despise in them Him. It is a loose and licentious opinion which the Anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christian man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides the Gospel of Jesus Christ: in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God and not the constraint of man is to lead us, according to that of the blessed Apostle, "Such as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God," and not such as live in thraldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore that the Church of Christ should admit no law-makers but the Evangelists. The author of that which causeth another thing to be, is author 1 Cor. xi. 22. Prov. vi. 20. Rom. viii. 14.

Book III. Ch. x.

John i. 9.

of that thing also which thereby is caused. The light of natural understanding, wit, and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such cause whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we think or do by virtue of that light, which himself hath given. And therefore the laws which the very heathens did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God himself hath acknowledged to have proceeded even from himself, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the author of those laws, which have been made by his saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instructions as his sacred word doth yield! Surely if we have unto those laws that dutiful regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need that we should be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himself for their author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot choose but redound unto him. The safest and unto God the most acceptable way of framing our lives therefore is, with all humility, lowliness, and singleness of heart, to study, which way our willing obedience both unto God and man may be yielded even to the utmost of that which is due.

Rom. i. 19; ii. 15.

That neither God's being the author of laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

X. Touching the mutability of laws that concern the regiment and polity of the Church; changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of laws concerneth only such laws as are positive, and do make that now good or evil by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of itself were not simply the one or the other. Unto such laws it is expressly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where exprest, then have we no light to direct our judgments concerning the changeableness or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such laws. The nature of every law must be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptness of things

therein prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out that the reason why some laws of God were given, is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by the wit of man. As why God should forbid Adam that one tree, there was no way for Adam ever to have certainly understood. And at Adam's ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more securely a false cause because the true was unto Adam unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to plough their ground with an ox and an ass, why to clothe themselves with mingled attire of wool and linen, both it was unto them and to us it remaineth obscure. Such laws perhaps cannot be abrogated saving only by whom they were made: because the intent of them being known unto none but the author, he alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being known do appear manifestly to be of perpetual necessity; then are those things also perpetual, unless they cease to be effectual unto that purpose for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards, when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a law provideth be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such law ought for ever to remain unchangeable.

Deut. xxii. 10, 11.

Whether God be the author of laws by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable. The law of ceremonies came from God: Moses had commandment to commit it unto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour: in force still, as the Jew surmiseth, because God himself was author of it, and for us to abolish what he hath established were presumption most intolerable.

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Book III. Ch. x.

But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? "That which necessity of some special time doth cause to be enjoined bindeth no longer than during that time, but doth afterwards become free."[a] Which thing is also plain even by that law which the Apostles assembled at the council of Jerusalem did from thence deliver unto the Church of Christ, the preface whereof to authorize it

Acts xv. 28.

was, "To the Holy Ghost and to us it hath seemed good:" which style they did not use as matching themselves in power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying the Holy Ghost to be the author and themselves but only utterers of that decree. This law, therefore, to have proceeded from God as the author thereof no faithful man will deny. It was of God, not only because God gave them the power whereby they might make laws, but for that it proceeded even from the holy motion and suggestion of that secret divine Spirit, whose sentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithstanding, as the law of ceremonies delivered unto the Jews, so this very law which the Gentiles received from the mouth of the Holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decease of the end for which it was given.

Counterp. p. 8.

But such as do not stick at this point, such as grant that what hath been instituted upon any special cause needeth not to be observed, that cause ceasing, do notwithstanding herein fail; they judge the laws of God only by the author and main end for which they were made, so that for us to change that which he hath established, they hold it execrable pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon this they ground those ample disputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the government of his Church, if it be necessary always that the Church of Christ be governed, then doth the end for which God provided remain still; and therefore in those means which he by law did

[a] "Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod urgebat," i. q. l.

establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any thing is to lift up ourselves against God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not that laws are instruments to rule by, and that instruments are not only to be framed according unto the general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular, which riseth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore laws were made may be permanent, and those laws nevertheless require some alteration, if there be any unfitness in the means which they prescribe as tending unto that end and purpose. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth punish thieves with a quadruple restitution hath an end which will continue as long as the world itself continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this law provided for that end, namely the punishment of quadruple restitution, that this will be always sufficient to bridle and restrain that kind of enormity no man can warrant. Insufficiency of laws doth sometimes come by want of judgment in the makers: which cause cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately divine, as it may and doth into human laws often. But that which hath been once most sufficient may wax otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath been sometime forcible to bridle sin may grow afterwards too weak and feeble.

In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of those three laws which the Jews received at the hands of God, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, that if the end for which and the matter according whereunto God maketh his laws continue always one and the same, his laws also do the like; for which cause the moral law cannot be altered: secondly, that whether the matter whereon laws are made continue or continue not, if their end have once ceased, they cease also to be of force; as in the law ceremonial it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient judicials it doth; yet forasmuch as there is not in all respects the same subject or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, even this is sufficient cause of change: and therefore laws, though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were

ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alterations of persons or times they be found insufficient to attain unto that end. In which respect why may we not presume that God doth even call for such change or alteration as the very condition of things themselves doth make necessary?

They which do therefore plead the authority of the lawmaker as an argument, wherefore it should not be lawful to change that which he hath instituted, and will have this the cause why all the ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the wisdom of God, as a proof, that whatsoever laws he hath made they ought to stand, unless himself from heaven proclaim them disannulled, because it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that we are far from presuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that men should presume to undo some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath that have been changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had been worse when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this to choose that, neither would now reject that to choose this, were it not for some new-grown occasion making that which hath been better worse. In this case therefore men do not presume to change God's ordinance, but they yield thereunto requiring itself to be changed.

Against this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Gospel of Christ if men or angels should attempt, it were most heinous and cursed sacrilege. And the Gospel (as they say) containeth not only doctrine instructing men how they should believe, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. Discipline therefore is "a part of the Gospel;"[a] and God being the author of the whole Gospel, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them

[a] "We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the Gospel, and therefore to have a common cause; so that in the repulse of the discipline the Gospel receives a check." And again, "I speak of the discipline as of a part of the Gospel, and therefore neither under nor above the Gospel, but the Gospel." T. C. lib. ii. p. 14.

"have a common cause." So that as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe.

Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Persons, salvation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, the judgment to come, and such like, they have been since the first hour that there was a church in the world, and till the last they must be believed. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine no man thinketh it lawful; new laws of government what commonwealth or church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? "The rule of faith," saith Tertullian, "is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impossible to be framed or cast anew." The law of outward order and polity not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe, the same things; seeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging unto church polity. Neither can I find that men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught, than that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity do to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity, the Church hath authority to make canons, laws, and decrees, even as we read that in the Apostles' time it did. Which kind of laws (forasmuch as they are not in themselves necessary to salvation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea, it is not denied I am sure by themselves, that certain things in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God or no? If they be not commanded and yet may be received in the Church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the Church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded and yet may suffer change, how can this latter

Tert. de Veland. Virg. c. 1.

Mart. in 1 Sam. xiv.

Acts xv.

Book III. Ch. x.

stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serve. For be they great things or be they small, if God have commanded them in the Gospel, and his commanding them in the Gospel do make them unchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one than we may the other. If the authority of the maker do prove unchangeableness in the laws which God hath made, then must all laws which he hath made be necessarily for ever permanent, though they be but of circumstance only and not of substance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being author of laws for government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change.

But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way. For whereas in this discourse we have oftentimes profest that many parts of discipline or church polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confess their discipline to be delivered in Scripture, and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableness of laws ordained even by God himself, as if otherwise theirs of necessity should take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our persuasion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defend it devised it; that neither Christ nor his Apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us and the strongest against them were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which[a] for that very cause belongeth to all

[a] "Disciplina est Christianæ Ecclesiæ Politia, a Deo ejus recte administrandæ causa constituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ob eandem causam omnium ecclesiarum communis et omnium temporum." Lib. de Eccles. Discip. in Anal.

churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered, as being persuaded of nothing more than we are of this, that whether it be in matter of speculation or of practice, no untruth[a] can possibly avail the patron and defender long, and that things most truly are likewise most behovefully spoken.

Whether Christ have forbidden all change of those laws which are set down in Scripture.

XI. This we hold and grant for truth, that those very laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable form set down in holy Scripture; nevertheless if indeed there have been at any time a church polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those laws which God for perpetuity hath established were presumption most intolerable.

To prove therefore that the will of Christ was to establish laws so permanent and immutable that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reason. First,[b] if Moses, being but a servant in the house of God, did therein establish laws of government for perpetuity, laws which they that were of the household might not alter; shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his household declared himself less faithful than Moses? Moses delivering unto the Jews such laws as were durable, if

[a] Ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνῳδοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. Arist. Ethic. lib. x. cap. 1.

[b] Heb. iii. 6. "Either that commendation of the son before the servant is a false testimony, or the son ordained a permanent government in the Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then do they, that hold it may be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but advise the magistrate by his positive laws to proclaim, that it is his will, that if there shall be a church within his dominions, he will maim and deform the same?" M. M. p. 16. "He that was as faithful as Moses, left as clear instruction for the government of the Church: but Christ was as faithful as Moses: Ergo." Demonst. of Discip. cap. 1.

Book III. Ch. xi.

those be changeable which Christ hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confess even the Son of God himself to have been less faithful than Moses. Which argument shall need no touchstone to try it by but some other of the like making. Moses erected in the wilderness a tabernacle which was moveable from place to place; Solomon a sumptuous and stately temple which was not moveable: therefore Solomon was faithfuller than Moses, which no man endued with reason will think. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow. He that will see how faithful the one or the other was, must compare the things which they both did unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apostle in making comparison between our Saviour and Moses attributeth faithfulness unto both, and maketh this difference between them; Moses *in*, but Christ *over* the house of God; Moses in that house which was *his by charge and commission*, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant;* but Christ over this house as being *his own entire possession*.

John xvii. 8.

Our Lord and Saviour doth make protestation, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me." Faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Father's will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of laws concerning church polity? They answer, Yea. For else God should less favour us than the Jews.[a] God would not have their churches guided by any laws but his own. And seeing this did so continue even till Christ, now to ease God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage, what reason have we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath borne to his Church. An heathen philosopher there is, who considering how many things beasts have which men have not, how naked in comparison of them, how impotent, and how much less able we are to shift for ourselves a long time after we enter into this world, repiningly concluded hereupon, that nature being a careful mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted stepdame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious

[a] "Either God hath left a prescript form of government now, or else he is less careful under the New Testament than under the Old." Demonst. of Dis. cap. 1.

God towards his by such differences. For even herein shineth his wisdom, that though the ways of his providence be many, yet the end which he bringeth all at the length unto is one and the self-same.

But if such kind of reasoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very same concerning laws of secular regiment? Their own words are these: "In the ancient church of the Jews, God did command and Moses commit unto writing all things pertinent as well to the civil as to the ecclesiastical state." God gave them laws of civil regiment, and would not permit their commonweal to be governed by any other laws than his own. Doth God less regard our temporal estate in this world, or provide for it worse than for theirs? To us notwithstanding he hath not as to them delivered any particular form of temporal regiment, unless perhaps we think, as some do, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Israel doth import that we ought to be subject unto the rites and laws of their whole polity. We see then how weak such disputes are, and how smally they make to this purpose.

Ecclesiast. Disc. lib. i.

Rom. xi. 17. Ephes. ii. 12—16.

That Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did, the very different manner of delivering the laws of Moses and the laws of Christ doth plainly shew. Moses had commandment to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them down according unto their several kinds, for each public duty and office the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themselves, written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise the laws of Christ we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the Apostles, than any solemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal sort.

Again, the positive laws which Moses gave, they were given for the greatest part with restraint to the land of Jewry: "Behold," saith Moses, "I have taught you ordinances and laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do even so within the land whither ye go to possess it." Which laws and ordinances positive he plainly distinguisheth afterward from the laws of the Two Tables which were moral. "The Lord spake unto you out of the

Deut. iv. 5.

Deut. iv. 12—14.

midst of the fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his Covenant which he commanded you to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the Lord commanded me that same time, that I should teach you ordinances and laws which ye should observe in the land whither ye go to possess it." The same difference is again set down in the next chapter following. For rehearsal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately,

Deut. v. 22. "These words the Lord spake unto all your multitude in the mount out of the midst of the fire, the cloud, and the darkness, with a great voice, and added no more; and wrote them upon two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me." But concerning other laws, the people give their consent to

Deut. v. 27. receive them at the hands of Moses: "Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God saith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God saith unto thee, and we will hear it and do it." The people's alacrity herein God highly com-

Deut. v. 28—31. mendeth with most effectual and hearty speech: "I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have spoken well. O that there were such an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my commandments always, that it might go well with them and with their children for ever! Go, say unto them, 'Return you to your tents;' but stand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the commandments and the ordinances and the laws which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I have given them to possess." From this latter kind the former are plainly distinguished in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one sort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himself in the hearing of six hundred thousand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other side, the latter given after, and neither written by God himself, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto Moses, and from him to them both by word and writing; the latter termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenants; finally, the observation of the latter re-

strained unto the land where God would establish them to inhabit. The laws positive are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their laws had an eye unto the nature of that people, and to the country where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and proper considerations were respected in the making of their laws, and must be also regarded in the positive laws of all other nations besides: then seeing that nations are not all alike, surely the giving of one kind of positive laws unto one only people, without any liberty to alter them, is but a slender proof, that therefore one kind should in like sort be given to serve everlastingly for all.

But that which most of all maketh for the clearing of this point is, that the Jews,[a] who had laws so particularly determining and so fully instructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God; and that as their ceremonies and sacraments were multiplied above ours, even so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any express word. So that if we may devise one law, they by this reason might devise twenty; and if their devising so many were not forbidden, shall their example prove us forbidden to devise as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? We might not devise, no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour had utterly forbidden all alteration of his laws; inasmuch as there can be no law devised, but needs it must either take away from his, or add thereunto more or less, and so make some kind of alteration. But of this so large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberal than they would be if they had leisure to take advice. And therefore so bountiful words of

a "Whereas you say, that they (the Jews) had nothing but what was determined by the law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the order of the Church; I will offer, for one that you shall bring that we have left to the order of the Church, to shew you that they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 35.

Book III. Ch. xi.

course and frank speeches we are contented to let pass, without turning them unto advantage with too much rigour.

It may be they had rather be listened unto, when they commend the kings of Israel "which attempted nothing in the government of the Church without the express word of God;"[a] and when they urge[b] that God left nothing in his word "undescribed," whether it concerned the worship of God or outward polity, nothing unset down, and therefore charged them strictly to keep themselves unto that, without any alteration. Howbeit, seeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the course of their public affairs, wherein they had no express word at all to shew precisely what they should do; the difference between their condition and ours in these cases will bring some light unto the truth of this present controversy. Before the fact of the son of Shelomith, there was no law which did appoint any certain punishment for blasphemers. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in ward, till the mind of the Lord were known concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned upon occasion of a breach of the Sabbath day. They find a poor silly creature gathering sticks in the wilderness, they bring him unto Moses and Aaron and all the congregation, they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said unto Moses, "This man shall die the death." The law required to keep the Sabbath; but for the breach of the Sabbath what punishment should be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occasions as these are rare. And for such things as do fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such as being not already determined by law were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come in question, it gave occasion of adding laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted, and of the daughters of Zelopehad, whose causes Moses having brought before the Lord, received laws to serve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this

Levit. xxiv. 12.

Numb. xv. 33—35.

Numb. ix. xxvii.

[a] T. C. in the table to his second book.

[b] "If he will needs separate the worship of God from the external polity, yet as the Lord set forth the one, so he left nothing undescribed in the other." T. C. lib. ii. p. 446.

end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: and by such means God himself instructed them from heaven what to do, in all things that did greatly concern their state and were not already set down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even against our own experience and knowledge? Shall we seek to persuade men that of necessity it is with us as it was with them; that because God is ours in all respects as much as theirs, therefore either no such way of direction hath been at any time, or if it hath been it doth still continue in the Church; or if the same do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age, throughout all generations of men.

The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promise made unto Abraham did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did foreshew. Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole world and the salvation of all did depend. Unto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to provide; namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselves. Touching the one, as they received the promise of God to be the rock of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush should but bruise and batter themselves; so likewise they had his commandment in all their affairs what way to seek direction and counsel from him. Men's consultations are always perilous; and it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by trial are found most opposite to public safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by oversight in some one act or treaty between them and their potent opposites utterly to cast away themselves for ever. Wherefore, lest it should so fall out to them upon whom so much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any

Gen. xviii. 18.
Gen. xlix. 10.

Book III. Ch. xi.

league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And lest domestical disturbance should waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this purpose more effectual, than if the authority of their laws and governors were such as none might presume to take exceptions against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws from heaven, and, as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding, some desperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them if they did attempt to be authors of confusion, and to resist both governors and laws. Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them. By which means it came to pass, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet was there nothing of force, either one way or other, to work the ruin and subversion of their state, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was no cause of dissimilitude in these things between that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since.

T. C. lib. ii. p. 440.

And whereas it is further alleged, "That albeit in civil matters and things pertaining to this present life, God hath used a greater particularity with them than amongst us, framing laws according to the quality of that people and country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil, is so far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, that it rather proves a straiter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by temporal blessings of this life towards the people under the law than towards us, he gave also politic laws most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into, and most stedfastly remain in possession of, those earthly benefits: even so at this time, wherein he would not have his favour so much esteemed by those outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in prescribing laws for that purpose hath somewhat

fallen, in leaving them to men's consultations, which may be deceived; so his care for conduct and government of the life to come, should (if it were possible) rise, in leaving less to the order of men than in times past." These are but weak and feeble disputes for the inference of that conclusion which is intended. For, saving only in such consideration as hath been shewed, there is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to manifest his favour by temporal blessings towards them than towards us. Godliness had unto them, and it hath also unto us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly; that more is left unto men's consultations in the one, and therefore less must be granted in the other; that God, having used a greater particularity with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of laws for government of the life to come: these are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confess that, which truth is, we know it not. God, which spake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son; those mysteries of grace and salvation which were but darkly disclosed unto them, have unto us more clearly shined. Such differences between them and us, the Apostles of Christ have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging unto the outward conduct or government of the Church; seeing that even in sense it is manifest, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by positive laws descended so far into particularities with us, as Moses with them; neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and prophets, direct us, as them he did, in those things which rising daily by new occasions, are of necessity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws?

Yea, but the Apostle St. Paul doth fearfully charge Timothy, even "in the sight of God who quickeneth all, and of Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous confession before Pontius Pilate, to keep what was commanded him safe and sound, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." This doth exclude all liberty of changing the laws of Christ, whether by abrogation, or addition, or howsoever. For in Timothy the

1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. John xviii. 36, 37.

Book III. Ch. xi.

whole Church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty; and that charge is to keep the Apostle's commandment; and his commandment did contain the laws that concerned church-government; and those laws he straitly requireth to be observed without breach or blame till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In Scripture we grant every one man's lesson to be the common instruction of all men, so far forth as their cases are alike; and that religiously to keep the Apostle's commandments in whatsoever they may concern us, we all stand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the Apostle's precise meaning, if we extend it so largely that the arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some special commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, "Keep the ordinances, laws, and constitutions, which thou hast received; but τὴν ἐντολὴν, that great commandment which doth principally concern thee and thy calling:" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter: that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, "Attend to yourselves, and to all the flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his own blood:" finally, that commandment which unto the same Timothy is by the same Apostle, even in the same form and manner afterwards again urged, "I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance, and in his kingdom, preach the word of God." When Timothy was instituted into that office, then was the credit and trust of his duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the Gospel was then given him, "as the precious talent or treasure of Jesus Christ;" then received he, for performance of this duty, "the special gift of the Holy Ghost." To keep this commandment immaculate and blameless, "was to teach the Gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound doctrine;" such as a number even in those times intermingled with the mysteries of Christian belief. "Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so," doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the

John xxi. 15.

Acts xx. 28.

2 Tim. iv. 1.

1 Tim. vi. 20 τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

1 Tim. iv. 14.

time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved; according to that of St. Paul concerning himself, "I have kept the faith; for the residue there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall in that day render unto me." 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in heaven; the crown of righteousness which shall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour must rest in hope. "O Timothy, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou hast received, keep till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." In which sense, although we judge the Apostle's words to have been uttered; yet hereunto do we not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken as to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the Church unto some things, whereof Timothy received charge, as namely, unto that precept concerning the choice of widows: so as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church, were commanded for perpetuity; and we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be, though positive, yet perpetual in the Church.

They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure, if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: whereas now they themselves, both granting and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ de-

livered no inconvenient or unmeet laws; sundry of ours they hold inconvenient; therefore such laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's; being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very laws so added, they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess, both in matter of prescript attire and of rites appertaining to burial. Their own protestations are, that they plead against the inconveniences not the unlawfulness of popish apparel;[a] and against the inconvenience not the unlawfulness of ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield that no law of Christ forbiddeth addition unto church laws.

The judgment of Calvin being alleged against them, to whom of all men they attribute most;[b] whereas his words be plain, that for ceremonies and external discipline the Church hath power to make laws: the answer which hereunto they make is, "That indefinitely the speech is true, and that so it was meant by him; namely, that some things belonging unto external discipline and ceremonies are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline and all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, inasmuch as the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate." Again, "Excommunication is a part of external discipline,

[a] "My reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and expedience of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 241. And in the table: "Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness, of popish apparel and ceremonies in burial."

[b] "Upon the indefinite speaking of Mr. Calvin, saying, ceremonies and external discipline, without adding *all* or *some*, you go about subtilly to make men believe, that Mr. Calvin had placed the whole external discipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all external discipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church, excommunication also (which is a part of it) might be cast away; which I think you will not say."—And in the very next words before: "Where you would give to understand, that ceremonies and external discipline are not prescribed particularly by the word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church; you must understand, that all external discipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly prescribed in the Scriptures, no more than all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." T. C. lib. i. p. 32.

which might also be cast away, if all external discipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the Church." Book III. Ch. xi.

By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the names of ceremony and external discipline, they gladly would have us so understood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them, is, that they overmuch abridge the Church of her power in these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline containeth were at the Church's free choice: so that we might either have church-governors, and government, or want them; either retain or reject church-censures as we list. They wonder at us as at men which think it so indifferent what the Church doth in matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we judge the very Sacraments themselves to be held at the Church's pleasure.

No, the name of ceremonies we do not use in so large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compass and reach thereof; although things belonging unto the outward form and seemly administration of them are contained in that name, even as we use it. For the name of ceremonies we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this sort: "The doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto; but the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected." T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. Besides, in the matter of external discipline, or regiment itself, we do not deny but there are some things whereto the Church is bound till the world's end. So as the question is only, How far the bounds of the Church's liberty do reach? We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make laws and orders for itself doth extend unto sundry things of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Church's authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing against us about this point, they take their compass a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford; producing reasons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by addition

Book III. Ch. xi.

or diminution, great or small (for so their manner of disputing is): we are constrained to make our defence by shewing, that Christ hath not deprived his Church so far of all liberty in making orders and laws for itself, and that they themselves do not think he hath so done. For are they able to shew that all particular customs, rites, and orders of reformed Churches have been appointed by Christ himself? No: they grant, that in matter of circumstance they alter that which they have received;[a] but in things of substance they keep the laws of Christ without change. If we say the same in our own behalf, (which surely we may with a great deal more truth,) then must they cancel all that hath been before alleged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retain the laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea, or no. For our constant persuasion in this point is as theirs, that we have no where altered the laws of Christ farther than in such particularities only as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to be made, sacraments to be ministered, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of these, somewhat Christ hath commanded, which must be kept till the world's end. On the contrary side, in every of them somewhat there may be added, as the Church shall judge it expedient. So that if they will speak to purpose, all which hitherto hath been disputed of, they must give over, and stand upon such particulars only as they can shew we have either added or abrogated otherwise than we ought in the matter of church-polity. Whatsoever Christ hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the same we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatsoever our laws have thereunto added besides, of such quality we hope it is as no law of Christ doth any where condemn.

Wherefore, that all may be laid together and gathered into
I. a narrow room: First, so far forth as the Church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth

[a] "We deny not but certain things are left to the order of the Church, because they are of the nature of those which are varied by times, places, persons, and other circumstances, and so could not at once be set down and established for ever." T. C. lib. i. p. 27.

no external polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness, is itself alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want. Book III. Ch. xi.

II. Secondly, whereas therefore it cometh in the second place to be inquired, what laws are fittest and best for the Church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for herself, inclined (as it should seem) thereunto; for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of Holy Scripture, subject to that reproof which the Scripture itself useth in certain cases, when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, "The word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church." St. Augustine was of another mind, who, speaking of fasts on the Sunday, saith, "That he which would choose out that day to fast on, should give thereby no small offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary custom. For in these things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the use of the people of God, or the ordinances of our fathers, must serve for a law. In which case, if we will dispute, and condemn one sort by another's custom, it will be but matter of endless contention; where, forasmuch as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into men's heads any certain or necessary truth, surely it standeth us upon to take heed, lest, with the tempest of strife, the brightness of charity and love be darkened." If all things must be commanded of God which may be practised of his Church, I would know what commandment the Gileadites had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the book of Joshua. Did not congruity of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandment the women of Israel had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of Jephthah's daughter; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of dedication, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by our Saviour himself; what commandment, finally, they had for the ceremony of odours used about the bodies of the

Isa. xxix. 14. Col. ii. 22.

August. Ep. 36.

Josh. xxii.

Judg. xi. 40.

John x. 22.

Book III. Ch. xi. John xix. 40.

dead, after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom) our Lord was contented that his own most precious body should be entombed. Wherefore to reject all orders of the Church which men have established, is to think worse of the laws of men in this respect, than either the judgment of wise men alloweth, or the law of God itself will bear.

Howbeit, they which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, saw it was necessary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold, that needs there must be in Scripture set down a complete particular form of church-polity, a form prescribing how all the affairs of the Church must be ordered, a form in no respect lawful to be altered by mortal men. For reformation of which oversight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Christian love and charity to instruct them better, and to open unto them the difference between matters of perpetual necessity to all men's salvation, and matters of ecclesiastical polity: the one both fully and plainly taught in Holy Scripture; the other not necessary to be in such sort there prescribed: the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men; the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former opinion were presently seconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loath that the form of church-polity which they sought to bring in, should be otherwise than in

I. the highest degree accounted of, took, First, An exception against the difference between church-polity and matters of

II. necessity to salvation. Secondly, Against the restraint of Scripture, which (they say) receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matter of polity,

III. as of faith and salvation. Thirdly, Constrained thereby we have been, therefore, both to maintain that distinction as a thing not only true in itself, but by them likewise so acknow-

IV. ledged, though unawares. Fourthly, And to make manifest that from Scripture, we offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto doth claim, inasmuch as by us it is willingly confessed, that the Scripture of God is a storehouse abounding with inestimable treasures of wisdom and knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one kind barely necessary; yea, even that matters of ecclesiastical

polity are not therein omitted but taught also, albeit not so taught as those other things before mentioned. For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing ever can need to be added, nothing ever cease to be necessary: these, on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in Scripture, but that unto the complete form of church-polity, much may be requisite which the Scripture teacheth not; and much which it hath taught become unrequisite, sometimes because we need not use it, sometimes also because we cannot. In which respect, for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed Churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture, I mean the government that is by Bishops, inasmuch as both those Churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy, it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble: this their defect and imperfection, I had rather lament in such a case than exagitate; considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is the best; and to content themselves with that which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present, hath cast upon them.

V. Fifthly, Now, because that position first mentioned, which holdeth it necessary that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own regiment be commanded in Holy Scripture, hath by the later defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over-extreme, are notwithstanding loath to acknowledge any oversight therein, and therefore labour what they may to salve it up by construction; we have for the more perspicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the first.

VI. Sixthly, How injurious a thing it were unto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning.

VII. Seventhly, And how imperfect their interpretations are, who so much labour to help it either by dividing commandments of Scripture into two kinds, and so defending, that all things must be commanded, if not in special, yet in general precepts.

VIII. Eighthly, Or by taking it as meant, that in case the Church do devise any new order, she ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any star-light

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of man's reason. Ninthly, Both which evasions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what sort the Church may lawfully frame to herself laws of polity, and in what reckoning such positive laws both are with God, and should be with men. Tenthly, Furthermore, because to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himself had devised some certain laws, and committed them to sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, should presume to alter and change them; it was of necessity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing those his laws unto Scripture, be sufficient arguments to prove that God doth in no case allow they should suffer any such kind of change. Eleventhly, The last refuge for proof, that divine laws of Christian church-polity may not be altered, by extinguishment of any old, or addition of new in that kind, is partly a marvellous strange discourse, that Christ (unless he should shew himself not so faithful as Moses, or not so wise as Lycurgus and Solon)[a] must needs have set down in Holy Scripture some certain complete and unchangeable form of polity; and partly a coloured show of some evidence, where change of that sort of laws may seem expressly forbidden, although in truth nothing less be done.

IX.

X.

XI.

I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular disputes, as, The Church is a city, yea, the city of the great King; and the life of a city is polity. The Church is the house of the living God; and what house can there be without some order for the government of it? In the royal house of a prince, there must be officers for government, such as not any servant in the house, but the prince, whose the house is, shall judge convenient; so the house of God must have orders for the government of it, such as not any of the household, but God himself, hath appointed. It cannot stand with the love and wisdom of God to leave such order untaken as is necessary for the due government of his Church. The

[a] "Nisi reip. suæ statum omnem constituerit, magistratus ordinarit, singulorum munera potestatemque descripserit, quæ judiciorum forique ratio habenda? quomodo civium finiendæ lites? non solum minus Ecclesiæ Christianæ providit, quam Moses olim Judaicæ, sed quam a Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, civitatibus suis prospectum sit." Lib. de Ecclesiast. Discip.

numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of Solomon's servants, did shew his wisdom; therefore he which is greater than Solomon hath not failed to leave in his house such orders for government thereof as may serve to be as a looking-glass for his providence care, and wisdom, to be seen in. That little spark of the light of nature which remaineth in us, may serve us for the affairs of this life; "But as in all other matters concerning the kingdom of heaven, so principally in this which concerneth the very government of that kingdom, needful it is we should be taught of God. As long as men are persuaded of any order that it is only of men, they presume of their own understanding, and they think to devise another not only as good, but better than that which they have received. By severity of punishment this presumption and curiosity may be restrained. But that cannot work such cheerful obedience as is yielded where the conscience hath respect to God as the author of laws and orders. This was it which countenanced the laws of Moses, made concerning outward polity for the administration of holy things. The like some lawgivers of the heathens did pretend, but falsely; yet wisely discerning the use of this persuasion. For the better obedience' sake therefore it was expedient that God should be author of the polity of his Church."

But to what issue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with such discourses were of nothing more fully persuaded than of this, that the Scripture hath set down a complete form of church-polity, universal, perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For so it would follow, if the premises were sound and strong to such effect as is pretended. Notwithstanding, they which have thus formally maintained argument in defence of the first oversight, are by the very evidence of truth themselves constrained to make this in effect their conclusion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning church-polity; that of those many some are of greater weight, some of less; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of laws, it extendeth in truth no farther than only to laws wherein things of greater moment are prescribed. Now these things of greater moment, what are they? Forsooth, "doctors, pastors, lay-elders, elderships compounded of these three; synods, consisting of many elder-

The Defence of godly Ministers against Dr. Bridges, p. 133.

ships; deacons, women-church-servants, or widows; free consent of the people unto actions of greatest moment, after they be by churches or synods orderly resolved." All this form of polity (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and those not all of the soundest neither) but howsoever, all this form they conclude is prescribed in such sort, that to add to it any thing as of like importance (for so I think they mean), or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which resolution if they will firmly and constantly persist, I see not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been disputed of, they must agree, that they have molested the Church with needless opposition; and henceforward, as we said before, betake themselves wholly unto the trial of particulars, whether every of those things which they esteem as principal, be either so esteemed of, or at all established for perpetuity in Holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our church-polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things, or in smaller.

The matters wherein church-polity is conversant, are the public religious duties of the Church, as the administration of the word and sacraments, prayers, spiritual censures, and the like. To these the Church standeth always bound. Laws of polity, are laws which appoint in what manner these duties shall be performed. In performance whereof, because all that are of the Church cannot jointly and equally work, the first thing in polity required, is a difference of persons in the Church, without which difference those functions cannot in orderly sort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that God's clergy are a state, which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon earth, necessarily by the plain word of God himself; a state whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject, as touching things that appertain to their soul's health. For where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders
Luke vi. 39. of others, and some to be led by others. "If the blind lead the blind, they both perish." It is with the clergy, if their persons be respected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of polity,
Matt. v. 14. they being the "lights of the world," others (though better

and wiser) must that way be subject unto them. Again, forasmuch as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be distinguished; we hold there have ever been and ever ought to be in such case, at leastwise, two sorts of ecclesiastical persons, the one subordinate unto the other; as to the Apostles in the beginning, and to the Bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture, and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the word and sacraments have been. Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think it lawful, that every man, which listeth, should take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a solemn admittance is of such necessity, that without it there can be no church-polity. A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of these principal and perpetual parts in ecclesiastical polity, but yet are not of such constant use and necessity in God's Church. Of this kind are, time and places appointed for the exercise of religion; specialties belonging to the public solemnity of the word, the sacraments, and prayer; the enlargement or abridgment of functions ministerial, depending upon those two principals before-mentioned; to conclude, even whatsoever doth by way of formality and circumstance concern any public action of the Church. Now although that, which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind, be for ever permanent: yet in the latter, both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God shall always need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the form of polity by them set down for perpetuity, is three ways faulty. Faulty in omitting some things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely, the difference that ought to be of pastors, when they grow to any great multitude: faulty in requiring doctors, deacons, widows, and such like, as things of perpetual necessity by the law of God, which in truth are nothing less: faulty also in urging some things by Scripture immutable; as their lay-elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find, or they have been hitherto able to prove. But hereof more in the books that follow.

As for those marvellous discourses whereby they adventure

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to argue, that God must needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I must confess, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is, whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete, particular, immutable form of church-polity, why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour to prove he should have done it; there being no way in this case to prove the deed of God, saving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a legacy by force and virtue of some written testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth, that there it must needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good-will which always the testator bore him; imagining, that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in congruity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his Church, are more in number than we can search; other in nature than that we should presume to determine, which of many should be the fittest for them to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who, and where we are, we forget. And therefore needful it is, that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed Apostle, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counsellor?"

Rom. xi. 33, 34.

BOOK IV.

CONCERNING THEIR THIRD ASSERTION, THAT OUR FORM OF CHURCH-POLITY IS CORRUPTED WITH POPISH ORDERS, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, BANISHED OUT OF CERTAIN REFORMED CHURCHES, WHOSE EXAMPLE THEREIN WE OUGHT TO HAVE FOLLOWED.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FOURTH BOOK.

1. How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.
2. The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, That we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.
3. The second, That so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth; and the reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blameworthy.
4. How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments against Popish Ceremonies.
5. An answer to the argument, whereby they would prove, That sith we allow the customs of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are of that Church as of our fathers.
6. To their allegation, That the course of God's own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.
7. To the example of the eldest Church, which they bring for the same purpose.
8. That it is not our best Polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unsound.
9. That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our Ceremonies than the former allegations have done.
10. The grief which, they say, godly Brethren conceive at such Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.
11. The third thing for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies is, For that as we have them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Jews.
12. The fourth, For that sundry of them have been (they say) abused unto idolatry, and are by that means become scandalous.
13. The fifth, For that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.
14. A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for the establishment of things as they are.

How great use ceremonies have in the Church.

I. Such was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loath to give

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sentence against any thing publicly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderful apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The state of this present age wherein zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved, by whomsoever. Those rites and ceremonies of the Church, therefore, which are the self-same now that they were when holy and virtuous men maintained them against profane and deriding adversaries, her own children have at this day in derision. Whether justly or no, it shall then appear, when all things are heard which they have to allege against the outward received orders of this Church. Which inasmuch as themselves do compare unto mint and cummin,[a] granting them to be no part of those things which in the matter of polity are weightier, we hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long.

The sifting of that which is objected against the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to discuss only those general exceptions, which have been taken at any time against them. First, therefore, to the end that their nature, and use whereto they serve, may plainly appear, and so afterwards their quality the better be discerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main public duty which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, besides that matter and form wherein the essence thereof consisteth, a certain outward fashion whereby the same is in decent sort administered. The substance of all religious actions is delivered from God himself in few words. For example's sake in the sacraments. "Unto the element let the word be added, and they both do make a sacrament," saith St. Augustine. Baptism is given by the element of water, and that prescript form of words which the Church of Christ doth use; the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is administered in the elements of bread and wine, if those

[In Ioan. Tract. 80. §. 3.]

[a] Matt. xxiii. 23. "The Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto: but the Ceremonies also, as 'mint and cummin,' ought not to be neglected." T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

mystical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of administering those holy sacraments doth require a great deal more.

The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof, in such actions, it behoveth all men to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore unto this purpose not only speech, but sundry sensible means besides have always been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and strong impression: from hence have risen not only a number of prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible signs also, which being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter as men when they know and remember carefully must needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect such duties serve. We must not think but that there is some ground of reason even in nature, whereby it cometh to pass that no nation under heaven either doth or ever did suffer some public actions which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal, or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity: the very strangeness whereof, and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same. Words, both because they are common and do not so strongly move the fancy of man, are for the most part but slightly heard; and therefore, with singular wisdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of men which are made in the presence of witnesses should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be. The things which so long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it

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doth not conceive, might ask wherefore Abraham should say to his servant, "Put thy hand under my thigh and swear;" was it not sufficient for his servant to shew the religion of an oath, by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unless that strange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains, and conveyances, a man's word is a token sufficient to express his will. Yet "this was the ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging, to establish all things; a man did pluck off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a sure witness in Israel." Amongst the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondered wherefore so great ado should be made? The master to present his slave in some court, to take him by the hand, and not only to say in the hearing of the public magistrate, "I will that this man become free;" but after these solemn words uttered, to strike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be shaved off, the magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him. To what purpose all this circumstance? Amongst the Hebrews how strange, and in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was minded to make himself a perpetual servant, should not only testify so much in the presence of the judge, but for a visible token thereof have also his ear bored through with an awl! It were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so far as they might be exemplified both in civil and religious actions. For in both they have their necessary use and force. "These sensible things which religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct."[a]

Gen. xxiv. 2.

Ruth iv. 7.

Exod. xxi. 6.

And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to religious duties such rites and ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new sacraments; sure I am they will not say that Numa Pompilius did ordain a sacrament, a significant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the priests "to execute the work of their divine service with their hands as far as to the fingers covered; thereby signifying that fidelity

[a] Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶς ἱερῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός. Dionys. p. 121.

must be defended, and that men's right hands are the sacred seat thereof."[a] Again, we are also to put them in mind, that themselves do not hold all significant ceremonies for sacraments, insomuch as imposition of hands they deny to be a sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible signification. For concerning it their words are these: "The party ordained by this ceremony was put in mind of his separation to the work of the Lord, that remembering himself to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himself now his own, nor to do what himself listeth; but to consider, that God hath set him about a work, which if he will discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himself of reward; and if otherwise, of revenge." Touching significant ceremonies, some of them are sacraments, some as sacraments only. Sacraments are those, which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace, which always really descended from God unto the soul that duly received them; other significant tokens are only as sacraments, yet no sacraments: which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apostles' imposition of hands these are their own words, "manuum signum hoc et quasi sacramentum usurparunt;" they used this sign, or as it were sacrament.

Eccles. dis. fol. 21.

Fol. 25.

II. Concerning rites and ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles; we have embraced more outward stateliness, we have those orders in the exercise of religion, which they who best pleased God, and served him most devoutly, never had. For it is out of doubt that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that customs, laws, and ordinances devised since are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is, to cut off later inventions, and to reduce

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness. Lib. Eccles. dis. et T. C. l. iii. p. 181.

[a] "Manu ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse." Liv. lib. i. [c. 21.]

Book IV. Ch. ii.

things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at least wise insufficient, if not both.

For in case it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us where we shall find it so exactly set down, that we may say, without all controversy, these were the orders of the Apostles' times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than these. True it is, that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea, many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles' writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in use should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well observed, it shall unto any man easily appear, that no more of them are there touched than were needful to be spoken of, sometimes by one occasion, and sometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records besides? Well assured I am they are far enough from acknowledging, that the Church ought to keep any thing as apostolical, which is not found in the Apostles' writings, in what other records soever it be found. And therefore, whereas St. Augustine affirmeth, that those things which the whole Church of Christ doth hold, may well be thought to be apostolical, although they be not found written;[a] this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here stand in defence of St. Augustine's opinion, which is, that such things are indeed apostolical, but yet with this exception; unless the decree of some general council have haply caused them to be received: for of positive laws and orders received throughout the whole Christian world, St. Augustine could imagine no other fountain, save these two. But to let pass St. Augustine, they who condemn him herein must needs confess it a very uncertain thing, what the orders of the Church were in the Apostles' times, seeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other records thereof besides they utterly reject.

[a] Tom. vii. de Bapt. contra Donatist. lib. v. cap. 23. T. C. l. iii. p. 181. "If this judgment of St. Augustine be a good judgment and sound, then there be some things commanded of God which are not in the Scripture; and, therefore, there is no sufficient doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be saved. For all the commandments of God and of the Apostles are needful for our salvation." Vide Ep. 118.

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So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apostles' times, they tie it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unless they require the observation of no orders but only those which are known to be apostolical by the Apostles' own writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should use it as a touchstone to try the orders of the Church by for ever.

Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of the Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of our only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right sure, their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church-feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the self-same with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is.

Let the state of the people of God when they were in the house of bondage, and their manner of serving God in a strange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jerusalem did afford; and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt, it may be, they were

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right glad to take some corner of a poor cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the less accepted of God: but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length, by working of their admirable deliverance, did testify that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very desert they are no sooner possessed of some little thing of their own, but a tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and having David to be their king, when the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies, it grieved his religious mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of religion continuing still in the former manner: "Behold now I dwell in an house of cedar-trees, and the ark of God remaineth still within curtains." What he did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that Solomon, his son, should perform, and perform it in a manner suitable unto their present, not their ancient estate and condition. For which cause Solomon writeth unto the king of Tyrus: "The house which I build is great and wonderful; for great is our God above all gods." Whereby it clearly appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatness and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend simplicity of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude, therefore, between us and the Apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

2 Sam. vii. 2.

2 Chron. ii. 10.

Our orders and ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth. Eccles. disc. fol. 12. T. C. l. i. p. 131. T. C. l. i. p. 20. T. C. l. i. p. 25.

III. Yea, but we have framed ourselves to the customs of the Church of Rome; our orders and ceremonies are papistical. It is espied that our church-founders were not so careful as in this matter they should have been, but contented themselves with such discipline as they took from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reform by abolishing all popish orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with papists, neither in doctrine, ceremonies, nor government. It is not enough that we are divided from the Church of Rome by the single wall of doctrine, retaining as we do part of their ceremonies and almost their whole government; but government or ceremonies, or whatsoever it be which is popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquishment of all things popish. Wherein, to the end we may answer

them according to their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtful speech, whereby controversies grow always endless; their main position being this, that nothing should be placed in the Church but what God in his word hath commanded, they must of necessity hold all for popish which the Church of Rome hath over and besides this. By popish orders, ceremonies, and government, they must therefore mean in every of these so much as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandment of God's word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the Church of Rome hath it also, it goeth under the name of those things that are popish, yea although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying, "Although the forms and ceremonies which they (the Church of Rome) used were not unlawful, and that they continued nothing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet notwithstanding neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches, both Jewish and Christian, do permit us to use the same forms and ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they, and rather better, be established." The question therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in those orders, rites, and ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or else ought to devise others, and to have no conformity with them, no not so much as in these things. In this sense and construction therefore as they affirm, so we deny, that whatsoever is popish we ought to abrogate.

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

Their arguments to prove that generally all popish orders and ceremonies ought to be clean abolished, are in sum these: "First, whereas we allow the judgment of St. Augustine, that touching those things of this kind, which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to observe the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers; how can we retain the customs and constitutions of the papists in such things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?" Secondly, "Although the forms and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldest churches of God, nor reason, do permit us to use the same,

T. C. l. i. p. 30.

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

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they being heretics and so near about us, and their orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet such, but that as good or rather better may be established. It is against the word of God to have conformity with the Church of Rome in such things, as appeareth in that the wisdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his people from infection of idolatry and superstition, by severing them from idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themselves very lawful to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was careful to sever them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so careful to sever them from any as from the Egyptians amongst whom they lived, and from those nations which were next neighbours to them, because from them was the greatest fear of infection." So that following the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, "it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the papists which are so near." Touching the example of the eldest churches of God, in one council it was decreed, that Christians should not deck their houses with bay leaves and green boughs, because the pagans did use so to do; and that they should not rest from their labours those days that the pagans did; that they should not keep the first day of every month as they did. Another council decreed that Christians should not celebrate feasts on the birth-days of the martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen. "O! (saith Tertullian,) better is the religion of the heathen: for they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day,[a] neither the Pentecost; and if they knew them they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid lest they should seem Christians; but we are not afraid to be called heathens." The same Tertullian would not have Christians to sit after they have prayed, because the idolaters did so. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Christians should not be like the idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be used or

T. C. l. i. p. 132.

Tom. ii. Braca. 73.

Con. Afric. cap. 27.

[a] "Lib. de Idolat. [c. 14.] He seemeth to mean the feast of Easter-day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's resurrection, and for that cause termed the Lord's day. Lib. de Anima.

not used. The same conformity is not less opposite unto reason; first inasmuch as "contraries must be cured by their contraries; and therefore popery, being anti-christianity, is not healed but by establishment of orders thereunto opposite. The way to bring a drunken man to sobriety is to carry him as far from excess of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked stick, we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the first on that side from whence we draw it; and so it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect straightness. Utter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome in these things is the best and surest policy which the Church can use. While we use their ceremonies, they take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies. They hereby conceive great hope of having the rest of their popery in the end, which hope causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness. Neither is it without cause that they have this hope, considering that which Mr. Bucer noteth upon the eighteenth of St. Matthew, that where these things have been left, popery hath returned; but, on the other part, in places which have been cleansed of these things, it hath not yet been seen that it hath any entrance. None make such clamours for these ceremonies as the papists, and those whom they suborn; a manifest token how much they triumph and joy in these things. They breed grief of mind in a number that are godly-minded, and have anti-christianity in such detestation, that their minds are martyred with the very sight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but also danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which popish ceremonies are means to breed." This, in effect, is the sum and substance of that which they bring by way of opposition against those orders which we have common with the Church of Rome; these are the reasons wherewith they would prove our ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

T. C. l. iii. p. 180.

IV. Before we answer unto these things, we are to cut off that whereunto they, from whom these objections proceed, do oftentimes fly for defence and succour, when the force and strength of their argument is elided. For the ceremonies in

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reason evicteth that all

use amongst us being in no other respect retained, saving only for that to retain them is to our seeming good and profitable; yea, so profitable and so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else removed them, so as to place in their stead others, we had done worse; the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies, as they require to be abolished, are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they saw how hardly they should be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our Church under the name of being popish. The cause why this way seemed better unto them was, for that the name of popery is more odious than very paganism amongst divers of the more simple sort; so whatsoever they hear named popish, they presently conceive deep hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with strong clamours. "The Church of England is fraught with popish ceremonies: they that favour the cause of reformation, maintain nothing but the sincerity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: all such as withstand them fight for the laws of his sworn enemy, uphold the filthy relics of antichrist, and are defenders of that which is popish." These are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude so many sighs; with these tunes their minds are exasperated against the lawful guides and governors of their souls; these are the voices that fill them with general discontentment, as though the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisome than any dungeon. But when the authors of so scandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how can they justify such their dealings? When they are urged directly to answer, whether it be lawful for us to use any such ceremonies as the Church of Rome useth, although the same be not commanded in the word of God; being driven to see that the use of some such ceremonies must of necessity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are just of the same opinion, and that they only think such ceremonies are not to be used when they are unprofitable, or "when as good or better may be esta-

such ceremonies are not to be abolished, make answer, that when they condemn popish ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies unprofitable, or ceremonies, instead whereof as good or better may be devised: they cannot hereby get out of the briars, but contradict and gainsay themselves; inasmuch as their usual manner is to prove, that ceremonies uncommanded in the Church of God, and yet used in the Church of Rome, are for this very cause unprofitable to us, and not so good as others in their place would be.

blished."[a] Which answer is both idle in regard of us, and also repugnant to themselves.

It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this answer, because they know that what ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such, that others instead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish ceremonies as are unprofitable, or else might have other more profitable in their stead, they trifle, and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us, unless they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romish ceremonies, which in their judgment have either no use, or less use than some other might have. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this case. Otherwise, their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *methinketh* unto the orders of the Church of England: as in the question about surplices one of them doth; "If we look to the colour, black methinks is the more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comeliness in it." If they think that we ought to prove the ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themselves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held so long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have stood up as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must prove their challenge. If we being defendants do answer, that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childish and unorderly, to say, that we demand the thing in question,[b] and shew the poverty of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our

Eccles. Discip. fol. 100.

[a] "What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to use the same ceremonies which the papists did; when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expressly added, that they are not to be used when as good or better may be established." T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

[b] T. C. l. iii. p. 176. "As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of demanding the thing in question, and an undoubted argument of your extreme poverty."

adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth rest on them. In them it is frivolous to say, we ought not to use bad ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselves to dislike, unless we can persuade them the contrary.

Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselves. For what one thing is so common with them, as to use the custom of the Church of Rome for an argument to prove, that such and such ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inasmuch as that church useth them? Which usual kind of disputing sheweth, that they do not disallow only those Romish ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romish, that is to say, which have been devised by the Church of Rome, or which are used in that church, and not prescribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can use suitable unto their other positions. And therefore the cause which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in doctrine and in discipline some things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is for that those good things are perpetual commandments, in whose place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatsoever by the word of God is not unchangeable in the Church of Rome, that church's using is a cause why reformed churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And lest we seem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, "that we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any their ceremonies;" yea, they urge that this cause, although it were alone, "ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, forasmuch as they are their ceremonies:" and that the Bishop of Salisbury doth justify this their complaint.[a] The clause is untrue which they add concerning the Bishop of Salisbury, but the sentence

[a] "And that this complaint of ours is just in that we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any of their ceremonies; and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, forasmuch as they are their ceremonies; the reader may further see in the Bishop of Salisbury, who brings divers proofs thereof." T. C. l. iii. p. 177.

doth shew, that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the Church of England all such orders, rites, and ceremonies as are established in the Church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

V. Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for catholics, or hold them for heretics, it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. Augustine hath said, yea and we have allowed his saying, "That the custom of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers, are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge." What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good, if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of latter laws in the Church be good; which were a gross absurdity to think. St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law, and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own Churches, although the same were but yesterday made by ourselves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the Church of England might not by law receive orders, rites, or customs from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much less, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themselves receive from such as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea such as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers, or else disdain the race of Christ?

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Book IV. Ch. vi.

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, maketh not against our conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.

VI. The rites and orders wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kind than such as the Church of Geneva itself doth follow them in. We follow the Church of Rome in more things; yet they in some things of the same nature, about which our present controversy is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we do follow the Church of Rome. The use of wafer-cakes, the custom of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the Church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in such things a blemish unto the Church of England, and unto churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this Church, (in the bowels whereof they have received, I trust, that precious and blessed vigour, which shall quicken them to eternal life,) yet at the leastwise for the singular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead, that even such ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as contain in them nothing which is not of itself agreeable to the word of God, ought nevertheless to be abolished; and that neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches do permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed.

Heretics they are, and they are our neighbours. By us and amongst us they lead their lives. But what then? therefore is no ceremony of theirs lawful for us to use? We must yield and will that none are lawful, if God himself be a precedent against the use of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby, they say, it doth appear, in that "God severed his people from the heathens, but especially from the Egyptians, and such nations as were nearest neighbours unto them, by forbidding them to do those things which were in themselves very lawful to be done, yea, very profitable some, and incommodious to be forborne; such things it pleased God to forbid them, only because those heathens did them, with whom conformity in the same thing might have bred infection. Thus in shaving, cutting, apparel-wearing, yea, in sundry kinds of meats also, swine's flesh, conies, and such like,

T. C. l. i. p. 89, 131. Levit. xviii. 3.

Levit. xix. 27; xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11; xiv. 7. Levit. xi.

they were forbidden to do so and so, because the Gentiles did so. And the end why God forbade them such things was to sever them, for fear of infection, by a great and an high wall, from other nations, as St. Paul teacheth." The cause of more careful separation from the nearest nations was, the greatness of danger to be especially by them infected. Now, papists are to us as those nations were unto Israel. Therefore, if the wisdom of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any such indifferent ceremonies.

Ephes. ii. 11.

Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleged we may still doubt, whether the Lord, in such indifferent ceremonies as those whereof we dispute, did frame his people of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with Egyptians or with any other nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although papists were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. "After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein you dwelt, ye shall not do, saith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their ordinances: do after my judgments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein: I am the Lord your God." The speech is indefinite, "Ye shall not be like them:" it is not general, "Ye shall not be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs." Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth further than to those things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, "Do after my judgments," as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things as were repugnant unto the ordinances, laws, and statutes which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example's sake named unto them, because the customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be, best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either

Lev. xviii. 3.

of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawful, although those nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think that God, for fear of infection by reason of nearness, forbade them to be like unto the Canaanites, or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in those nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itself, yet forbidden only because they used it. In the laws of Israel we find it written, "Ye shall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard." These things were usual amongst those nations, and in themselves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being used as signs of immoderate and hopeless lamentation for the dead? In this sense it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which cause the very next words following are, "Ye shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you: I am the Lord." The like in Leviticus, where speech is of mourning for the dead: "They shall not make bald parts upon their head, nor shave off the locks of their beard, nor make any cutting in their flesh." Again, in Deuteronomy, "Ye are the children of the Lord your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make you baldness between your eyes for the dead." What is this but in effect the same which the Apostle doth more plainly express, saying, "Sorrow not as they do who have no hope?" The very light of nature itself was able to see herein a fault; that which those nations did use, having been also in use with others, the ancient Roman laws do forbid. That shaving therefore and cutting, which the law doth mention, was not a matter in itself indifferent, and forbidden only because it was in use amongst such idolaters as were neighbours to the people of God; but to use it had been a crime, though no other people or nation under heaven should have done it saving only themselves. As for those laws concerning attires: "There shall no garment of linen and woollen come upon thee;" as also those touching food and diet, wherein swine's flesh, together with sundry other meats, are forbidden; the use of these things had been indeed of itself harmless and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbade, in some special consideration, such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even

Levit. xix. 27.

ver. 28.

Levit. xxi. 5.

Deut. xiv. 1.

1 Thess. iv. 13.

Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11.

here they likewise fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration, in regard whereof the law forbiddeth these things, was because those nations did use them. Likely enough it is, that the Canaanites used to feed as well on sheep as on swine's flesh; and therefore, if the forbidding of the latter had no other reason than dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads allege this for reason, can shew I think some reason more than we are able to find why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not be some other mystery in this prohibition than they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likelihood. For what reason is there, which should but induce, and therefore much less enforce us to think, that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charging them withal not to sow their fields with meslin; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat swine's flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of eagles, hawks, and the like? Wherefore, although the Church of Rome were to us, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow, that the wisdom of God, without respect, doth teach us to erect, between us and them, a partition-wall of difference, in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

Book IV. Ch. vii.

Deut. xiv. 7. Levit. xi. Levit. xix. 19.

Deut. xiv. Levit. xi.

Ephes. ii. 14.

VII. Neither is the example of the eldest churches a whit more available to this purpose. Notwithstanding some fault undoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of idolaters.[a] Were it not some kind of blemish to be like unto infidels and heathens, it would not so usually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the causes of religion to be able therewith justly to charge their adversaries as they do. Wherefore, to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath, and how far the same extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally desirous, that they may seem neither to judge nor to do amiss; because every error and

That the example of the eldest churches is not herein against us.

[a] "The Councils, although they did not observe themselves always in making of decrees this rule, yet have they kept this consideration continually in making of their laws, that they would have Christians differ from others in their ceremonies." T. C. l. i. p. 132.

offence is a stain to the beauty of nature, for which cause it blushes thereat, but glorieth in the contrary; from whence it riseth, that they which disgrace or depress the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of these. To have been in either directed by a weak and imperfect rule, argueth imbecility and imperfection. Men being either led by reason, or by imitation of other men's examples, if their persons be odious, whose example we choose to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned heretics think, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lies as a heavy prejudice against us, unless somewhat mightier than their bare example did move us to think or do the same things with them. Christian men therefore having, besides the common light of all men, so great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the lamps of so bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily seem reproachful for us to leave both the one and the other to become disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the heathens either in opinion or in action; and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example; which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable.

Faustus, the Manichee, therefore, objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the Gentiles, but their temples, and oblations, and altars, and priesthoods, and all kinds of ministry of holy things, they exercised even as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the Catholic Christians likewise, that between them and the heathens there was in many things little difference; "From them (saith Faustus) ye have learned to hold that one only God is the author of all; their sacrifices ye have turned into feasts of charity, their idols into martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates; the festival-days of the nations ye celebrate together with them; and of their

August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. xx. cap. 4.

kind of life ye have utterly changed nothing." St. Augustine's defence, in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of action, Jews and Catholic Christians were free from the Gentiles' faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles; and, concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentiles, because Gentiles had so taught, but because heaven and earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could err in being fully persuaded thereof, nor the other but err in case they should not consent with them.

In things of their own nature indifferent, if either councils, or particular men, have at any time with sound judgment misliked conformity between the Church of God and infidels, the cause thereof hath been somewhat else than only affectation or dissimilitude; they saw it necessary so to do in respect of some special accident, which the Church, being not always subject unto, hath not still cause to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of trial, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over infidelity but through the constancy of his saints, whom yet a natural desire to save themselves from the flame might peradventure cause to join with pagans in external customs, too far using the same as a cloak to conceal themselves in, and a mist to darken the eyes of infidels withal; for remedy hereof those laws, it might be, were provided, which forbade that Christians should deck their houses with boughs as the pagans did use to do,[a] or rest those festival-days whereon the pagans rested, or celebrate such feasts as were, though not heathenish, yet such as the simpler sort of heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them.

As for Tertullian's judgment concerning the rites and orders of the Church, no man having judgment can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it.[b] His opinion touch-

[a] "Also, it was decreed in another council, that they should not deck their houses with bay-leaves and green boughs, because the pagans did use so; and that they should not rest from their labour those days that the pagans did, that they should not keep the first day of every month as they did." T. C. l. i. p. 132.

[b] "Tertullian saith, O, saith he, better is the religion of the heathen; for they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day, neither, &c. but we are not afraid

ing the Catholic Church was as unindifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is: he judged all them who did not Montanize to be but carnally minded, he judged them still over abjectly to fawn upon the heathens, and to curry favour with infidels; which as the Catholic Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so Tertullian over often through discontentment carpeth injuriously at them, as though they did it even when they were free from such meaning.

But if it were so that either the judgment of these councils before alleged, or of Tertullian himself against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be understood as we have mentioned; if it were so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for using the ceremonies of a religion contrary unto their own, and that this cause is such as ought to prevail no less with us than with them: shall it not follow, that seeing there is still between our religion and paganism the self-same contrariety, therefore we are no less rebukable, if we now deck our houses with boughs, or send new-year's gifts unto our friends, or feast on those days which the Gentiles then did, or sit after prayer as they were accustomed? For so they infer upon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may be there should be in all outward ceremonies between the people of God and them which are not his people. Again, they teach, as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatsoever rites and ceremonies uncommanded by God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of spiritual condition itself between the servants of Christ and others, requireth such difference in ceremonies between them, although the one be never so far disjoined in time or place from the other.

But in case the people of God and Belial do chance to be neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference, they say, is thereby made more necessary.

to be called heathen." T. C. l. i. p. 132. "But having shewed this in general to be the policy of God first, and of his people afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiously between the people of God and others which are not, I shall not," &c. T. C. l. i. p. 133.

In this respect, as the Jews were severed from the heathen, so most especially from the heathen nearest them. And in the same respect we, which ought to differ howsoever from the Church of Rome, are now, they say, by reason of our nearness, more bound to differ from them in ceremonies than from Turks. A strange kind of speech unto Christian ears, and such as, I hope, they themselves do acknowledge unadvisedly uttered; "We are not so much to fear infection from Turks as from papists." What of that? we must remember that by conforming rather ourselves in that respect to Turks, we should be spreaders of a worse infection into others than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies. If they did hate, as Turks do, the Christian, or as Canaanites did of old the Jewish religion, even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us, might haply enforce in us a duty of greater separation from them than from those other mentioned. But forasmuch as papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us than Turks, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our ceremonies of Christian religion should be popish, than Turkish or heathenish? especially considering that we were not brought to dwell amongst them (as Israel in Canaan), having not been of them: for even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, first to reform ourselves (whence grew our separation), and then by all good means to seek also their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions, but also estranged ourselves from them in things indifferent, who seeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to so good a cause, and what occasion it had given them to think (to their great obduration in evil), that, through a froward or wanton desire of innovation, we did unconstrainedly those things for which conscience was pretended? Howsoever the cause doth stand, as Judah had been rather to choose conformity in things indifferent with Israel when they were nearest opposites, than with the farthest removed pagans; so we in like cases, much rather with papists than with Turks. I might add further, for a more full and complete answer, so much concerning the large odds between the case of the eldest churches in regard of those heathens, and ours in respect of

the Church of Rome, that very cavillation itself should be satisfied, and have no shift to fly unto.

That it is not our best policy, for the establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome, being unsound.

VIII. But that no one thing may detain us over long, I return to their reasons against our conformity with that church. That extreme dissimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our best and safest policy for establishment of sound religion. The ground of which politic position is, "That evils must be cured by their contraries;" and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poison of anti-christianity, must be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be:[a] a medled estate of the orders of the Gospel and the ceremonies of popery, is not the best way to banish popery. We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a sick, and restore a diseased, body unto health, must not endeavour so much to bring it to a state of simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too. The first thing therefore in skilful cures is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the last is not only of the kind, but also of the measure, of contrary things whereby to remove it.

They which measure religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arians, in reformed churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief; no, not concerning God himself: but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of anti-christian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the bishop of the see of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mystical beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious

[a] "Common reason so doth teach, that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now, Christianity and anti-christianity, the Gospel and popery, be contraries; and therefore anti-christianity must be cured, not by itself, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it." T. C. l. i. p. 131.

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antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill are requisite to know what parts are sound in that church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparent, which complain of unsound parts, with what kind of unsoundness every such part is possessed. They can say, that in doctrine, in discipline, in prayers, in sacraments, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and gross corruptions; the nature whereof notwithstanding, because they have not for the most part exact skill and knowledge to discern, they think that amiss many times which is not, and the salve of reformation they mightily call for: but where and what the sores are which need it, as they wot full little, so they think it not greatly material to search. Such men's contentment must be wrought by stratagem; the usual method of art is not for them.

But with those that profess more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controversy about the manner of removing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helped, unless that also which is indifferent be cut off with it so far, till no rite or ceremony remain which the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great excess is not amiss, though we use them unto somewhat less than is competent;[a] and that a crooked stick is not straightened, unless it be bent as far on the clean contrary side, that so it may settle itself at the length in a middle estate of evenness between both. But how can these comparisons stand them in any stead? When they urge us to extreme opposition against the church of Rome, do they mean

[a] "If a man would bring a drunken man to sobriety, the best and nearest way is to carry him as far from his excess in drink as may be; and if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in prescribing less than he should drink, than to fault in giving him more than he ought. As we see, to bring a stick which is crooked to be straight, we do not only bow it so far until it come to be straight, but we bend it so far until we made it to be so crooked of the other side as it was before of the first side; to this end, that at the last it may stand straight, and as it were in the midway between both the crooks." T. C. l. i. p. 132.

we should be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? Or was it the purpose of those reformed churches, which utterly abolished all popish ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenness and moderation? Then have we conceived amiss of their meaning. For we have always thought their opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we should be drawn for a time; but the very mediocrity itself wherein they meant we should ever continue. Now by these comparisons it seemeth clean contrary, that howsoever they have bent themselves at first to an extreme contrariety against the Romish Church, yet therein they will continue no longer than only till such time as some more moderate course for establishment of the Church may be concluded.

Yea, albeit this were not at the first their intent, yet surely now there is great cause to lead them unto it. They have seen that experience of the former policy which may cause the authors of it to hang down their heads. When Germany had stricken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but seemed nevertheless in discipline still to retain therewith very great conformity; France, by that rule of policy which hath been before mentioned, took away the popish orders which Germany did retain. But process of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiving that they of the religion in France have also retained some orders which was before in the Church of Rome, and are not commanded in the word of God; there hath arisen a sect in England, which following still the very self-same rule of policy, seeketh to reform even the French reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of popery. These have not taken as yet such root that they are able to establish any thing. But if they had, what would spring out of their stock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of such policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to see, may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatsoever evil our swervings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the state of his Church!

That we are not to

IX. That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occasion

to blaspheme, and to say our religion is not able to stand of itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies,[a] is not a matter of so great moment that it did need to be objected, or doth deserve to receive an answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoe of Hercules on a child's foot. If the Church of Rome do use any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such ugly thing to the ear that we should think the honour and credit of our religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter do seem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of some new religion, the furniture whereof we should not have borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieving us might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty; whereas in truth the ceremonies which we have taken from such as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the Church of Christ, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the self-same interest in them which our fathers before us had, from whom the same are descended unto us. Again, in case we had been so much beholden privately unto them, doth the reputation of one church stand by saying unto another, "I need thee not?" If some should be so vile and impotent as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the least they suppose themselves to have bestowed some good turn; yet surely a wise body's part it were not, to put out his fire because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, "Were it not for me thou wouldst freeze, and not be able to heat thyself."

abolish our ceremonies either because papists upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are said hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes.

As for that other argument derived from the secret affection of papists, with whom our conformity in certain ceremonies is said to put them in great hope that their whole religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these ceremonies as papists, and such as papists suborn to speak for them, whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoice, how much they

a "By using of these ceremonies, the papists take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies." T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

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triumph in these things;[a] our answer hereunto is still the same, That the benefit we have by such ceremonies overweigheth this also. No man that is not exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to deliberate for ourselves, the freer our minds are from all distempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgment. When we are in a fretting mood at the Church of Rome, and with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our church, taking particular survey of them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our own orders. For the rule of our judgment in such case being only that of Homer, "This is the thing which our enemies would have;"[b] what they seem contented with, even for that very cause we reject: and there is nothing but it pleaseth us much the better, if we espy that it galleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that church, the weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those deliberations wherein such a humour as this were predominant. We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongst us, to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his church, took that which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing, only because the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be in every such thing their tormentors.

And whereas it is said, that popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished again,[c] but hath not been able to re-establish itself in any

[a] "To prove the papists triumph and joy in these things, I alleged further, that there are none which make such clamours for these ceremonies, as the papists and those whom they suborn." T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

[b] Ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος. Il. α'. [v. 255.]

[c] "Thus they conceiving hope of having the rest of their popery in the end, it

place after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all Romish ceremonies; and therefore, as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope than if all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be true; so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it better that the friends and favourers of the Church of Rome should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt religion restored, than both we and they conceive just fear lest, under colour of rooting out popery, the most effectual means to bear up the state of religion be removed, and so a way made either for paganism or for extreme barbarity to enter. If desire of weakening the hope of others should turn us away from the course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear, withhold us from that we are urged unto? especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not so certain what hope the rites and orders of our Church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no sufficient argument therefore to say, that in maintaining and urging these ceremonies, none are so clamorous as papists and they whom papists suborn; this speech being more hard to justify than the former, and so their proof more doubtful than the thing itself which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, must have marked who they be that speak for ceremonies; he must have noted, who amongst them doth speak oftenest or is most earnest; he must have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of such, and also privy to what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which allege this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all men know and see. And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be popish are eager in maintenance of ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing

causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness, &c. For not the cause but the occasion also ought to be taken away, &c. Although let the reader judge, whether they have cause given to hope, that the tail of popery yet remaining, they shall the easilier hale in the whole body after: considering also that Mr. Bucer noteth, that where these things have been left, there popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleansed of these dregs, it hath not been seen that it hath had any entrance." T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

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furthered by ill men of a sinister intent and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle to such as favour the same cause with a better and a sincerer meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of all popish orders out of the church, and reckon the state of bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute is holy. Notwithstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cause, which they term so often by an excellency "The Lord's cause, is *gratissima*, most acceptable, unto some which hope for prey and spoil by it, and that our age hath of store such, and that such are the very sectaries of Dionysius the famous atheist." Now if hereupon we should upbraid them with irreligious, as they do us with superstitious, favourers, if we should follow them in their own kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation are either atheists, or else proctors suborned by atheists; the answer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the world.

Eccles. dis. f. 94.

The grief which they say godly brethren conceive in regard of such ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome. T. C. l. iii. p. 180. There be numbers which have anti-christianity in such detestation, that they cannot without grief of mind behold them. And afterwards, such godly brethren are not easily to be grieved, which they seem to be, when they are thus martyred in

X. In the meanwhile sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief lieth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church; and to remove all out of the Church whereat they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the contrary, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good mean to cheer up themselves. Amongst which means the example of Geneva may serve for one. Have not they the old popish custom of using godfathers and godmothers in baptism? the old popish custom of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy eucharist with wafer-cakes? These things then the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to do the like, both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean, peradventure, it might be to assuage their grief, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great

their minds for ceremonies which (to speak the best of them) are unprofitable.

grief so long. For if the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them; undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal what they are whom they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who have stood for truth and who for error. So that till then the most effectual medicine, and withal the most sound, to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved; but the altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the same.

For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more because we were also persuaded, that it is but conceit in them to think that those Romish ceremonies, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious to the Church, or like soft and gentle poisons,[a] the venom whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only, and the world hath not as yet had so great experience of their art in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authority of their word should persuade in a cause so weighty, they may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew, first, by what means so deadly infection can grow from similitude between us and the Church of Rome in these things indifferent; secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church should provide against every such evil as may come to pass, it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous event, unless there appear some likelihood also of the same to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient way of prevention but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the Church of every such rite and ceremony as is presently called in question. Till this be done, their good affection towards the safety of the Church is acceptable, but the way they prescribe us to preserve it by must rest in suspense.

[a] "Although the corruptions in them strike not straight to the heart, yet as gentle poisons they consume by little and little." T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

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Jer. li. 9.

And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the speech of the prophet Jeremy, used against Babylon, "Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the diseases of Babylon, but she through her wilfulness doth rest uncured;" let them consider into what straits the Church might drive itself in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that the sound believing Church of Jesus Christ may not be like heretical churches in any of those indifferent things which men make choice of, and do not take by prescript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the use of bread is prescribed as a thing without which the eucharist may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itself, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened bread in that sacrament, because such bread the Church of Rome being heretical useth. But doth not the self-same axiom bar us even from leavened bread also, which the Church of the Grecians useth, the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same for which we condemn the Church of Rome: and in some things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be sound; as namely, in the article of the Holy Ghost's proceeding? And lest here they should say, that because the Greek Church is farther off, and the Church of Rome nearer, we are in that respect rather to use that which the Church of Rome useth not: let them imagine a reformed church in the city of Venice, where a Greek church and a popish both are; and when both these are equally near, let them consider what the third shall do. Without leavened or unleavened bread it can have no sacrament; the word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place save in those things only where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth, that they search out some stronger reason than they have as yet alleged; otherwise they constrain not us to think, that the Church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, no not then when she hath the widest field to walk in and the greatest store of choice.

Their exception against such ceremonies as

XI. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the Church of England and of Rome, we see what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit therefore we do not find the

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one church's having of such things to be sufficient cause why the other should not have them; nevertheless, in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of rites and orders common unto both, there are particulars the use whereof is utterly unlawful, in regard of some special bad and noisome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such rites and orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which, being not commanded in the word of God, were first received in the Church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours, so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against, not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are besides either Jewish, or abused unto idolatry, and so grown scandalous.

we have received from the Church of Rome, that church having taken them from the Jews.

The Church of Rome, they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the Gospel, did almost out of all religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous show,[a] borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their massing furniture almost they took from the law, lest having an altar and a priest, they should want vestments for their stage; so that whatsoever we have in common with the Church of Rome, if the same be of this kind, we ought to remove it. Constantine, the emperor, speaking of the keeping of the feast of Easter, saith, "That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spiteful company of the Jews." And a little after he saith, "That it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jews should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their doctrine." And in another place it is said after this sort; "It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that nation." The council of Laodicea, which was afterwards confirmed by the sixth general council, decreed, "That the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety."

T. C. l. i. p. 132. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. iii. c. 18.

Socrat. l. i. c. 9.

Tom. i. Concil. Laod. Can. 38.

For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two

[a] "Many of these popish ceremonies faulty by reason of the pomp in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified." Eccles. Disc. fol. 98. and T. C. l. iii. p. 131.

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things there are which must be considered: namely, the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Jewish ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is, that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned, as we have already set down in handling the matter of heathenish ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all other most odious, and by that mean, least to be used as fit Church-patterns for imitation. Another cause is, the solemn abrogation of the Jews' ordinances; which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful; yet God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear.

Jewish ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive, we likewise know to have been, by the coming of Christ, partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind, circumcision and sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment was, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law; for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the ordinances that Moses gave us." True it is, that this doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers condemning for blasphemy did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apostles notwithstanding, from whom Stephen had received it, did not so teach the abrogation, no not of those things which were necessarily to cease, but that even the Jews, being Christians, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Jerusalem the first Christian bishop not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of

Acts vi. 13, 14.

Vide Niceph. lib. iii. cap. 25. et Sulpit.

Adrian the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem; there having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the circumcision. The Christian Jews did think at the first, not only themselves, but the Christian Gentiles also, bound, and that necessarily, to observe the whole law. There went forth certain of the sect of Pharisees which did believe; and they coming unto Antioch taught, that it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses. Whereupon there grew dissension, Paul and Barnabas disputing against them. The determination of the council held at Jerusalem concerning this matter was finally this; "Touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined, that they observe no such thing;" their protestation by letters is, "Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbered your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep the law; know, that we gave them no such commandment." Paul therefore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to observe the laws of Moses, but that the observation of those laws, which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point his doctrine was misreported, as though he had every where preached this not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the rest of the clergy at Jerusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are amongst the Gentiles, to forsake Moses, and sayest, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to live after the customs." And hereupon they give him counsel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were untrue, and that himself being a Jew kept the law, even as they did. In some things therefore we see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Christian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was necessarily to cease at the coming of Christ.

Book IV. Ch. xi. Sever. p. 149. in edit. Plant.

Acts xv.

Acts xx. 25.

Acts xv. 24.

Acts xxi. 20.

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Touching things positive, which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles, tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it necessary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abstain, as the Jews did, "from things offered unto idols, from blood, from things strangled." These decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be straitly observed and kept. In the other matters, where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion still tied, the Apostles' doctrine unto the Jew was, "condemn not the Gentile;" unto the Gentile, "despise not the Jew." The one sort they warned to take heed that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous in giving unadvised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak brethren which were scrupulous. From hence, therefore, two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawn; the first, that whatsoever conformity of positive laws the Apostles did bring in between the churches of Jews and Gentiles, it was in those things only which might either cease or continue a shorter or longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon the churches of the Gentiles any part of the Jews' ordinances with bond of necessary and perpetual observation (as we all, both by doctrine and practice, acknowledge), but only in respect of the conveniency and fitness for the present state of the Church, as then it stood. The words of the council's decree, concerning the Gentiles, are, "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, saving only those things of necessity; abstinence from idol-offerings, from things strangled, and blood, and from fornication." So that in other things positive, which the coming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether free.

Acts xv. 28, 29.

Acts xvi. 4.

Rom. xiv. 10.

Neither ought it to seem unreasonable, that the Gentiles should necessarily be bound and tied to Jewish ordinances so far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew that their difference from other nations, which were aliens and strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that God's people had positive ordinances given to them of God himself; it seemeth marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should be incorporated into the same commonwealth

with God's own chosen people, and be subject to no part of his statutes, more than only the law of nature, which heathens count themselves bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst the Jews, that God did deliver unto the sons of Noah seven precepts: namely, first, to live in some form of regiment under public laws; secondly, to serve and call upon the name of God; thirdly, to shun idolatry; fourthly, not to suffer effusion of the blood; fifthly, to abhor all unclean knowledge in the flesh; sixthly, to commit no rapine; seventhly, and finally, not to eat of any living creature, whereof the blood was not first let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempted from the law of Moses, yet it might seem hard they should also cast off even those things positive which were observed before Moses, and which were not of the same kind with laws that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the council saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should, according unto the third, the seventh, and the fifth of those precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto idols, from things strangled, and blood, and from fornication. The rest, the Gentiles did of their own accord observe, nature leading them thereto.

Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. v. 11. Gal. v. 19.

And did not nature also teach them to abstain from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason think, that as the former two are positive; so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise usually understand it. But very marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the law of Moses, but also by the law of the sons of Noah (for so they took it), an unlawful discovery of nakedness; this discovery of nakedness by unlawful marriages, such as Moses in the law reckoneth up, I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that canon, than fornication according unto the sense of the law of nature. Words must be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apostles command to abstain from blood. Construe this meaning according to the law of nature, and it will seem that homicide only is forbidden. But construe it in reference to the law of the Jews, about which the question was, and it shall easily appear to have a clean other sense, and in any man's judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating and not of shedding blood. So if we speak of fornica-

Lev. xviii.

tion, he that knoweth no law but only the law of nature, must needs make thereof a narrower construction, than he which measureth the same by a law wherein sundry kinds even of conjugal copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, and unhonest. St. Paul himself doth term incestuous marriage fornication. If any do rather think, that the Christian Gentiles themselves, through the loose and corrupt customs of those times, took simple fornication for no sin, and were in that respect offensive unto believing Jews, which by the law had been better taught, our proposing of another conjecture is unto theirs no prejudice.

1 Cor. v. 1.

Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; some things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, some things also there were, wherein no law of God did let but that they might be either like or unlike, as occasion should require. And unto this purpose Leo saith, "Apostolical ordinance (beloved), knowing that our Lord Jesus Christ came not into this world to undo the law, hath in such sort distinguished the mysteries of the Old Testament, that certain of them it hath chosen out to benefit evangelical knowledge withal, and for that purpose appointed that those things which before were Jewish, might now be Christian customs." The cause why the Apostles did thus conform the Christians as much as might be according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better.

Leo in Jejun. Mens. Sept. Ser. [vii c. 1.]

The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing, as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish law wicked and damnable in itself; some, not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be observed than truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the Apostles' times; some as heretics, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the Church at Jerusalem; finally, some being herein resolute through mere infidelity and with open professed enmity against Christ, as un-

believing Jews. To control slanderers of the law and prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her liturgies hath intermingled, with readings out of the New Testament, lessons taken out of the law and prophets; whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith of the Church of Christ, "It intermingleth with evangelical and apostolical writings the law and the prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it sealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the eucharist, with martyrdom setteth forward." They would have wondered in those times to hear that any man being not a favourer of heresy, should term this by the way of disdain, "mangling of the Gospels and Epistles."[a]

Tertul. de præscript. advers. Hæret. [c. 36.]

They which honour the law as an image of the wisdom of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the law so abolished with Christ, that after his ascension the office of priest became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function?[b] No, as long as the glory of the temple continued, until the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Jews did continue with their sacrifices and other parts of legal service. That very law, therefore, which our Saviour was to abolish, did not so soon become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterwards unlawful so far, that the very name of altar, of priests, of sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the law of Moses, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion, which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers, we see

a "What an abusing also is it to affirm the mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to have been brought into the Church by godly and learned men!" T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

b "Seeing that the office and function of priests was after our Saviour Christ's ascension naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called, which did exercise that ungodly function, cannot be otherwise taken than in the evil part." T. C. l. i. p. 216.

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that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to use names whereunto the law was accustomed; so neither are we generally forbidden the use of things which the law hath, though it neither command us any particular rite, as it did the Jews a number, and the weightiest which it did command them are unto us in the Gospel prohibited.

Touching such as, through simplicity of error, did urge universal and perpetual observation of the law of Moses at the first, we have spoken already. Against Jewish heretics and false Apostles teaching afterwards the self-same, St. Paul in every Epistle commonly either disputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zealous for the law, but withal infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the name of Jesus Christ most spiteful enemies, did, while they flourished, no less persecute the Church than heathens; but after their estate was overthrown, they were not that way so much to be feared. Howbeit, because they had their synagogues in every famous city almost throughout the world, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from the Christian faith, which to do they spared no labour; this gave the Church occasion to make sundry laws against them. As, in the council of Laodicea, "The festival-presents which Jews or heretics used to send, must not be received, nor holidays solemnized in their company." Again, "From the Jews, men ought not to receive their unleavened [bread], nor to communicate with their impieties." Which council was afterwards indeed confirmed by the sixth general council. But what was the true sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Christians here forbidden to communicate in unleavened bread because the Jews did so, being enemies of the Church? He which attentively shall weigh the words, will suspect that they rather forbid communion with Jews, than imitation of them; much more, if with these two decrees be compared a third in the council of Constantinople: "Let no man, either of the clergy or laity, eat the unleavened of the Jews, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor send for them in sickness, nor

Conc. Laod. Can. 37, 38. T. C. lib. i. p. 132. T. C. lib. iii. p. 176.

Conc. Constantinop. vi. cap. 11.

take physic at their hands, nor as much as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwise, being a clergyman, let him be deposed; if being a lay-person, let excommunication be his punishment."

If these canons were any argument, that they which made them did utterly condemn similitude between the Christians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto religion, either because the Jews were enemies unto the Church, or else for that their ceremonies were abrogated; these reasons had been as strong and effectual against their keeping the feast of Easter on the same day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the custom of the west church. For so they did from the first beginning till Constantine's time. For in these two things the east and west churches did interchangeably both confront the Jews and concur with them: the west church using unleavened bread, as the Jews in their passover did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the feast of Easter; contrariwise, the east church celebrating the feast of Easter on the same day with the Jews, but not using the same kind of bread which they did. Now, if so be the east church in using leavened bread had done well, either for that the Jews were enemies to the Church, or because Jewish ceremonies were abrogated; how should we think but that Victor the bishop of Rome (whom all judicious men do in that behalf disallow) did well to be so vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like dissimilitude for the feast of Easter? Again, if the west churches had in either of those two respects affected dissimilitude with the Jews, in the feast of Easter, what reason had they to draw the eastern church herein unto them, which reason did not enforce them to frame themselves unto it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in rites should breed no controversy between one church and another; but if controversy be once bred, it must be ended. The feast of Easter being therefore litigious in the days of Constantine, who honoured of all other churches most the Church of Rome, which church was the mother from whose breasts he had drawn that food which gave him nourishment to eternal life: sith agreement was necessary, and yet impossible, unless the one part were yielded unto, his desire was that of the two, the eastern church should rather yield. And

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to this end he useth sundry persuasive speeches. When Stephen, bishop of Rome, going about to shew what the Catholic Church should do, had alleged what the heretics themselves did, namely, that they received such as came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew; St. Cyprian being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in question, which was, "Whether heretics converted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no?" answered the allegation of pope Stephen with exceeding great stomach, saying, "To this degree of wretchedness the Church of God and Spouse of Christ is now come, that her ways she frameth to the example of heretics; that to celebrate the sacraments, which heavenly instruction hath delivered, light itself doth borrow from darkness, and Christians do that which antichrists do." Now, albeit Constantine have done that to further a better cause, which Cyprian did to countenance a worse, namely, the rebaptization of heretics, and have taken advantage at the odiousness of the Jews, as Cyprian of heretics, because the eastern church kept their feast of Easter always the fourteenth day of the month, as the Jews did, what day of the week soever it fell; or howsoever Constantine did take occasion in the handling of that cause, to say, "It is unworthy to have any thing common with that spiteful nation of the Jews:"[a] shall every motive argument, used in such kind of conferences, be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable

Cypr. ad Pomp. cont. Stephan. [Ep. 74. §. 2.]

[a] "Plerique in Asia minore antiquitus 14 die mensis, nulla ratione diei Sabbata habita, hoc festum observarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis, qui aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequebantur, usque eo nequaquam dissenserunt, quoad Victor, episcopus Romanus, supra modum iracundia inflammatus, omnes in Asia qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτηται appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, Irenæus, episcopus Lugduni, in Victorem per epistolam graviter invectus est." Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. v. c. 22. "Quid præstabilius, quidve augustius esse poterat, quam ut hoc festum, per quod spem immortalitatis nobis ostentatam habemus, uno modo et ratione apud omnes integre sincereque observaretur? Ac primum omnium dignum plane videbatur, ut ritum et consuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui, quoniam suas ipsorum manus immani scelere polluerunt, merito, ut scelestos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) istud festum sanctissimum ageremus. In nostra enim situm est potestate, ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis sincero instituto (quod quidem usque a prima passionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus festi celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobis cum Judæorum turba, omnium odiosa maxime." Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 18.

inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations suitable unto it cease to bark any longer idly against that truth, the course and passage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

Their exception against such ceremonies as have been abused by the Church of Rome, and are said in that respect to be scandalous.

XII. But the weightiest exception, and of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kind of ceremonies, as have been so grossly and shamefully abused in the Church of Rome, that where they remain they are scandalous, yea, they cannot choose but be stumbling-blocks, and grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point, therefore, we are first to note, what properly it is to be scandalous or offensive. Secondly, what kind of ceremonies are such. And thirdly, when they are necessarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not.

The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to think that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whom our Saviour spake in so fearful a manner, saying, "Whosoever shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which believe in me," (that is, as they construe it, whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest artisan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the Church such rites and ceremonies as displease him,) "better he were drowned in the bottom of the sea." But hard were the case of the Church of Christ, if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moved, led, and provoked unto sin. At good things evil men may take occasion to do evil; and so Christ himself was a rock of offence in Israel, they taking occasion at his poor estate and at the ignominy of his cross, to think him unworthy of the name of that great and glorious Messias, whom the prophets describe in such ample and stately terms. But that which we therefore term offensive, because it inviteth men to offend, and, by a dumb kind of provocation, encourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto sin, must of necessity be acknowledged actively scandalous.

Matt. xviii. 6.

1 Pet. ii. 8.

Now, some things are so even by their very essence and nature, so that wheresoever they be found they are not, neither can be, without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kind all examples of sin and wickedness are. Thus

David was scandalous in that bloody act whereby he caused the enemies of God to be blasphemous: thus the whole state of Israel was scandalous, when their public disorders caused the name of God to be ill-spoken of amongst the nations. It is of this kind that Tertullian meaneth: "Offence or scandal, if I be not deceived, (saith he,) is, when the example not of a good but of an evil thing doth set men forward unto sin. Good things can scandalize none, save only evil minds." Good things have no scandalizing nature in them.

2 Sam. xii. 14. Rom. ii. 24. Ezek. xxxvi. 20.

Tertul. lib. de Virgin. Veland. [c. 3.]

Yet that which is of its own nature either good, or at least not evil, may by some accident become scandalous at certain times, and in certain places, and to certain men; the open use thereof, nevertheless, being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some rites and ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did use, and is in all such as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to use them unto evil, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the heathens did to the service of their false gods, which another, in heart condemning their idolatry, could not do with them in show and token of approbation without being guilty of scandal given. Ceremonies of this kind are either devised at the first unto evil, as the Eunomian heretics in dishonour of the blessed Trinity brought in the laying on of water but once, to cross the custom of the Church which in baptism did it thrice; or else having had a profitable use they are afterwards interpreted and wrested to the contrary, as those heretics which held the Trinity to be three distinct, not persons, but natures, abused the ceremony of three times laying on water in baptism, unto the strengthening of their heresy. The element of water is in baptism necessary; once to lay it on, or twice, is indifferent. For which cause Gregory, making mention thereof, saith, "To dive an infant either thrice or but once in baptism, can be no way a thing reprovable; seeing, that both in three times washing, the Trinity of persons, and in one, the Unity of the Godhead, may be signified." So that of these two ceremonies, neither being hurtful in itself, both may serve unto good purpose; yet one was devised, and the other converted, unto evil.

Epist. ad Leandrum Hisp. [l. i. ep. 41.]

Now, whereas in the Church of Rome certain ceremonies are

said to have been shamefully abused unto evil, as the ceremony of crossing at baptism, of kneeling at the eucharist, of using wafer-cakes, and such like; the question is, whether, for remedy of that evil wherein such ceremonies have been scandalous, and perhaps may be still unto some even amongst ourselves, whom the presence and sight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they served in times past, they are of necessity to be removed. Are these, or any other ceremonies we have common with the church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any such as have been polluted from their very birth, and instituted, even at the first, unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then, what doth let but that the use thereof may stand without offence? The names of our months and of our days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first.[a] What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, than that which sometime the ancient fathers in this case speak? Yet those very names are at this day in use throughout Christendom without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by heretics, yea, devised of a very heretical purpose, even against religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custom, the inventors whereof were the Eunomian heretics. So that customs once established and confirmed by long use being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous.

But concerning those our ceremonies which they reckon for most popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them

[a] "Idololatriæ consuetudo in tantum homines occæcaverat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, et diversis elementorum ac dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, et luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent." [Eudies idem primus est, quem reditur, indeque rursus hebdomada inchoatur. His seb. Emess.] Hom. xi. de Pasch. [p. 566. par. i. t. v. Biblioth. Patr. Lat.] "Octavus nomina a planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere se credentes a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Marte sanguinem, a Mercurio ingenium et linguam, a Jove temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem." Beda de ratione temp. cap. 6. "Dies dicti a diis, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam sideribus sacraverunt." Isid. Hisp. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30.

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was otherwise instituted than unto good, yea, so used at the first. It followeth, then, that they all are such as having served to good purpose, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as objected against us, that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they have been infected in the Church of Rome, I would demand, who they are whom we scandalize, by using harmless things unto that good end for which they were first instituted? Amongst ourselves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good use, no man will say, that one of us is offensive or scandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the Church of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and dissent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their public writings also profess daily how much it grieveth them. So that of them there will not many rise up against us, as witnesses unto the indictment of scandal whereby we might be condemned and cast, as having strengthened them in that evil wherewith they pollute themselves in the use of the same ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the Church of England herein, and hate it because it doth not sufficiently seem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of popish error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through the use of abused ceremonies, is not so apparent, that it can justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so, that now and then some few are espied, who, having been accustomed heretofore to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not so scoured of their former rust as to forsake their ancient persuasion which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to outward obedience of laws and orders; because such may misconstrue the meaning of our ceremonies, and so take them, as though they were in every sort the same they have been, shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude that some law must necessarily be made to abolish all such ceremonies?

They answer, that there is no law of God which doth bind us to retain them; and St. Paul's rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we should frame the usage of our liberty with regard to the weakness

and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto them which stood upon their own defence, saying, "All things are lawful unto me;" he replieth, "but all things are not expedient" in regard of others. All things are clean, all meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth offensively. If for thy meat's sake thy brother be grieved, thou walkest no longer according to charity. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for food's sake the work of God. We that are strong must bear the imbecility of the impotent, and not please ourselves. It was a weakness in the Christian Jews, and a maim of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of those meats which themselves were afraid to touch for fear of transgressing the law of Moses; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had just cause to fear, lest they would rather forsake Christianity than endure any fellowship with such as made no conscience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weak by meats, and of dissolving the work of God, which was his Church, a part of the living stones whereof were believing Jews. Now those weak brethren before mentioned are said to be as the Jews were, and our ceremonies which have been abused in the Church of Rome, to be as the scandalous meats, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abstain in the presence of Jews, for fear of averting them from Christian faith. Therefore, as charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them; so it bindeth us for our brethren's sake likewise to abolish such ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retain them.

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1 Cor. vi. 12.

Rom. xiv.; xv. 1.

But between these two cases there are great odds. For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the ceremonies which we use as the meats which the Gentiles used. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that respect; whereas contrariwise the imbecility of ours is not common unto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of them. It is a chance, if here and there some one be found; and therefore, seeing we may presume men commonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame itself by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles. Again, their

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Harmenop. lib. i. tit. i. sect. 28.

use of meats was not like unto our ceremonies: that being a matter of private action in common life, where every man was free to order that which himself did; but this a public constitution for the ordering of the Church; and we are not to look that the Church should change her public laws and ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconvenient, especially when there may be other remedy also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this case, therefore, where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaister to apply unto it; neither can we say, that he which appointeth teachers for the physicians in this kind of evil, is, "As if a man would set one to watch a child all day long, lest he should hurt himself with a knife; whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the service of the man better employed." For a knife may be taken from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and discretion to use it. But the ceremonies which children do abuse, if we remove quite and clean, as it is by some required that we should, then are they not taken from children only, but from others also; which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives, we should conclude, that therefore the use of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men also.

T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

Those particular ceremonies, which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next Book have occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also, traduced in the public duties of the Church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought against the one or the other. In the meanwhile, against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is, that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters wherein preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse ceremonies.[a] A wonder it is, that they

[a] "It is not so convenient, that the minister, having so many necessary points to bestow his time in, should be driven to spend it in giving warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were used to the best) there is no profit." T. C. l. iii. p. 177.

should object this, which have so many years together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things; and are even to this very hour so earnest in them, that if they write or speak publicly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the Church of England, in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raised contention therein, about the abuse of rites and ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to spend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than through any such experience which we have had of our own, that we are enforced to think it possible for one or other, now and then, at leastwise, in the prime of the reformation of our Church, to have stumbled at some kind of ceremony. Wherein, forasmuch as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also, they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their souls that are at any time taken therein; they must give our teachers leave for the saving of those souls, (be they never so few,) to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things, admonition concerning these not unnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yield this leave, considering that hereunto we shall not need to use the hundredth part of that time, which themselves think very needful to bestow in making most bitter invectives against the ceremonies of the Church.

Our ceremonies excepted against, for that some churches, reformed before ours, have cast out those things, which we, notwithstanding their example to the contrary, do retain still.

XIII. But to come to the last point of all; the Church of England is grievously charged with forgetfulness of her duty, which duty had been to frame herself unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. * "For as the churches of Christ ought to be most unlike the synagogue of antichrist in their indifferent ceremonies: so they ought to be most like one unto another; and for preservation of unity, to have as much as possible may be all the same ceremonies. And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the sabbath (which is our Sunday), allegeth this for a reason, That he had so ordained in other churches." Again, "As children of one father, and servants of one family, so all churches should

* T. C. l. i. p. 133.

1 Cor. xvi. 1.

Book IV. Ch. xiii.

not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but also wear, as it were, one livery in using the same ceremonies." Thirdly, "This rule did the great council of Nice follow,[a] when it ordained, That where certain at the feast of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they should pray standing: the reason whereof is added, which is, that one custom ought to be kept throughout all churches. It is true, That the diversity of ceremonies ought not to cause the churches to dissent one with another; but yet it maketh most to the avoiding of dissension, that there be amongst them an unity not only in doctrine, but also in ceremonies. And therefore our form of service is to be amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the papists, but also because it is so different from that of the reformed churches." Being asked to what churches ours should conform itself, and why other reformed churches should not as well frame themselves to ours, their answer is, "That if there be any ceremonies which we have better than others, that ought to frame themselves to us; if they have better than we, then we ought to frame ourselves to them; if the ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter churches should conform themselves to the first, as the younger daughter to the elder. For as St. Paul in the members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the rest, that one is called before another to the Gospel; so is it, for the same cause, amongst the churches. And in this respect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the first which received the Gospel, yet they would have their several manners from other churches. Moreover, where the ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more. Forasmuch, therefore, as all the churches (so far as they know, which plead after this manner) of our confession in doctrine, agree in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that, which she cannot deny to be well abrogated."

T. C. l. i. p. 182, 183.

Rom. xvi. 5. 7.

1 Cor. xiv. 37.

In this axiom, That preservation of peace and unity amongst

[a] Can. 20. The canon of that council which is here cited doth provide against kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Easter, on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost only.

Christian churches should be by all good means procured, we join most willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that, to the avoiding of dissension, it availeth much that there be amongst them an unity as well in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is, about the manner of their unity; how far churches are bound to be uniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpose. Book IV. Ch. xiii.

Touching the one, the rule which they have set down is, That in ceremonies indifferent, all churches ought to be one of them unto another as like as possibly they may be. Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise construe, than that it doth require them to be even as like as they may be without breaking any positive ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we speak, being matter of positive law, they are indifferent, if God have neither himself commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Church's discretion; so that, if as great uniformity be required as is possible in these things, seeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them, it followeth, that from the greatest unto the least, they must be in every Christian church the same, except mere impossibility of so having it be the hinderance. To us this opinion seemeth over extreme and violent: we rather incline to think it a just and reasonable cause for any church, the state whereof is free and independent, if in these things it differ from other churches only for that it doth not judge it so fit and expedient to be framed therein by the pattern of their example as to be otherwise framed than they. That of Gregory unto Leander, is a charitable speech and a peaceable; "In una fide nil officit ecclesiæ sanctæ consuetudo diversa: Where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in the customs of the Church doth no harm." That of St Augustine to Casulanus is somewhat particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are, wherein one church may vary from the example of another without hurt: "Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide soever it hath spread itself, be always one, although the unity of belief be famous for variety of certain ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed suffereth no kind of let or impediment." Calvin goeth further, "As concerning rites in particular, let the sentence of Augustine take place, which [Epist. l. i. p. 41.] [Ep. 86. al. 36. c. 9.] Respon. ad Med.

leaveth it free unto all churches to receive each their own custom. Yea, sometime it profiteth, and is expedient that there be difference, lest men should think that religion is tied to outward ceremonies. Always provided, that there be not any emulation, nor that churches, delighted with novelty, affect to have that which others have not."

They which grant it true, that the diversity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cause dissension in churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or, if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm, against their former strict assertion. For if churches be urged by way of duty to take such ceremonies as they like not of, how can dissension be avoided? Will they say, that there ought to be no dissension, because such as are urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any church like to be urged of duty, by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because, that which churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he standeth in the sight of both God and men most justly blameable, as a needless disturber of the peace of God's Church, and an author of dissension? In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the Church of England with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, That there ought to be in all kinds of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it.

For proof whereof, it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their servants, or what the council of Nice did for standing in time of prayer on certain days: because, though St. Paul did will them of the Church of Corinth,[a] every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reserve it in store till himself did come thither to send it to

[a] "And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the Church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the sabbath (which is our Sunday), allegeth this for a reason, That he had so ordained in other churches." T. C, l. i. p. 133.

the Church of Jerusalem for relief of the poor there, signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the churches of Galatia; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken, both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. "Concerning collection for the saints (he meaneth them of Jerusalem), as I have given order to the Church of Galatia, so likewise do ye (saith the Apostle); that is, in every first day of the week, let each lay aside by himself, and reserve according to that which God hath blessed him with; that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom ye shall choose, them I may forthwith send away by letters, to carry your beneficence unto Jerusalem." Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all churches, in all manner of indifferent ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over. 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture to give it some kind of countenance more than the pretext of livery-coats afforded them.[a] For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And seeing churches are rather in this case like divers families, than like divers servants of one family; because every church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itself in things indifferent: therefore of the two we may rather infer, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in friar's-grey for that another doth wear clay-colour, so neither are all churches bound to the self-same indifferent ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use.

As for that canon in the council of Nice, let them but read it and weigh it well. The ancient use of the Church throughout all Christendom was, for fifty days after Easter (which fifty

[a] "So that as children of one father, and servants of one master, he will have all the churches, not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but also wear, as it were, one livery, in using the same ceremonies." T. C. l. i. p. 133.

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days were called Pentecost, though most commonly the last day of them, which is Whitsunday, be so called), in like sort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year their manner was to stand at prayer; whereupon their meetings unto that purpose on those days had the name of Stations given them. Of which custom Tertullian speaketh in this wise; "It is not with us thought fit either to fast on the Lord's-day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunity from fasting and kneeling we keep all the time which is between the feasts of Easter and Pentecost."[a] This being therefore an order generally received in the Church; when some began to be singular and different from all others, and that in a ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole Church, even by the whole, those few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the council of Nice thought good to enclose them again with the rest, by a law made in this sort: "Because there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of prayer on the Lord's-day, and in the fifty days after Easter; the holy synod judging it meet that a convenient custom be observed throughout all churches, hath decreed, that standing we make our prayers to the Lord." Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the same if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority whereunto each particular is subject; and that the spirit of singularity in a few ought to give place unto public judgment; this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all Christian churches are bound in every indifferent ceremony to be uniform; because where the whole church hath not tied the parts unto one and the same thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as others do, or else otherwise without any breach of duty at all.

[De Cor. Milit. c. 3.]

Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Christian churches should be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to pass was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that seeing the law of God doth not prescribe all par-

[a] "This rule did the great council of Nice follow, &c. Die Dominico et per omnem Pentecosten, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium solvere, &c. De Cor. militis." T. C. l. i. p. 133.

ticular ceremonies which the Church of Christ may use, and in so great variety of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the law of nature and reason should direct all churches unto the same things, each deliberating by itself what is most convenient; the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all must needs be the judgment of some judicial authority drawn into one only sentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And because such authority over all churches is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man, there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole church orderly taken and set down in the assembly of some general council. But to maintain, that all Christian churches ought for unity's sake to be uniform in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to pass must be by mutual imitation, so that where we have better ceremonies than others they shall be bound to follow us, and we them where theirs are better; how should we think it agreeable and consonant unto reason? For sith in things of this nature, there is such variety of particular inducements, whereby one church may be led to think that better, which another church led by other inducements judgeth to be worse; (for example, the east church did think it better to keep Easter-day after the manner of the Jews, the west church better to do otherwise; the Greek church judgeth it worse to use unleavened bread in the eucharist, the Latin church leavened; one church esteemeth it not so good to receive the eucharist sitting as standing, another church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable motives, as well as on the other;) unless they add somewhat else to define more certainly what ceremonies shall stand for best in such sort, that all churches in the world shall know them to be the best, and so know them that there may not remain any question about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said.

They themselves, although resolved in their own judgments what ceremonies are best, foreseeing that such as they are addicted unto be not all so clearly and so incomparably best, but others there are, or may be, at leastwise, when all things

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are well considered, as good, knew not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing some more certain rule to be followed for establishment of uniformity in ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodness; and therefore in this case they say, that the latter churches, and the fewer, should conform themselves unto the elder, and the more.[a] Hereupon they conclude, that forasmuch as all the reformed churches, (so far as they know,) which are of our confession in doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming herself to those churches, in that which she cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the first churches (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first reformed), they bring the comparison of younger daughters conforming themselves in attire to the example of their elder sisters; wherein there is just as much strength of reason, as in the livery-coats before mentioned. St. Paul, they say, noted it for a mark of special honour, that Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia which did embrace the Christian faith; after the same sort, he toucheth it also as a special pre-eminence of Junia and Andronicus, that in Christianity they were his ancients. The Corinthians he pinched with this demand, "Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?" But what of all this? If any man should think that alacrity and forwardness in good things doth add nothing unto men's commendation; the two former speeches of St. Paul might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort, to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to set all others to school, there can be nothing more fit than some such words as the Apostle's third sentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no such great odds between them and the rest of their brethren, that they should think themselves to be gold, and the rest to be but copper. He therefore useth speech unto them to this effect: "Men instructed in the

Rom. xvi. 5.

ver. 7.

1 Cor. xiv. 36.

[a] "If the ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter churches should conform themselves to the first," &c. And again, "The fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more." T. C. l. iii. p. 183.

knowledge of Jesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the world; ye neither are the fountain from which first, nor yet the river into which alone, the word hath flowed." But although as Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia, so Corinth had been the first church in the whole world, that received Christ; the Apostle doth not shew, that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoever this should have made their example a law unto all others. Indeed, the example of sundry churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as having the force of an example only, and not of a law. They are effectual to move any church, unless some greater thing do hinder; but they bind none, no, not though they be many, saving only when they are the major part of a general assembly, and then their voices, being more in number, must oversway their judgments who are fewer, because in such cases the greater half is the whole. But as they stand out single, each of them by itself, their number can purchase them no such authority, that the rest of the churches being fewer should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good ceremonies as theirs for theirs.

Whereas, therefore, it is concluded out of these so weak premises, that the retaining of divers things in the Church of England, which other reformed churches have cast out, must needs argue that we do not well, unless we can shew that they have done ill;[a] what needed this wrest to draw out from us an accusation of foreign churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them; and to forsake our own course, because it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleged for confirmation hereof had been sound, yet seeing they lead no further than only to shew, that where we can have no better ceremonies, theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modesty think themselves to have found out absolutely the best which the wit of men may devise, so, liking their own somewhat better than other men's, even because they are their own, they must in equity allow

[a] "Our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault, that doth not conform herself in that which she cannot deny to be well abrogated." T. C. l. iii. p. 183.

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us to be like unto them in this affection; which if they do, they ease us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemn them, or else to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own ways already be better: and if our own be but equal, the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them, at the least, half a thought better because they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any indictment at all against theirs, but think commendably even of them also.

A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for establishment of things as they are.

XIV. To leave reformed churches therefore, and their actions, for Him to judge of in whose sight they are as they are; and our desire is, that they may even in his sight be found such as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may likewise be; somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of simple declaration concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in these affairs, to the end, that men whose minds are free from those partial constructions, whereby the only name of difference from some other churches is thought cause sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern whether that we have done be reasonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her received laws concerning such orders, rights, and ceremonies, as had been in former times a hinderance unto piety and religious service of God, was to enter into consideration first, that the change of laws, especially concerning matter of religion, must be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of imperfection; and that which is supposed behoveful unto men, proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom, which is learned by tract of time, findeth the laws that have been in former ages established, needful in latter to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient doth not always so continue; and the number of needless laws unabolished doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true withal it is, that alteration, though it be from worse to better, hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, laws of that kind do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a law, as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining, do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and

upbraid ourselves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it, with oversight, and with error? Further, if it be a law which the custom and continual practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of men, to alter it must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt whether any thing be in itself, by nature, either good or evil; and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of laws, but the weight of so many men's judgments as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto; the weight of that long experience which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such law, must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those grounds whereby all laws are made effectual.

Notwithstanding, we do not deny alteration of laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the public community of men, and against that good for which human societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the laws of heathenish religion received throughout the whole world, chosen, I grant, they were (Paul excepted), the rest ignorant, poor, simple, unschooled altogether, and unlettered men; howbeit, extraordinarily endued with ghostly wisdom from above, before they ever undertook this enterprise; yea, their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's ambassadors, unto whose sovereign power for all flesh to stoop, for all the kingdoms of the earth to yield themselves willingly conformable in whatsoever should be required, it was their duty. In this case, therefore, their oppositions in maintenance of public superstition against apostolic endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient predecessors, that they must keep *religiones traditas*, the rites which from age to age had descended, that the ceremonies of religion had been ever accounted by so much holier as elder; these and the like allegations, in this case, were vain and frivolous. Not to stay longer, therefore, in speech concerning this point,

we will conclude, that as the change of such laws as have been specified is necessary, so the evidence that they are such must be great. If we have neither voice from heaven that so pronounceth of them; neither sentence of men grounded upon such manifest and clear proof, that they in whose hands it is to alter them, may likewise infallibly even in heart and conscience judge them so: upon necessity to urge alteration, is to trouble and disturb without necessity. As for arbitrary alterations, when laws, in themselves not simply bad or unmeet, are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better devised be but small, sith the custom of easiness to alter and change is so evil, no doubt but to bear a tolerable sore is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy.

Which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was notwithstanding concluded necessary in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet sith there are divers ways of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest to be abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: so touching the stint or measure thereof, rights and ceremonies and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in respect of their quality, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done, their deliberation in the latter was more hard. And, therefore, inasmuch as they did resolve to remove only such things of that kind as the Church might best spare, retaining the residue, their whole counsel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindness of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that such things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would seem most favourable are content to think it possible) from a purpose, "partly the easilier to draw papists unto the Gospel (by keeping so many orders still the same with theirs),

and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach whereof they might fear would ensue upon more thorough alteration;"[a] or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in public affairs, whether of church or commonwealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore, to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in itself is not made either better or worse; if just and allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are all these censures frustrate.

Touching ceremonies harmless therefore in themselves, and hurtful only in respect of number, was it amiss to decree, that those things which were least needful and newliest come, should be the first that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of saints' days, and of other the like customs, it appeareth they did, till afterwards the Form of Common Prayer being perfected, articles of sound religion and discipline agreed upon, catechisms framed for the needful instruction of youth, churches purged of things that indeed were burdensome to the people, or to the simple offensive and scandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we stand? Or was it amiss, that having this way eased the Church, as they thought, of superfluity, they went [not] on till they had plucked up even those things also which had taken a great deal stronger and deeper root; those things, which to abrogate without constraint of manifest harm thereby arising, had been to alter unnecessarily (in their judgments) the ancient received custom of the whole Church, the universal practice of the people of God, and those very decrees of our fathers, which were not only set down by agreement of general councils, but had accordingly been put in ure, and so continued in use till that very time present?

True it is, that neither councils nor customs, be they never so ancient or so general, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been instituted, which being convenient and good at the first,

[a] "It may well be, their purpose was by that temper of popish ceremonies with the Gospel, partly the easilier to draw the papists to the Gospel, &c. partly to redeem peace thereby." T. C. l. ii. p. 29.

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do afterwards in process of time wax otherwise, we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, though councils or customs general have received them. And, therefore, it is but a needless kind of opposition which they make, who thus dispute;

T. C. l. iii. p. 30.

"If in those things which are not expressed in the Scripture, that is to be observed of the Church, which is the custom of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers; then how can these things at any time be varied, which heretofore have been once ordained in such sort?" Whereto we say, that things so ordained are to be kept, howbeit not necessarily any longer, than till there grow some urgent cause to ordain the contrary. For there is not any positive law of men, whether it be general or particular, received by formal express consent, as in councils, or by secret approbation, as in custom it cometh to pass; but the same may be taken away if occasion serve. Even as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore are now in like sort generally unkept and abolished every where.

Notwithstanding, till such things be abolished, what exception can there be taken against the judgment of St. Augustine,

August. Epist. 118. [al. 54. c. 5.]

who saith, "That of things harmless, whatsoever there is which the whole Church doth observe throughout the world, to argue for any man's immunity from observing the same, it were a point of most insolent madness." And, surely, odious it must needs have been for one Christian church to abolish that which all had received and held for the space of many ages, and that without any detriment unto religion so manifest and so great, as might in the eyes of impartial men appear sufficient to clear them from all blame of rash and inconsiderate proceeding, if in fervour of zeal they had removed such things. Whereas contrariwise, so reasonable moderation herein used hath freed us from being deservedly subject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby as the Church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards those things which be harmless, maintain extremely most hurtful corruptions; so we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards those things that are corrupt, we are on the other side as extreme even against most harmless ordinances; and as they are obstinate to retain that, which no man of any conscience is able well to defend, so we might be reckoned fierce

and violent to tear away that, which if our own mouths did condemn, our consciences would storm and repine thereat. The Romans having banished Tarquinius the Proud, and taken a solemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themselves, or think that tyranny was thoroughly extinguished, till they had driven one of their consuls to depart the city, against whom they found not in the world what to object, saving only that his name was Tarquin, and that the commonwealth could not seem to have recovered perfect freedom as long as a man of so dangerous a name was left remaining. For the Church of England to have done the like, in casting out papal tyranny and superstition; to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk,[a] Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the Church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the Church of Rome doth give unto things innocent; to have rejected whatsoever that church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might haply have pleased some few men who having begun such a course themselves, must needs be glad to see their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wisdom, and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto, namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world, did for the endless good of his Church (as we cannot choose but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate: lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing dominions it hath since fallen out, so likewise, if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking itself to such practices as men are commonly

[a] "For indeed it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the papists which are so near." T. C. l. i. p. 131.

wont to embrace when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end than only the utter oppression and clean extinguishment of one side; by this means Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort and mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time sustained, (and not the least by this our Church which they so much impeach,) till mutual combustions, bloodsheds, and wastes (because no other inducements will serve) may enforce them through very faintness, after the experience of so endless miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation as may tend to the best re-establishment of the whole Church of Jesus Christ. To the singular good whereof it cannot but serve as a profitable direction, to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the trial that hath been thus long had of both kinds of reformation: as well this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken; as that other more extreme and rigorous, which certain churches elsewhere have better liked. In the meanwhile it may be, that suspense of judgment and exercise of charity were safer and seemlier for Christian men, than the hot pursuit of these controversies, wherein they that are most fervent to dispute be not always the most able to determine. But who are on his side, and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveal.

And sith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themselves be forgotten. When the ruins of the house of God (that house which consisting of religious souls, is most immediately the precious temple of the Holy Ghost) were become, not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very superstition began even to feel itself too far grown; the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, by beheading superstition, was King Henry the Eighth: the son and successor of which famous king, as we know, was Edward the Saint; in whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to let England see, what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit, that which the wise man hath said concerning Enoch (whose days were, though many in respect of

ours, yet scarce as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived), the same to that admirable child most worthily may be applied, "Though he departed this world soon, yet fulfilled he much time." But what ensued? that work which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been: till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star to arise, and on her head settled the crown, whom himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times; that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others whom the like necessity should press. What in this behalf hath been done towards nations abroad, the parts of Christendom most afflicted can best testify. That which especially concerneth ourselves in the present matter we treat of, is, the state of reformed religion, a thing at her coming to the crown, even raised, as it were, by miracle from the dead; a thing which we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to pass, thus many years it hath continued standing by no other worldly mean, but that one only hand which erected it; that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cause at the first to withhold itself, so neither have the practices, so many, so bloody, following since, been ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so justly, that Aaron and Hur, the ecclesiastical and civil states, have sustained the hand which did lift itself to heaven for them; as that heaven itself hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or help having thereunto been ministered for performance of the working of reformation, other than such kind of help or aid as the Angel in the Prophet Zechariah speaketh of, saying, "Neither by an army nor strength, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Which grace and favour of divine assistance, having not in one thing or two shewed itself, nor for some few days or years appeared, but in such sort so long continued, our manifold sins and transgressions striving to the contrary; what can we less thereupon conclude, than that God would at least-

[iv. 6.]

Book IV. Ch. xiv.

wise by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot choose but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuse to believe us disputing for the verity of religion established, let them believe God himself thus miraculously working for it, and wish life, even for ever and ever, unto that glorious and sacred instrument whereby he worketh.

BOOK V.

CONCERNING THEIR FOURTH ASSERTION, THAT TOUCHING SEVERAL PUBLIC DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, THERE IS AMONGST US MUCH SUPERSTITION RETAINED IN THEM; AND CONCERNING PERSONS, WHICH FOR PERFORMANCE OF THOSE DUTIES ARE ENDUED WITH THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OUR LAWS AND PROCEEDINGS ACCORDING THEREUNTO ARE MANY WAYS HEREIN ALSO CORRUPTED.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIFTH BOOK.

1. True Religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered commonwealths.
2. The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheism.
3. Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.
4. Of the redress of Superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this Book.
5. Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, fifthly, Of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.
6. The first proposition touching judgments, what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of Church-affairs.
7. The second proposition.
8. The third proposition.
9. The fourth proposition.
10. The rule of men's private spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.
11. Places for the public service of God.
12. The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the adversary.
13. Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches.
14. Of the fashion of our Churches.
15. The sumptuousness of Churches.
16. What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.

17. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
18. Of public Teaching or Preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechizing.
19. Of Preaching, by reading publicly the Books of Holy Scripture, and concerning supposed untruths in those translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.
20. Of Preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.
21. Of Preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.
22. What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.
23. Of Prayer.
24. Of public Prayer.
25. Of the Form of Common Prayer.
26. Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer.
27. Of them, who allowing a set form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.
28. The form of our Liturgy too near the papists', too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
29. Attire belonging to the service of God.
30. Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
31. Easiness of praying after our form.
32. The length of our service.
33. Instead of such prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that the reformed now use, we have (say they) divers short cuts or shreddings, rather wishes than prayers.
34. Lessons intermingled with our prayers.
35. The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.
36. The people's saying after the minister.
37. Our manner of reading the Psalms, otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.
38. Of music with Psalms.
39. Of singing or saying Psalms, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and the minister answer one another by course.
40. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.
41. Of the Litany.
42. Of *Athanasius's Creed*, and *Gloria Patri*.
43. Of our want of particular thanksgiving.
44. In some things the matter of our prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.
45. "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers."
46. Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.
47. Prayer for those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.
48. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.
49. Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God, that all men might be saved.
50. Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
51. That God is in Christ by the personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

Book V.

52. The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.
53. That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.
54. What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.
55. Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
56. The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
57. The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.
58. The substance of Baptism, the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.
59. The ground in Scripture whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.
60. What kind of necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.
61. What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the fathers respecting necessity.
62. Whether Baptism by Women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.
63. Of interrogatories in Baptism, touching faith, and the purpose of a Christian life.
64. Interrogatories proposed unto infants in Baptism, and answered, as in their names, by godfathers.
65. Of the Cross in Baptism.
66. Of Confirmation after Baptism.
67. Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
68. Of faults noted in the form of administering that holy Sacrament.
69. Of Festival-days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.
70. The manner of celebrating Festival-days.
71. Exceptions against our keeping of other Festival-days besides the Sabbath.
72. Of days appointed, as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
73. The celebration of Matrimony.
74. The Churching of Women.
75. The rites of Burial.
76. Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happiness, not eternal only, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.
77. Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.
78. Of degrees whereby the power of order is distinguished, and concerning the attire of Ministers.
79. Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church-livings be made frustrate.

30. Of Ordination lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into Holy Orders.
31. Of the learning that should be in ministers, their residence, and the number of their livings.

True religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered commonwealths.

I. Few there are of so weak capacity but public evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit, to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil, and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, so it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labour of appeasing public disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious providence of Almighty God, and, in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and impartial defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeavour is, not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived, accusing laws for men's oversights, imputing evils grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framing unto some sores unwholesome plaisters, and applying other some where no sore is.

To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, we agree, that pure and unstained religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to public regiment, as well in regard of that aid and protection[a] which they who faithfully serve God confess they receive at his merciful hands, as also for the force which religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable;[b] governors the apter to rule with conscience;

[a] Ps. cxliv. 2.

[b] C. Th. lib. xvi. tit. 2. "Gaudere et gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel sudore nostram Rempublicam contineri."

Book V. Ch. i.

inferiors for conscience' sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed. For if [a] the course of politic affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues, let polity acknowledge itself indebted to religion; godliness being the [b] chiefest top and well-spring of all true virtues, even as God is of all good things. So natural is the union of religion with justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom religion doth not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they which employ their labour and travel about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that [c] justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business, the sentence of right God's own verdict, and themselves his priests to deliver it; formalities of justice do but serve to smother right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the common good is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery. The same piety, which maketh them that are in authority desirous to please and resemble God by justice, inflameth every way men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all: for that, they know, is most noble and divine. Whereby if no natural or casual inability cross their desires, they, always delighting to inure themselves with actions most beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wisdom; because conscience, and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of

[a] Ἔστι δ' οὔθεν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναί ἐστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. 1.

[b] Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀριστὴ πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεὸς, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. Philo de Dec. Præcept. [vol. ii. p. 189. ed. Mang. 1742.]

[c] 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7. Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2. Ecclus. xvii. 14. Wisd. vi. 3.

vulgar folly, no less than Solomon's attention thereunto was of natural furtherances the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the author of many parables. Concerning fortitude, sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant minds) do cause oftentimes even them to think upon divine power with fearfullest suspicions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof; how should we look for any constant resolution of mind in such cases, saving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed, from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown, which, for all circumstances, no people under the roof of heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their mere religion. Without which, if so be it were possible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheless the mind that should possess them, divorced from piety, could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that body is, which, adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-sight, the chiefest grace that nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is said that men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the magistrate, or because revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they should do otherwise, but that which held the people in awe was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity, and right itself, a bar against all oppressions which greatness of power causeth; they which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst men, though they speak not of religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For, if religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurreth; but what event soever ensues, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been set down as an

Book V. Ch. i.

Psal. i. 3.

axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended; because, whether men in the end have that which religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate.[a]

But lest any man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our religion be, inasmuch as heathens, Turks, and infidels, impute to religion a great part of the same effects which ourselves ascribe hereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs; it shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different religions. First, by the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the religion which is true, and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth furthest dissent. The generality of which persuasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry in searching and maintaining that religion, from which as to swerve in the least points is error, so the capital enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and, without repentance, children of endless perdition. Such, therefore, touching man's immortal state after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard to so important contrariety between it and the true religion. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affairs of this present life. There were in these quarters of the world, sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative men whose authority disposed the whole religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the souls of men departing this life do flit out of one body into some other. Which opinion, though false, yet

Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. [c. 13.]

[a] Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πᾶσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 10.

entwined with a true, that the souls of men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The Romans had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises, to conjecture beforehand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in birds, or in the entrails of beasts, or by other the like frivolous divinations. From whence notwithstanding, as oft as they could receive any sign which they took to be favourable, it gave them such hope, as if their gods had made them more than half a promise of prosperous success. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did prevail, especially being men of their own natural inclination hopeful and strongly conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could their fond superstition have furthered so great attempts without the mixture of a true persuasion concerning the irresistible force of divine power? Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blasphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of religion, even unto false gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrents the devouter sort did take for manifest arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped were of power to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the wise man rightly noteth concerning such) it was not the power of them by whom they sware, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute so great power unto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the course of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of oaths in that respect. And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their mild and merciful disposition, some for their virtuous severity, some for integrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the word of God, as the axioms of our religion, which being imprinted by the God of nature in their hearts also, and taking better root in some than in most others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidst, the heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors of corrupt religion had also their suitable effects in the lives of the self-same parties.

Wisd. xiv. 31.

Book V. Ch. ii.

Without all controversy, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who stedfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them retaining it in that sort no benefit. David was a "man after God's own heart," so termed because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, "O keep this for ever in the purpose and thoughts of the heart of this people." But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they, who succeeded him in place, for the most part followed him not in quality; when those kings (some few excepted), to better their worldly estate (as they thought), left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for, by woful experience they both did learn, that to forsake the true God of heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above endure.

1 Chron. xxix. 18.

Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the safety of all estates dependeth upon religion; that religion unfeignedly loved perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the commonwealth; that men's desire in general is to hold no religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their religion, who embrace instead of the true a false, the roots thereof are certain sparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkness of error, because no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths; we have reason to think, that all true virtues are to honour true religion as their parent, and all well-ordered commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

The most extreme opposite to true religion is affected atheism.

II. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended are but few in number, and for grossness of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold the place of human being. These we should judge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom whereas nature has bestowed riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby

it cometh to pass, that of these two sorts of men, both godless, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other study how to persuade themselves that there is no such thing to be known. [a] The fountain and well-spring of which impiety is, a resolved purpose of mind to reap in this world what sensual profit or pleasure soever the world yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever means available thereunto. And that this is the very radical cause of their atheism no man (I think) will doubt, which considereth what pains they take to destroy those principal spurs and motives unto all virtue, the creation of the world, the providence of God, the resurrection of the dead, the joys of the kingdom of heaven, and the endless pains of the wicked, yea, above all things, the authority of the Scripture, because on these points it evermore beateth, and the soul's immortality, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful, that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their souls should be like to the souls of beasts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies? Till some admirable or unusual accident happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, disputation about the knowledge of God with such kind of persons commonly prevaileth little. For how should the brightness of wisdom shine, where the windows of the soul are of very set purpose closed?[b] True religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth that inquiry into such matters should breed a persuasion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavour to banish, as much as in them lieth, quite and clean from their cogitation, whatsoever may sound that way.

But it cometh many times to pass (which is their torment) that the thing they shun doth follow them, truth, as it were, even obtruding itself into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, inas-

[a] Wisd. ii. 21. "Such things they imagine and go astray, because their own wickedness hath blinded them." Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. Arist. Eth. lib. vi. cap. 5.

[b] Susan. ver. 9. "They turned away their mind, and cast down their eyes, that they might not see heaven, nor remember just judgments."

much as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall always condemn itself, they continuing still obstinate to follow the course which they have begun, are driven to devise all the shifts that wit can invent for the smothering of this light, all that may, but with any the least show of possibility, stay their minds from thinking that true, which they heartily wish were false, but cannot think it so without some scruple and fear of the contrary.[a] Now because that judicious learning, for which we commend most worthily the ancient sages of the world, doth not in this case serve the turn, these trenchermates (for such the most of them be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant; a new method they have of turning things that are serious into mockery, an art of contradiction by way of scorn, a learning wherewith we

2 Pet. iii. 3. Jude 18.

were long sithence forewarned that the miserable time whereunto we are fallen should abound. This they study, this they practise, this they grace with a wanton superfluity of wit, too much insulting over the patience of more virtuously disposed minds. For towards these so forlorn creatures we are (it must be confessed) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God,

Dan. iii. 20.

Babylon hath exceeded Sion. We want that decree of Nebuchadnezzar; the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty; their tongues walk at large; the spitvenom of their poisoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others; what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same their licentious mouths do every where set abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humour also is much strengthened. Nothing pleaseth them better than these manifold oppositions upon the matter of religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learn on one side how another may be oppugned, and so to weaken the credit of all unto themselves; as also because by this hot pursuit of lower controversies among men professing religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themselves time will cause altercation to grow. For which purpose, when they see occasion, they stick not sometime in other men's persons, yea, sometime without any vizard at all, directly to try what the

[a] "Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis." Cypr. de Idol. Vanit. [art. iii. p. 393. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1709.]

most religious are able to say in defence of the highest points whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the most part it so falleth out, touching things which generally are received, that although in themselves they be most certain, yet because men presume them granted of all, we are hardliest able to bring such proof of their certainty as may satisfy gainsayers, when suddenly and besides expectation they require the same at our hands. Which impreparation and unreadiness when they find in us, they turn it to the soothing up of themselves in that cursed fancy, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of such as indeed fear God is nothing else but a kind of harmless error, bred and confirmed in them by the sleights of wiser men.

For a politic use of religion they see there is, and by it they would also gather that religion itself is a mere politic device, forged purposely to serve for that use. Men fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually, than by positive laws, restrained from doing evil; inasmuch as those laws have no further power than over our outward actions only, whereas unto men's[a] inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, religion serveth for a bridle. What more savage, wild, and cruel, than man, if he see himself able either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear, the laws whereunto he should be subject? Wherefore in so great boldness to offend, it behoveth that the world should be held in awe, not by a vain surmise, but a true apprehension of somewhat, which no man may think himself able to withstand. This is the politic use of religion.

In which respect there are, of these wise malignants, some who have vouchsafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and speech, very gravely affirming, that religion honoured, addeth greatness, and contemned, bringeth ruin unto commonweals; that princes and states which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of religion, and to provide for the same by all means in the making of their

Mach. Disc. l. i. c. 11—14.

[a] "Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos et cogitare peccare est; vos conscios timetis, nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus." Minuc. Fel. in Octav. [c. 35.] "Summum præsidium regni est justitia ob apertos tumultus, et religio ob occultos." Carda. de Sapien. lib. iii. [vol. i. p. 537. ed. Lugd. 1663.]

Book V. Ch. iii.

laws. But when they should define what means are best for that purpose, behold, they extol the wisdom of paganism; they give it out as a mystical precept of great importance, that princes, and such as are under them in most authority and credit with the people, should take all occasions of rare events, and from what cause soever the same do proceed, yet wrest them to the strengthening of their religion, and not make it nice for so good a purpose to use, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they study how to bring to pass that religion may seem but a matter made, they lose themselves in the very maze of their own discourses, as if reason did even purposely forsake them, who of purpose forsake God the author thereof. For, surely, a strange kind of madness it is, that those men, who, though they be void of piety, yet, because they have wit, cannot choose but know that treachery, guile, and deceit are things which may for a while, but do not use long to go unespied, should teach that the greatest honour to a state is perpetuity; and grant that alterations in the service of God, for that they impair the credit of religion, are therefore perilous in commonweals, which have no continuance longer than religion hath all reverence done unto it; and withal acknowledge (for so they do) that when people began to espy the falsehood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentilism was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithstanding counsel princes in sober earnest, for the strengthening of their states to maintain religion, and for the maintenance of religion not to make choice of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choice of by those false and fraudulent means which in the end must needs overthrow it. Such are the counsels of men godless, when they would shew themselves politic devisers, able to create God in man by art.

Of superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.

III. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or lesser sway in man's heart, frame accordingly the stamp and character of his religion, the one zeal, the other fear. Zeal, unless it be rightly guided, when it endeavoureth most busily to please God, forceth upon him those unseasonable offices which please him not. For which cause, if they who this way swerve be compared with such sincere, sound, and discreet, as Abraham

2 Chron. xx. 7. Abraham thy friend.

was in matter of religion; the service of the one is like unto flattery, the other like the faithful sedulity of friendship. Zeal, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth itself unto conflict with things either in deed, or but imagined to be opposite unto religion, useth the razor many times with such eagerness, that the very life of religion itself is thereby hazarded; through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is plucked up. So that zeal needeth both ways a sober guide. Fear, on the other side, if it have not the light of true understanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewise superstition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things divine we should work too much upon the spur either of zeal or fear. Fear is a good solicitor to devotion. Howbeit, sith fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehension of Deity endued with irresistible power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unaptest to admit any conference with reason; for which cause the wise man doth say of fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reasonable understanding; therefore, except men know beforehand what manner of service pleaseth God, while they are fearful they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God but when they are in extremity of fear; and then, because what to think or what to do they are uncertain, perplexity not suffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were in a phrensy, they know not what.

Wisd. xvii. 11.

Superstition neither knoweth the right kind, nor observeth the due measure, of actions belonging to the service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superstition is, when things are either abhorred or observed with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous, relation to God. By means whereof, the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud him of duties necessary; sometimes load others than him with such honours as properly are his. The one, their oversight who miss in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they shew their devotion: this, the crime of idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary either niceness or superfluity in religion.

The Christian world itself being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with

Book V. Ch. iii.

matter of heresy the west hath been often and much troubled; but the east part never quiet till the deluge of misery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefest cause whereof doth seem to have lien in the restless wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and subtile inventions; which, when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language served them readily to make all things fair and plausible to men's understandings. Those grand heretical impieties therefore, which most highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monsters of the east. The west bred fewer a great deal, and those commonly of a lower nature, such as more nearly and directly concerned rather men than God; the Latins being always to capital heresies less inclined, yet unto gross superstition more.

Mark vii. 9.

Superstition such as that of the Pharisees was, by whom divine things indeed were less, because other things were more divinely esteemed of than reason would. The superstition that riseth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly discerned, mingling itself with the rites even of divine service done to the only true God, must be considered of as a creeping and encroaching evil; an evil, the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil, when some further accident doth grow unto it, or itself come unto further growth. For in the Church of God, sometimes it cometh to pass, as in over battle grounds, the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankness, things less profitable; whereby that which principally it should yield being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This (if so large a discourse were necessary) might be exemplified even by heaps of rites and customs, now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian world; which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could justly have condemned as evil.

Of the redress of superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this book.

IV. But howsoever superstition doth grow; that wherein unsounder times have done amiss, the better ages ensuing must rectify as they may. I now come therefore to those accusations brought against us by pretenders of reformation. The first in the rank whereof is such, that if so be the Church of

England did at this day therewith as justly deserve to be touched, as they in this cause have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seek pardon even with tears at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might think favourably of them. For as the case of this world, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour have we to lean unto, saving the testimony of our conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God (as near as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own will, and do therefore trust that his mercy shall be our safeguard against those enraged powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our enemies? But sith no man can do ill with a good conscience, the consolation which we herein seem to find, is but a mere deceitful pleasing of ourselves in error, which at the length must needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to please God most, be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is judged, our prayers, our sacraments, our fasts, our times and places of public meeting together for the worship and service of God, our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections, and ordinations ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our religion according to laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with superstition.

Now, although, it may be, the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat, considering how subject the very best things have been always unto cavil, when wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof have set them up as their mark to shoot at; safe notwithstanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to unwind themselves where the snares of glossing speech do lie to entangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear so bitter invectives against that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as behoveful for the exercise of Christian duty. It seemeth therefore, at the least for their sakes, very meet,

Book V. Ch. v.

that such as blame us in this behalf be directly answered; and they which follow us, informed plainly in the reasons of that we do.

On both sides, the end intended between us is to have laws and ordinances, such as may rightly serve to abolish superstition, and to establish the service of God with all things thereunto appertaining in some perfect form. There is an inward reasonable, and there is a solemn outward serviceable, worship belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner of virtuous duties, that each man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth. Solemn and serviceable worship we name for distinction's sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or public society of God by way of external adoration. It is the latter of these two whereupon our present question groweth. Again, this latter being ordered partly, and as touching principal matters, by none but precepts divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well human as divine: about the substance of religion, wherein God's holy law must be kept, there is here no controversy. The crime now intended against us, is, that our laws have not ordered those inferior things as behoveth, and that our customs are either superstitious, or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of public duties in religion, or the functions of persons authorized thereunto.

Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true religion. And, fifthly, Of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.

V. It is with teachers of mathematical sciences usual, for us in this present question necessary, to lay down first certain reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serve as principles whereby to work, and therefore must be beforehand considered. The men whom we labour to inform in the truth, perceive that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose, touching customs and rites indifferent, their general axioms, some of them subject unto just exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be further considered, than assented unto by us. As that, "In outward things belonging to the service of God, reformed Churches ought by all means to shun conformity with the Church of Rome;" that "The first reformed should be a pattern, whereunto all that come after ought to conform themselves;" that, "Sound religion may not use the things, which being not com-

manded of God, have been either devised or abused unto superstition." These and the rest of the same consort we have in the book going before examined. Other canons they allege, and rules not unworthy of approbation; as that, "In all such things the glory of God, and the edification or ghostly good of his people, must be sought;" "That nothing should be undecently or unorderly done." But forasmuch as all the difficulty is, in discerning what things do glorify God and edify his Church, what not; when we should think them decent and fit, when otherwise: because these rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former principles being nearer the purpose, are too far from truth; we must propose unto all men certain petitions incident and very material in causes of this nature, such as no man of moderate judgment hath cause to think unjust or unreasonable.

The first proposition touching judgments, what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of church-affairs.

VI. The first thing, therefore, which is of force to cause approbation with good conscience towards such customs and rites as publicly are established, is, when there ariseth from the due consideration of those customs and rites in themselves apparent reason, although not always to prove them better than any other that might possibly be devised (for who did ever require this in man's ordinances?); yet competent to shew their conveniency and fitness, in regard of the use for which they should serve. Now, touching the nature of religious services, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be most clear; that whereas the greatness and dignity of all manner of actions is measured by the worthiness of the subject from which they proceed, and of the object whereabout they are conversant, we must of necessity in both respects acknowledge, that this present world affordeth not any thing comparable unto the public duties of religion. For if the best things have the perfectest and best operations, it will follow, that seeing man is the worthiest creature upon earth, and every society of men more worthy than any man, and of societies that most excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no work performed equal to the exercise of true religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, forasmuch as religion worketh upon him who in majesty and power is infinite, as we ought we account not of

Book V. Ch. vi.

John iv. 24. Wisd. vi. 10. 1 Chron. xxix. 17.

it, unless we esteem it even according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive, when divine sublimity itself is rightly considered. In the powers and faculties of our souls God requireth the utmost which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield; so that if we affect him not far above and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it should have, neither do we indeed worship him as our God.

That which inwardly each man should be, the Church outwardly ought to testify. And therefore the duties of our religion which are seen, must be such as that affection which is unseen ought to be. Signs must resemble the things they signify. If religion bear the greatest sway in our hearts, our outward religious duties must shew it as far as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of religion, performed by whole societies of men, ought to have in them, according to our power, a sensible excellency, correspondent to the majesty of him whom we worship. Yea, then are the public duties of religion best ordered, when the militant Church doth resemble, by sensible means,[a] as it may in such cases, that hidden dignity and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the sun itself, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the desert a grievous annoyance, for ease whereof his extraordinary providence ordained a cloudy pillar to overshadow them; so things of general use and benefit (for in this world what is so perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by some accident be incommodious to a few. In which case, for such private evils, remedies there are of like condition, though public ordinances, wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred. Let our first demand therefore be, that in the external form of religion, such things as are apparently, or can be sufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to set forward godliness, either as betokening the greatness of God, or as beseeming the dignity of religion, or as concurring with celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be

2 Chron. ii. 5.

[a] Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. "Delectatio Domini in Ecclesia est; Ecclesia vero est imago cœlestium." Ambros. de interpel. Job et Dav. [l. ii. c. 2.] "Facit in terris opera cœlorum." Sidon. Apol. Epist. lib. vi. [ep. 12.]

reverently thought of; some few, rare, casual, and tolerable, or otherwise curable, inconveniences notwithstanding. Book V. Ch. vii.

VII. Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which unnecessarily to swerve, experience never as yet has found it safe. For wisdom's sake we reverence them no less that are young, or not much less, than if they were stricken in years. And therefore of such it is rightly said, that the ripeness of understanding is "grey hairs," and the virtues "old age." But because wisdom and youth are seldom joined in one, and the ordinary course of the world is more according to Job's observation, who giveth men advice to seek "wisdom amongst the ancient, and in the length of days, understanding;" therefore, if the comparison do stand between man and man, which shall hearken unto other; sith the aged for the most part are best experienced, least subject to rash and unadvised passions, it hath been ever judged reasonable, that their sentence in matter of counsel should be better trusted and more relied upon than other men's. The goodness of God having furnished man with two chief instruments, both necessary for this life, hands to execute, and a mind to devise great things: the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of youth doth strengthen it; nor the other greatly, till age and experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, such must be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cause none are more attentively heard than they whose speeches are, as David's were, "I have been young, and am now old," much I have seen and observed in the world. Sharp and subtile discourses of wit procure many times very great applause; but being laid in the balance with that which the habit of sound experience plainly delivereth, they are overweighed. God may endue men extraordinarily with understanding as it pleaseth him: but let no man presuming thereupon neglect the instructions, or despise the ordinances of his elders, sith He, whose gift wisdom is, hath said, "Ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thine ancients, and they shall tell thee." The second proposition. Wisd. iv. 9. Job xii. 12. [Psal. xxxvii. 25 Deut. xxxii. 7.

It is therefore the voice, both of God and nature, not of learning only, that especially in matters of action and policy,

Book V. Ch. vii.

Arist. Eth. vi. cap. 11.

"The sentences and judgments of men experienced, aged and wise, yea, though they speak without any proof or demonstration, are no less to be hearkened unto, than as being demonstrations in themselves; because such men's long observation is as an eye, wherewith they presently and plainly behold those principles which sway over all actions." Whereby we are taught both the cause wherefore wise men's judgments should be credited, and the means how to use their judgments to the increase of our own wisdom. That which sheweth them to be wise, is the gathering of principles out of their own particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments, according to the rule of their principles, shall make us such as they are.

If, therefore, even at the first, so great account should be made of wise men's counsels touching things that are publicly done; as time shall add thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding ages, their credit and authority must needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they do amiss, yet the less faulty,[a] because they are not the authors of harm; and doing well, their actions are freed from prejudice and novelty. To the best and wisest while they live, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects and imperfections; their virtues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cause many times that which most deserveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propose it were not content to profess themselves therein scholars and followers of the ancients. For the world will not endure to hear that we are wiser than they have been which went before. In which consideration there is cause why we should be slow and unwilling to change, without very urgent necessity, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approved customs, of our venerable predecessors. The love of things ancient doth argue[b] staidness; but levity and want of

[a] Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται. Philo.
Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ συναποτίθεται. Synes.
Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὔτ' ἀντιπίπτει καὶ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. Greg. Naz. ἐν Στιχ.

[b] "Οσοι δι' εὐστάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τοῦ καινοπρεποῦς προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραποίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατά τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. vii.

experience make apt unto innovations. That which wisdom did first begin, and hath been with good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for itself nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth fear condemnation before trial; until trial, no man doth acquit or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kind, there are few things known to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alleged, hath wrought such a prejudice against them in the minds of the common sort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (especially for these observances which concern our present question) antiquity, custom, and consent, in the Church of God, making with that which law doth establish, are themselves most sufficient reasons to uphold the same, unless some notable public inconvenience enforce the contrary. [a]For a small thing in the eye of law is as nothing.

We are therefore bold to make our second petition this, That in things, the fitness whereof is not of itself apparent, nor easy to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the judgment of antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to allege any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against it.

The third proposition.

VIII. All things cannot be of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needful for the ordering of spiritual affairs: but the Church, being a body which dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which wisdom hath,[b] as a queen or sovereign commandress over other virtues. This in every several man's actions of common life appertaineth unto moral; in public and politic secular affairs, unto civil wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain form for the outward administration of public

[a] Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εὖ παρεκβαίνων, οὐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. ii. c. 9. "Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet." Tiraquel de jud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.

[b] Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo [de SS. LL. Allegor. l. i. p. 56.]

Book V. Ch. viii.

duties in the service of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of wisdom ecclesiastical.

It is not for a man, which doth know or should know what order is, and what peaceable government requireth, to ask, T. C. l. iii. p. 171. "Why we should hang our judgment upon our Church's sleeve;" and "Why in matters of order, more than in matters of doctrine. The Church hath authority to establish that for an order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both may do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter of order are changeable by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine, not so. We read often in the writings of catholic and holy men, touching matters of doctrine, "this we believe," "this we hold," "this the Prophets and Evangelists have declared," "this the Apostles have delivered," "this Martyrs have sealed with their blood, and confessed in the midst of torments;" "to this we cleave, as to the anchor of our souls;" "against this, though an Angel from heaven should preach unto us, we would not believe." But did we ever in any of them read, touching matters of mere comeliness, order, and decency, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangelist, any Apostle, "Although the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be kept, although they be never so generally observed, though all the churches in the world should command them, though Angels from heaven should require our subjection thereto, I would hold him accursed that doth obey?" Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is, whatsoever any man can necessarily conclude by force of reason; after these, the voice of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church by her ecclesiastical authority shall probably think and define to be true or good, must in congruity of Reason overrule all other inferior judgments whatsoever.

To them which ask, why we thus hang our judgments on Eccles. iv. 9. the Church's sleeve, I answer with Solomon, because "two are

better than one." "Yea simply (saith Basil[a]) and universally, whether it be in works of nature, or voluntary choice and counsel, I see not any thing done as it should be, if it be wrought by an agent singling itself from consorts." The Jews had a sentence of good advice, "Take not upon thee to be judge alone; there is no sole judge but one only; say not to others, Receive my sentence, when their authority is above thine." The bare consent of the whole Church should itself in these things stop their mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. "There is (saith Cassianus) no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon." Might we not think it more than wonderful, that nature should in all communities appoint a predominant judgment to sway and overrule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much authority and power unto every poor family for the ordering of all which are in it; and that the city of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing which the meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole authority's sake, be bound to obey?

R. Ishmael in cap. Patr.

Cassian. de Incarn. l. i. c. 6.

We cannot hide or dissemble that evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our dislike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand: so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one extremity with another, the world, seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased a mere exchange of the evil which before was felt. Suppose we, that the sacred word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whose incitement the holy ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No; it is not possible they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their brethren's obedience. Surely the Church of God in this business is neither of capacity, I trust, so weak, nor so unstrengthened, I know, with authority from above; but that her laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own children, and enjoin gainsayers silence, giving them

[a] Basil. Ep. 63. d. 3. c. Quæ contra. "Turpis est omnes pars universo suo non congruens."

Book V. Ch. ix.

roundly to understand, That where our duty is submission, weak oppositions betoken pride.

We therefore crave, thirdly, to have it granted, That where neither the evidence of any law divine, nor the strength of any invincible argument otherwise found out by the light of reason, nor any notable public inconvenience doth make against that which our own laws ecclesiastical have, although but newly instituted, for the ordering of these affairs, the very authority of the Church itself, at the least in such cases, may give so much credit to our own laws, as to make their sentence touching fitness and conveniency weightier than any bare or naked conceit to the contrary; especially in them, who can owe no less than child-like obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

The fourth proposition.

IX. There are ancient ordinances (laws which on all sides are allowed to be just and good, yea, divine and apostolic constitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always justly deserve blame in that respect. For in evils that cannot be removed, without the manifest danger of greater to succeed in their rooms; wisdom (of necessity) must give place to necessity. All it can do in those cases is, to devise how that which must be endured may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof countervailed as near as may be; that when the best things are not possible, the best may be made of those that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more constant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithstanding stay her hand, yea, and change her course, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by necessity countermand. It hath therefore pleased himself sometime to unloose the very tongues even of dumb creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence, lest the cruelty of man should persist to afflict them for not keeping their wonted course, when some invincible impediment hath hindered. If we leave nature, and look into art, the workman hath in his heart a purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole form which his work should have; there wanteth not in him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best effect, only the matter which he hath to work on is unframable. The necessity excuseth him; so that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his work's per-

Numb. xxii. 28.

fection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs, who allege sincerely for themselves, that they did as necessity constrained them. For, when the mind is rightly ordered and affected as it should be, in case some external impediment crossing well advised desires shall potently draw men to leave what they principally wish, and to take a course which they would not if their choice were free; what necessity forceth men unto,[a] the same in this case it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed simply in itself evil, nothing absolutely sinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law, whereby whatsoever is condemned as evil, can never any way be made good. The casting away of things profitable for the sustenance of man's life, is an unthankful abuse of the fruits of God's good providence towards mankind. Which consideration, for all that, did not hinder St. Paul from throwing corn into the sea, when care of saving men's lives made it necessary to lose that which else had been better saved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end that good might come of it; for of two such evils, being not both evitable, the choice of the less is not evil. And evils must be in our constructions judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them; because, where counsel and advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant, we cannot presume. In civil affairs, to declare what sway necessity hath ever been accustomed to bear, were labour infinite. The laws of all states and kingdoms in the world have scarcely of any thing more common use. Should then only the Church shew itself inhuman and stern, absolutely urging a rigorous observation of spiritual ordinances without relaxation or exception, what necessity soever happen? We know the contrary practice to have been commended by him, upon the warrant of whose judgment the Church, most of all delighted with merciful and moderate courses, doth the oftener condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases of necessity, that which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases of necessity, being sometime but urgent, sometime extreme,[b] the consideration of

Acts xxvii. 38.

Luke vi. 4.

[a] "Necessitas, quicquid coegit, defendit." Senec. Controv. [l. iv. controv. 27.]

[b] "Causa necessitatis et utilitatis æquiparantur in jure." Ab Panor. ad c. ut super nu. 15. de Reb. Eccles. non alien.

public utility is with very good advice judged at the least equivalent with the easier kind of necessity.

Now, that which causeth numbers to storm against so necessary tolerations, which they should rather let pass with silence, considering that in polity, as well ecclesiastical as civil, there are and will be always evils which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks more than man's wit hath hands to stop; that which makes odious unto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is, that very just regard hath been had of the public good; that which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present controversy, hath ensnared the judgments both of sundry good, and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certain general principles, whereupon the ordinances that serve for usual practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatsoever is over and besides that ordinary, the same they judge repugnant to those true principles. The cause of which error is ignorance, what restraints and limitations all such principles have in regard of so manifold varieties,[a] as the matter whereunto they are applicable doth commonly afford. These varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to discern how far forth they take effect, to see where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practice of things in show, though not in deed, repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more sharpness of wit, more intricate circuitions of discourse, more industry and depth of judgment, than common ability doth yield. So that general rules, till their limits be fully known, (especially in matter of public and ecclesiastical affairs,) are, by reason of the manifold secret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of man's understanding than cloudy mists cast before the eye of common sense. They that walk in darkness know not whither they go; and even as little is their certainty, whose opinions generalities only do guide. With gross and popular capacities nothing doth more prevail than unlimited generalities, because of their plainness

[a] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. Arist. Eth. l. ii. c. 7.

at the first sight: nothing less with men of exact judgment, because such rules are not safe to be trusted over far. General laws are like general rules of physic, according whereunto as no wise man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joined with his disease some special accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the same infirmity, but without like accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the least unprofitable; so we must not, under a colourable commendation of holy ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have been grounded for the common good, imagine that all men's cases ought to have one measure.

Not without singular wisdom therefore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary course of common affairs is disposed of by general laws, so likewise men's rarer incident necessities and utilities should be with special equity considered. From hence it is, that so many privileges, immunities, exceptions, and dispensations, have been always with great equity and reason granted, not to turn the edge of justice, nor to make void at certain times, and in certain men, through mere voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and universally should be of force (as some men understand it), but in very truth to practise general laws according to their right meaning. We see in contracts, and other dealings, which daily pass between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many things by strictness of law may be done, which equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the law is unjust, but unperfect; nor equity against, but above, the law, binding men's consciences in things which law cannot reach unto. Will any man say, that the virtue of private equity is opposite and repugnant to that law, the silence whereof it supplieth in all such private dealing? No more is public equity against the law of public affairs; albeit the one permit unto some, in special considerations, that which the other, agreeably with general rules of justice, doth in general sort forbid. For, sith all good laws are the voices of right reason, which is the instrument wherewith God will have the world guided; and impossible it is that right should withstand right: it must follow, that principles and rules of justice, be they never so generally uttered, do no less effectually intend, than if they did

plainly express, an exception of particulars, wherein their literal practice might any way prejudice equity.

And because it is natural unto all men to wish their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reasonable inducements so to do; and no man can be presumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his own case: the likeliest mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any special benignity above the common course of others, may enjoy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of laws, which in outward show are contrary, must needs be to arm with authority some fit both for quality and place to administer that which in every such particular shall appear agreeable with equity. Wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that sometimes the practice of such jurisdiction may swerve through error even in the very best, and for other respects where less integrity is; so the watchfullest observers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorized proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of popes, who live in no worldly awe or subjection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, and superior power control; yea, to them also in such sort, that law itself hath set down to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them more than only to deliver what is already given by law. Which maketh it by many degrees less reasonable, that under pretence of inconveniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented that none may, men should be altogether barred of the liberty that law with equity and reason granteth.

These things therefore considered, we lastly require, that it may not seem hard, if in cases of necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable ordinances sometimes be released, rather than all men always strictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

The rule of men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.

X. Now, where the word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own ordinances, if against those things which have been received with great reason, or against that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time

out of mind, or against such ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which we live hath in itself devised for the public good, or against the discretion of the Church in mitigating sometimes with favourable equity that rigour which otherwise the literal generality of ecclesiastical laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if against all this it should be free for men to reprove, to disgrace, to reject, at their own liberty, what they see done and practised according to order set down; if in so great variety of ways as the wit of man is easily able to find out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all men especially have unto those inventions, whereby some one shall seem to have been more enlightened from above than many thousands, the Church did give every man licence to follow what himself imagineth that God's Spirit doth reveal unto him, or what he supposeth that God is likely to have revealed to some special person whose virtues deserve to be highly esteemed: what other effect could hereupon ensue, but the utter confusion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? The gifts and graces whereof do so naturally all tend unto common peace, that where such singularity is, they whose hearts it possesseth ought to suspect it the more; inasmuch as if it did come of God, and should for that cause prevail with others, the same God which revealeth it to them, would also give them power of confirming it to others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and invincible remonstrance of sound reason, such as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and insufficiency of their arguments do make it on the contrary side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think such things as he hath not enabled them to prove.

And so from rules of general direction, it resteth that now we descend to a more distinct explication of particulars, wherein those rules have their special efficacy.

Places for the public service of God. Gen. iii. 8.

XI. Solemn duties of public service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort as beseemeth actions of that regard. Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord. Adam's sons had out of Paradise in

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like sort whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarchs used altars, and mountains, and groves, to the self-same purpose. In the vast wilderness, when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had been promised unto their fathers, "Ye shall seek that place which the Lord your God shall choose." When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moriah, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of David's desires to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour to build God a temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purposed. To perform a work so majestical and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, precious stones, in great abundance. Yea, moreover, "Because I have (saith David) a joy in the house of my God, I have of my own gold and silver, besides all that I have prepared for the house of the sanctuary, given to the house of my God three thousand talents of gold, even the gold of Ophir, seven thousand talents of fined silver." After the overthrow of this first house of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but with so great odds, that they wept which had seen the former, and beheld how much this latter came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of synagogues for men to resort unto. Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles, frequented both the one and the other.

Gen. iv. 3; xiii. 4; xxi. 33; xxii. 1. Exod. xxvi.

Deut. xii. 5—7. 2 Chron. iii. 1. 2 Chron. vi. 7. Psal. cxxxii. 3—5.

1 Chron. xxii. 14.

1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4.

Ezra iii. 12. Hag. ii. 3.

The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and held that profession which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise of Christian religion but in private only. So that as Jews they had access to the temple and synagogues, where God was

Acts i. 13; ii. 1, 46.

served after the custom of the law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves. And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do), but the safest places they could. In process of time, some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect themselves oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At length, when it pleased God to raise up kings and emperors favouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected, no cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole world did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish people might be perpetual, was then in Christian people every where to be seen.

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1 Chron. xxix. 17, 18.

Their actions, till this day always accustomed to be spoken of with great honour, are now called openly into question. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we especially that worship God, either in temples which their hands made, or which other men sithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the sin of idolatry. Our churches, in the foam of that good spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the temples of Baal, idle synagogues, abominable styes.

XII. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poison, are certain solemnities usual at the first erection of churches. Now, although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this age (thanks be to God) hath reasonably well forborne to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid unto many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble the bishops with placing the first stone in the churches they built, or so scrupulous as after the erection of them to make any great

The solemnity of erecting churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

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ado for their dedication. In which kind notwithstanding, as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of, any unnecessary custom heretofore received; so we know no reason wherefore churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, ceremonies, fit to betoken such intents, and to accompany such actions, be usual, as [a]in the purest times they have been. When Constantine had finished a house for the service of God at Jerusalem, the dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof the greatest part of the bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the emperor's motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power, some with orations, some with sermons, some with the sacrifices of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's safety, for the emperor's and his children's good. By Athanasius the like is recorded concerning a bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether emperors or bishops in those days were church-founders, the solemn dedication of churches they thought not to be a work in itself either vain or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of a house to the God of heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up a kitchen, or parlour, for his own use? Or when a work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end?

Durand. rational. lib. i. cap. 6. et de Consec. d. 1. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. x. epist. 12. et lib. vii. epist. 71. et lib. viii. epist. 63. Vide Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41. 43—45.

Athanas. Apol. ad Constantium, [§. 15.]

It behoveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church, be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of religion may serve unto dangerous practices. Yea, though such assemblies be had indeed for religion's sake, hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of heretics, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instil their poison into men's minds; as also for the occasion

[a] Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἑκάστης τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά. Greg. Nazian. Orat. εἰς τὴν κυριακήν. [Orat. 43. init.]

which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting and of traducing with more colourable show those actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater weight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of public places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their assembly public; even as the presence of the king and his retinue maketh any man's house a court. But this I take to be an error, inasmuch as the only thing which maketh any place public, is the public assignment thereof unto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative.

Nor doth the solemn dedication of churches serve only to make them public, but further also to surrender up that right, which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God himself their owner. For which cause, at the erection and consecration as well of the tabernacle as of the temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use whereunto it is intended such houses shall be put.

Exod. xl. 34; 1 Reg. viii. 11.

Exod. xl. 9; 1 Reg. viii.

These things the wisdom of Solomon did not account superfluous. He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himself; how hardly that house would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impression, which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the house of God. For which cause when the first house was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the children of Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this house also with joy.

Lev. xvi. 2. The place named holy.

Ezra vi. 16.

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Matt. xxi. 13. Jer. xvii. 24. Mark xi. 16.

Levit. xxxi. 2. 1 Cor. xi 22.

Pet. Cluniac.

The argument which our Saviour useth against profaners of the temple, he taketh from the use whereunto it was with solemnity consecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burdens on the sabbath, because that was a sanctified day; so because the temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer no not the carriage of a vessel through the temple. These two commandments therefore are in law conjoined, "Ye shall keep my sabbath, and reverence my sanctuary." Out of those the Apostle's words, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" Albeit temples, such as now, were not then erected for the exercise of the Christian religion, it hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference should be made between house and house; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man's habitation he sheweth; he requireth that Christian men at their own home take common food, and in the house of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he instructeth them, that as in the one place they use to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learn to seek the nourishment of their souls; and as there they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn to make provision for the eternal. Christ could not suffer that the temple should serve for a place of mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the church should be made an inn.

When therefore we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify, that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none. Indeed, we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been devised or used haply amongst idolaters. For why should conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful, when they think that which is true, if in action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it; or to shun any requisite action only because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by idolaters? It is no impossible thing but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not there-

fore whatsoever idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done idolatrously be so far forth abhorred. For of that which is good, even in evil things, God is author.

Of the names whereby we distinguish our churches.

XIII. Touching the names of Angels and Saints whereby the most of our churches are called; as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present, hurtful. That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew, inasmuch as by plain grammatical construction, church doth signify no other thing than the Lord's house.[a] And because the multitude, as of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it cometh to pass, that all churches have had their names, some as memorials of peace, some of wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ under sundry titles, of the blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all.

Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 16. Ev. lib. iv. c. 30. Hist. Trip. l. iv. c. 18.

In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in latter ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places, which were denominated of Angels and Saints, should serve for the worship of so glorious creatures; or else those glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of such places. A thing which the ancients do utterly disclaim. "To them (saith St. Augustine) we appoint no churches, because they are not to us as gods." Again, "The nations to their gods erected temples, we not temples to our Martyrs as unto God, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living."[b]

V. Aug. l. viii. de Civ. Dei, c. 27. l. xxii. c. 10. Epist. 49. [al. 102. §. 20.] ad Deogra.

Divers considerations there are, for which Christian churches

[a] From Κυριακὴ, *Kyre*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*.

[b] The duty which Christian men performed in keeping festival-dedications, St. Basil termeth λατρείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, acknowledging the same to have been withal τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς Μάρτυρας. Basil. in Psal. cxiv.

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might first take their names of Saints: as either because by the ministry of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those Saints have suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or, thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their persons might cause inquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues. Wherefore, seeing that we cannot justly account it superstition, to give unto churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things; if it be plain, that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we, in otherwise taking them, offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry.

Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do use by way of mere distinction the names which they of superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both days and months, are we culpable of superstition, because they were who first invented them? The sign Castor and Pollux, superstitiously given unto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelist's pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Beltezhazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian idol Belti, should their idolatry, which were the authors of that name, cleave unto every man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfy the minds of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

Acts xxviii. 11.

Dan. ii. 26. Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. l. vi. p. 277.

Of the fashion of our churches.

XIV. The like unto this, is a fancy which they have against the fashion of our churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some king should build his mansion-house by the model of Solomon's palace. So far

forth as our churches and their temple have one end, what should let but that they may lawfully have one form? The temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our churches are places provided, that the people might there assemble themselves, in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for heathen nations, their several for the people of their own nation, their several for men, their several for women, their several for the priests, and for the high-priest alone their several. There being in ours for local distinction between the clergy and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them: this is now made a matter so heinous, as if our religion thereby were become even plain Judaism; and as though we retained a most holy place, whereinto there might not any but the high-priest alone enter, according to the custom of the Jews.

The sumptuousness of churches.

XV. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expenses this way are employed: "The mother of this magnificence (they think) is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously? or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; then was the Lord most acceptably served, when his temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of his gospel."

What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh (we grant) many times to pass, that the works of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the temple of God was ambitious; yet Solomon's virtuous, Constantine's holy. But howsoever their hearts are disposed, by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work

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which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof?

Touching God himself, hath he any where revealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? And that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped, saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple. This is most suitable,[a] decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his gospel, except we think of Christ and his gospel as the officers of Julian did.[b] As therefore the son of Sirach giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, "A man need not say, this is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for in their season they are all worthy praise:" the like we may also conclude, as touching these two so contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in costlier sort, for the honour of Almighty God, "A man need not say, this is worse than that, this more acceptable to God, that less; for with him they are in their season both allowable:" the one, when the state of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they which had seen the beauty of the first temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the second, which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas, if the house of God were by so much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to rejoice than weep, their prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected against the Church, in the times of universal persecution, that her service done to God, was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of divine majesty, their most convenient answer was, that "The best temples which we can dedicate to God, are our sanctified souls and bodies." Whereby it plainly appeareth how the fathers, when they were upbraided with that

Ecclus. xxxix. 34.

Hag. ii. 5. 9.

Minuc Fel. in Octav. [c. 32.]

[a] Ἔργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλόν· τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. Arist. Eth. l. 4. c. 2. Τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. Philo Jud.

[b] "Fœlix, thesauri imperialis quæstor, conspicatus sacrorum vasorum pretia; En, inquit, qualibus vasis ministratur Mariæ filio!" Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. 12.

defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the less accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of external ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was their only lack of ability: ability serving, they wanted them not. Before the emperor Constantine's time, under Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings, which were but of mean and small estate, contented them not; spacious and ample churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hinderance, no practice of Satan, or fraud of men, available against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their safety. These churches Dioclesian caused by solemn edict to be afterward overthrown. Maximinus with like authority giving them leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with divine joy, to see those places which tyrannous impiety had laid waste, recovered, as it were, out of mortal calamity, churches reared up to an height immeasurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration, than their founders before had given them. Whereby we see, how most Christian minds then stood affected; we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptuous stateliness of houses built unto God's glory. If we should, over and besides this, allege the care which was had that all things about the tabernacle of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich as art could make them; or what travail and cost was bestowed that the goodliness of the temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world; this, they will say, was figurative, and served by God's appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true everlasting glory of a more divine sanctuary; whereunto Christ being long sithence entered, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But sith the Prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expenses have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our cheerful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture

Euseb. l. viii. c. 1, 2.

Euseb. l. x. c. 2.

1 Chron. xxviii. 14.

Book V. Ch. xvi.

of his service, as also because it serveth to the world for a witness of his almightiness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own service? To set forth the majesty of kings, his vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain.

2 Chron. ii. 5.

Matt. vi. 29.

Malac. i. 8.

If there be great care to build and beautify these corruptible sanctuaries, little or none that the living temples of the Holy Ghost, the redeemed souls of the people of God, may be edified; huge expenses upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the meanwhile charity cold: we have in such case just occasion to make complaint as St. Jerome did, "The walls of the church they are enow contented to build, and to under-set it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofs shine with gold, the altar hath precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's ministers no choice at all." The same Jerome, both in that place and elsewhere, debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence (a thing whereunto men's affections in those times needed no spur), thereby to extol the necessity sometimes of charity and alms, sometimes of other the most principal duties belonging unto Christian men; which duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this: "God, who requireth the one as necessary, accepteth the other also as being an honourable work."

Ad Nepotian. de vita Cleric. [§. 10.]

Ad Demetr. [Ep. 8. al. 97.]

Ad Gaudentium, Epist. 12. [al. 98.]

What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the church more than other places.

XVI. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which such places have, is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of heresy. Churches receive, as every thing else, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end, being the public worship of God, they are, in this consideration, houses of greater dignity than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not

sanctified, as they are, prevent them unnecessarily in that pre-eminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass that the service of God hath not then itself such perfection of grace and comeliness, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concur.

Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; and therefore Moses in the midst of the sea, Job on the dunghill, Hezekiah in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the children in the furnace, the thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as St. Basil noteth: manifest, notwithstanding, it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped, hath in regard of us great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion; and in that respect, no doubt, bettereth even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worship God; even so, for performance of this service by the people of God assembled, we think not any place so good as the church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of David, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness."

Exhort. ad bap. et pœnitent.

Psal. xcvi. 9.

XVII. For of our churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others, rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying, "Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground: For to idolatry they have been abused. And the places where idols have been worshipped, are by the law of God devote to utter destruction. For execution of which law, the kings that were godly, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, destroyed all the high places, altars, and groves, which had been erected in Judah and Israel. He that said, thou shalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewise said, thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these synagogues and places where such idols have been worshipped. This law containeth the temporal punishment which God hath set down, and willeth that men execute for the breach of the other law. They which spare them, therefore, do but reserve, as the hypocrite Saul did, execrable things to worship God withal."

Their pretence, that would have churches utterly razed.

Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Deut. xii. 2; 2 Chron. xvii. 6; xxix; iii.

The truth is, that as no man serveth God, and loveth him

Book V. Ch. xvii.

not; so neither can any man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin which is the highest degree of treason against the Supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whose divine authority and power it investeth others. By means whereof the state of idolaters is two ways miserable. First, in that which they worship they find no succour: and, secondly, at his hands whom they ought to serve, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of most just displeasure, the withdrawing of grace, dereliction in this world, and in the world to come confusion. Paul and Barnabas, when infidels admiring their virtues went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted persons ran crying through the press of the people, "O men, wherefore do ye these things?" They knew the force of that dreadful curse whereunto idolatry maketh subject. Nor is there cause why the guilty, sustaining the same, should grudge or complain of injustice. For, whatsoever befalleth in that respect, themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it.

Isa. viii. 21; xlv. 20. Hos. xiv. 4. Isa. xli. 24. Psal. cxv. 8; lxxxi. 13. Rom. i. 24. Judic. vi. 13. Apoc. xxi. 8. Isa. ii. 21. Acts xiv. 14. Deut. xxviii. 20. Jer. ii. 17.

As for those things, either whereon, or else wherewith, superstition worketh, polluted they are by such abuse, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loathe itself, whensoever iniquity causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatsoever it toucheth the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which have no understanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth, is subject to punishment: which way should any such creature be punishable by the law of God? There may be cause sometimes to abolish or to extinguish them; but surely, never by way of punishment to the things themselves.

Yea, further, howsoever the law of Moses did punish idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or certain temporal judgment, which the Christian magistrate is of necessity for ever bound to execute upon offenders in that kind, much less upon things that way abused as mere instruments. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearful pattern of his just displeasure and wrath against sinful nations. It teacheth us, how God thought good to plague and afflict them; it doth not appoint in what form and man-

ner we ought to punish the sin of idolatry in all others. Unless they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons, and such as serve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or, because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword.

Now whereas commandment was also given to destroy all places where the Canaanites had served their gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God; this precept had reference unto a special intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but one only place in the whole land whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their Levitical law did require. By which law, severe charge was given them in that respect, not to convert those places to the worship of the living God, where nations before them had served idols, "but to seek the place which the Lord their God shall choose out of all their tribes." Besides, it is reason we should likewise consider, how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new commonwealth, which is to have neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swerved. In this case we are to retain as much, in the other as little, of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples have not generally the force of laws which all men ought to keep, but of counsels only and persuasions not amiss to be followed by them whose case is the like; surely where cases are so unlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did should induce, much less any way enforce, us to the same practice, especially considering that groves and hill-altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the secret access, which people superstitiously given might have always thereunto with ease; neither could they, remaining, serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our temples (their former abuse being by order of law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them can

Deut. xii. 2.

Deut. xii. 4, 5.

Book V. Ch. xviii.

choose but think it exceeding great pity they should be ever any otherwise employed. Yea, but the cattle of Amalek (you will say) were fit for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit which sometime deceived Saul. It was so. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that Saul, upon this conceit, might even lawfully have offered to God those reserved spoils, had not the Lord in that particular case given special charge to the contrary. As therefore, notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy Canaanites, idolaters may be converted and live: so the temples which have served idolatry as instruments may be sanctified again and continue; albeit to Israel commandment have been given that they should destroy all idolatrous places in their land, and to the good kings of Israel commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for disobeying, the same commandment, sometimes punishment, always sharp and severe reproof, hath even from the Lord himself befallen.

Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence of those Christian oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is desired, not now by infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a special refined sect of Christian believers; pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at our solemnities in erecting churches, at the names which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fashion, at the stateliness of them and costliness, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

Of public teaching, or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechizing.

XVIII. Places of public resort being thus provided for, our repair thither is especially for mutual conference, and, as it were, commerce to be had between God and us. Because therefore want of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst men,[a] as contrariwise the very ground of all our happiness, and the seed of whatsoever perfect virtue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine, this kind of knowledge we may justly set down for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth unto his people,

[a] "Contraria fortia, in quibus homines sibi invicem opponantur secundum exercitia et desideria et opiniones, omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia; sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubique et læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam et odium. Hoc promisit sancta Theologia dicens, *Habitabit agnus cum lupo*, et assignat rationem, *Repleta est terra sapientia Domini.*" Moses Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. iii. cap. 12.

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and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious offices wherewith we publicly honour him on earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of men to eternal life it is necessary, that the sacred and saving truth of God be openly published unto them. Which open publication of heavenly mysteries, is by an excellency termed preaching. Book V. Ch. xviii. Luc. viii. 39; xiii. 3.

For otherwise there is not any thing publicly notified, but we may in that respect rightly and properly say it is preached. So that when the school of God doth use it as a word of art, we are accordingly to understand it with restraint to such special matter as that school is accustomed to publish.

We find not in the world any people that have lived altogether without religion. And yet this duty of religion, which provideth that publicly all sorts of men may be instructed in the fear of God, is to the Church of God, and hath been always so peculiar, that none of the heathens, how curious soever in searching out all kinds of outward ceremonies like to ours, could ever once so much as endeavour to resemble herein the Church's care for the endless good of her children. Vide Tertul. de præscrip. advers. Hær.

Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in God's Church. For the first introduction of youth to the knowledge of God, the Jews even to this day have their Catechisms.[a] With religion it fareth as with other sciences, the first delivery of the elements thereof must, for like consideration,[b] be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners: unto which manner of teaching principles in Christianity, the Apostle in the sixth to the Hebrews is himself understood to allude. For this cause there-

[a] The Jews' Catechism, called Lekach Tob.

[b] Incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosæ atque perplexæ deterreri solent, aut eo tempore, quo præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt, asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur." Fab. l. viii. procem. "Incipientibus nobise xponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviore via ductus sine magno labore et sine ulla diffidentia maturius perduci potuisset." Institut. Imper. l. i. tit. 1.

Book V. Ch. xix.

fore, as the Decalogue of Moses declareth summarily those things which we ought to do; the prayer of our Lord, whatsoever we should request or desire: so either by the Apostles, or at the leastwise out of their writings, we have the substance of Christian belief compendiously drawn into few and short articles, to the end that the weakness of no man's wit might either hinder altogether the knowledge, or excuse the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterward by baptism received into the Church, the Fathers usually in their writings do term Hearers;[a] as having no further communion or fellowship with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the principles of Christian faith made plain unto them. Catechising may be in schools, it may be in private families; but when we make it a kind of preaching, we mean always the public performance thereof in the open hearing of men; because things are preached, not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

Vide Ruff. in Symb.

Of preaching, by reading publicly the books of holy Scripture, and concerning supposed untruths in those translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

XIX. Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, were in their times all preachers of God's truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly as faithful witnesses, making mere relation what God himself had revealed unto them; and partly as careful expounders, teachers, persuaders thereof. The Church in like case preacheth still, first publishing, by way of testimony or relation, the truth which from them she hath received, even in such sort as it was received, written in the sacred volumes of Scripture; secondly, by way of explication, discovering the mysteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witness preacheth his mere revealed truth by reading publicly the sacred Scripture: so that a second kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier speak, being strengthened with the example of so reverend a prelate, as saith, That Moses, from the time of ancient generations and ages long since past, had amongst the cities of the very Gen-

Acts xv. 21.

[a] "An alius est instinctis Christus? alius audientibus? Audientes optare instinctionem non præsumere oportet." Tertull. de pœnitent. [c. 6.] "Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit." Cyprian. Epist. xvii. l. 3. "Audiens quisque regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur." Rupert. de divin. Offic. lib. iv. cap. 18.

tiles them that preached him, in that he was read every sabbath-day. For so of necessity it must be meant, inasmuch as we know, that the Jews have always had their weekly readings of the law of Moses; but that they always had in like manner their weekly sermons upon some part of the law of Moses, we nowhere find.

Howbeit still we must here remember, that the Church, by her public reading of the book of God, preacheth only as a witness. Now the principal thing required in a witness is fidelity. Wherefore, as we cannot excuse that Church, which either, through corrupt translations of Scripture, delivereth instead of divine speeches any thing repugnant unto that which God speaketh; or, through falsified additions, proposeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture; so the blame which in both these respects hath been laid upon the Church of England, is surely altogether without cause.

Touching translations of holy Scripture, albeit we may not disallow of their painful travels herein who strictly have tied themselves to the very original letter; yet the judgment of the Church, as we see by the practice of all nations, Greeks, Latins, Persians, Syrians, Ethiopians, Arabians, hath been ever, that the fittest for public audience are such, as following a middle course between the rigour of literal translators and the liberty of paraphrasts, do with greatest shortness and plainness deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghost. Which being a labour of so great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wish than look for. So that except between the words of translation and the mind of the Scripture itself there be contradiction, every little difference should not seem an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out.

Whereas therefore the Prophet David in a certain Psalm doth say concerning Moses and Aaron, that they were obedient to the word of God, and in the self-same place our allowed translation saith, they were not obedient, we are for this cause challenged as manifest gainsayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But forasmuch as words are resemblances of that which the mind of the speaker conceiveth, and conceits are images representing that which is spoken of; it followeth, that they who will

Psal. cv. 28.

Book V. Ch. xix.

judge of words, should have recourse to the things themselves from whence they rise.

In setting down that miracle, at the sight whereof Peter fell down astonished before the feet of Jesus, and cried,

Luke v. 6,7. "Depart, Lord, I am a sinner;" the Evangelist St. Luke saith, the store of the fish which they took was such, that the net they took it in brake, and the ships which they

John xxi. 11. loaded therewith sunk: St. John, recording the like miracle, saith, that albeit the fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so great a weight was not broken. Suppose they had written both of one miracle; although there be in their words a manifest show of jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have spoken even of one miracle, the very same which they spake of divers; the one intending thereby to signify, that the greatness of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the instruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakness thereof was supported by a supernatural and miraculous addition of strength. The nets, as touching themselves, brake, but through the power of God they held. Are not the words of the Prophet Micah touching

Mic. v. 2. Bethlehem, "Thou Bethlehem the least?" And doth not the

Matt. ii. 6. very Evangelist translate these words, "Thou Bethlehem not the least?" The one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. Micah attributeth unto it smallness, in respect of circuit; Matthew greatness, in regard of honour and estimation, by being the native soil of our Lord and Saviour Christ. Sith therefore speeches which gainsay one another, must of necessity be applied both unto one and the self-same subject; sith they must also the one affirm, the other deny, the self-same thing; what necessity of contradiction can there be between the letter of the Prophet David, and our authorized translation thereof, if he understanding Moses and Aaron, do say, "They were not disobedient;" we applying our speech to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, do say of them, "They were not obedient?" Or (which the matter itself will

[Exod. x. 24.] easily enough likewise suffer) if the Egyptians being meant by both, it be said that they, in regard of their offer to let go the people when they saw the fearful darkness, disobeyed not the word of the Lord; and yet they did not obey his word,

inasmuch as the sheep and cattle at the self-same time they withheld. Of both translations the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the original verity; yet so, that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any peril at all of gainsaying as much as the least jot or syllable of God's most sacred and precious truth.

Which truth, as in this we do not violate, so neither is the same gainsayed or crossed, no, not in those very preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the steps of the Latin service-book have been somewhat too nearly followed. As when we say, Christ spake *to his disciples*, that which the Gospel declareth he spake *unto the Pharisees*. For doth the Gospel affirm he spake to the Pharisees only? Doth it mean that they, and besides them no man else was at that time spoken unto by our Saviour Christ? If not, then is there in this diversity no contrariety. I suppose it somewhat probable, that St. John and St. Matthew, which have recorded those sermons, heard them, and being hearers did think themselves as well respected as the Pharisees, in that which their Lord and Master taught concerning the pastoral care he had over his own flock, and his offer of grace made to the whole world; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in those sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found wherein we read for the word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his word.

The Gospel on the second Sunday after Easter, and on the twentieth after Trinity.

John x. 11. Matt. xxii. 1, 2.

Furthermore, somewhat they are displeased, in that we follow not the method of reading which in their judgment is most commendable,[a] the method used in some foreign churches, where Scriptures are read before the time of divine service, and without either choice or stint appointed by any determinate order. Nevertheless, till such time as they shall vouchsafe us some just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retain the ancient received custom which we now observe.[b] For with us the

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 381. "Although it be very convenient which is used in some churches, where before preaching-time the church assembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare public reading in the Church, necessary." h. d.

[b] "Facto silentio, Scripturarum sunt lecta divina solennia." Aug. de Civ. Dei,

Book V. Ch. xx.

reading of the Scripture in the Church is a part of our church liturgy, a special portion of the service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth wait for another's coming, till the assembly of them which shall afterwards worship him be complete. Wherefore, as the form of our public service is not voluntary, so neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all set down in such order, and with such choice, as hath in the wisdom of the Church seemed best to concur, as well with the special occasions, as with the general purpose, which we have to glorify God.

Of preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.

XX. Other public readings there are of books and writings not canonical, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make known the doctrine of virtuous conversation; whereupon, besides those things in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiss, it is thought amiss, that we read in our churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction as the Church hath devised for the better understanding of Scripture, or for the easier training up of the people in holiness and righteousness of life, they plead,[a] that God in the law would have nothing brought into the temple, neither besoms, nor flesh-hooks, nor trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that, for the expounding of darker places, we ought to follow the Jews' polity,[b] who under Antiochus, where they had not the commodity of sermons, appointed always at their meeting somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be

l. xxii. [c. 8. §. 22.] That for several times several pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the service of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their sundry Homilies and other writings do all testify. The like order in the Syrian Churches is clear by the very inscriptions of chapters throughout their translation of the New Testament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 196. "Neither the Homilies, nor the Apocrypha, are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, first, It is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, when he commanded, Exod. xxx. 29, that no vessel nor no instrument, either besom or flesh-hook or pan, should once come into the temple, but those only which are sanctified and set apart for that use. And in the Book of Numbers he will have no other trumpets blown to call the people together, but those only which were set apart for that purpose. Numb. x. 2."

[b] T. C. l. i. p. 197. "Besides this, the polity of the Church of God in times past is to be followed," &c.

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understood; that before and after our Saviour's coming, they neither read Onkelos nor Jonathan's paraphrase, though having both, but contented themselves with the reading only of Scripture; that, if in the primitive Church there had been any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, Justin Martyr and Origen, who mention these, would have spoken of the other likewise; that the most ancient and best councils forbid any thing to be read in churches, saving canonical Scripture only; that, when other things were afterwards permitted, fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible itself was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out.

Acts xiii. 15; xv. 21.

Justin. Apol. 2. [p. 98. ed. Colon. 1686.] Origen. Hom. 1. super Exod. et in Judic. Concil. Laod. c. 59. Concil. Valens. 2 Concil. Colon. par. 2.

Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the author's good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them who already are persuaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to persuade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legal hallowing of besoms and flesh-hooks must needs exclude all other readings in the Church save Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cause, the Lord, to sign and mark them as his own, appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uses. Thus the anointing of Aaron and his sons tied them to the office of the priesthood for ever; the anointing, not of those silver trumpets (which Moses as well for secular as sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctify), but the unction of the tabernacle, the table, the laver, the altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him, in whose service they were employed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things now in the Church, from the greatest to the least, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himself precisely instituted? for so those rudiments, they say, do import.[a] Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authority hath appointed; and consequently all positive ordinances that ever were made by

Exod. xxx. 25. 32.

Exod. xl. 15.

Num. x. 2.

Exod. xxvii. 3; xxx. 26—28.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 197. "The Lord would by these rudiments and pædagogies teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he appointed."

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ecclesiastical power touching spiritual affairs, are profane, they are unholy.

I would not wish them to undertake a work so desperate as to prove, that for the people's instruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Jews devised under Antiochus, although even that also be mistaken. For, according to Elias the Levite (out of whom it doth seem borrowed), the thing which Antiochus forbade, was the public reading of the law, and not sermons upon the law. Neither did the Jews read a portion of the Prophets together with the law to serve for an interpretation thereof, because sermons were not permitted them; but, instead of the law, which they might not read openly, they read of the Prophets that which in likeness of matter came nearest to each section of their law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the law was restored, the self-same custom as touching the Prophets did continue still.

Elias. Thesb. in verbo Patar.

Acts xv. 21. Acts xiii. 15.

If neither the Jews have used publicly to read their paraphrasts, nor the primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture,[a] except the cause of their not doing it were some law of God, or reason forbidding them to do that which we do, why should the latter ages of the Church be deprived of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the world standeth, to put nothing in practice, but only that which was at the very first? Concerning the council of Laodicea, as it forbiddeth the reading of those things which are not canonical, so it maketh some things not canonical which are. Their judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not, follow.

The Apocalypse.

We have by thus many years' experience found, that exceeding great good, not encumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the custom which we now

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 197. "This practice continued still in the churches of God after the Apostles' times, as may appear by the second Apology of Justin Martyr." Idem, p. 198. "It was decreed in the council of Laodicea, that nothing should be read in the Church but the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament. Afterward, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs' Lives was permitted. But, besides the evil success thereof, that use and custom was controlled, as may appear by the council of Collen, albeit otherwise Popish. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs' Lives hath thrust the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a corner."

observe. As for the harm whereof judicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read besides the Scripture, but that so evil choice was made. With us there is never any time bestowed in divine service without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we account a thing most necessary. We dare not admit any such form of liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little, to be read in the church. And therefore the thrusting of the Bible out of the house of God, is rather there to be feared where men esteem it a matter so indifferent,[a] whether the same be by solemn appointment read publicly or not read, the bare text excepted, which the preacher happily chooseth out to expound.

But let us here consider, what the practice of our fathers before us hath been, and how far forth the same may be followed. We find that in ancient times there was publicly read first the Scripture,[b] as namely something out of the books of the Prophets of God which were of old;[c] something out of the Apostles' writings;[d] and lastly, out of the holy Evangelists some things which touched the person of our Lord Jesus Christ himself.[e] The cause of their reading first the Old Testament, then the New, and always somewhat out of both, is most likely to have been that which Justin Martyr and St. Augustine observe in comparing the two Testaments. "The Apostles (saith the one) have taught us as themselves did

Just. resp. 101. [p. 45C.]

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 381. "It is untrue, that simple reading is necessary in the church' A number of churches which have no such order of simple reading, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if simple reading were necessary." [By simple reading he meaneth the custom of bare reading more than the preacher at the same time expoundeth unto the people.]

[b] "Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem." Tertull. Apol. [c. 39.]

[c] "Judaicarum Historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis." Origen. in Jos. Hom. 15. [init.]

[d] Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Justin. Apol. 2. [p. 98.] "Factum est ut ista die Dominica, prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adstante qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret beatissimus Antistes Ambrosius," &c. Sulpit. Sever. l. iii. de Vita S. Mart.

[e] Vide Concil. Val. 2. habitum an. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. Item Synod. Laod. c. 16. Cypr. l. ii. epist. 5. et l. iv. epist. 5. Ambros. l. i. Offic. c. 8. et epist. 75. et lib. de Helia atque jejunio, cap. 20.

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learn, first the precepts of the law, and then the Gospels. For what else is the law but the Gospel foreshewed? What other the Gospel, than the law fulfilled?" In like sort the other, "What the Old Testament hath, the very same the New containeth; but that which lieth there as under a shadow, is here brought forth into the open sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed." Again, "In the Old Testament there is a close comprehension of the New; in the New, an open discovery of the Old." To be short, the method of their public readings either purposely did tend, or at the leastwise doth fitly serve, "That from smaller things the minds of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the lowest to the highest things."

August. quæst. 33. in Num. [§. 1.]

Walaf. Strab. de rebus ecclesiast. cap. 22.

Now besides the Scripture, the Books which they called Ecclesiastical were thought not unworthy sometime to be brought into public audience, and with that name they entitled the books which we term Apocryphal. Under the self-same name they also comprised certain, no otherwise annexed unto the New than the former unto the Old Testament, as a Book of Hermas, Epistles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phrase of antiquity, these we may term the New, and the other the Old Ecclesiastical Books or Writings. For we, being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of St. Jerome, who saith, "that all writings not canonical are apocryphal," use not now the title apocryphal as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whose custom is so to name for the most part only such as might not publicly be read or divulged. Ruffinus therefore having rehearsed the self-same books of canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be only canonical, addeth immediately, by way of caution, "We must know that other books there are also, which our forefathers have used to name not canonical but ecclesiastical books, as the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Toby, Judith, the Maccabees, in the Old Testament; in the New, the Book of Hermas, and such others: all which books and writings they willed to be read in churches, but not to be alleged as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in churches. These things delivered unto us from

Hieron. in prolog. Galeat.

Ruffinus in Symbol. Apost. [§. 38.] apud Cypr.

the Fathers we have in this place thought good to set down." So far Ruffinus. Book V. Ch. xx.

He which considereth notwithstanding what store of false and forged writings, dangerous unto Christian belief, and yet bearing glorious inscriptions, began soon upon the Apostles' times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed apostolic, shall easily perceive what cause the provincial synod of Laodicea might have as then to prevent especially the danger of books made newly ecclesiastical, and, for fear of the fraud of heretics, to provide that such public readings might be altogether taken out of canonical Scripture. Which ordinance respecting but that abuse which grew through the intermingling of lessons human with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit and usurped the name of the other, (as by the canon of a later council,[a] providing remedy for the self-same evil, and yet allowing the old ecclesiastical books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear,) neither can be construed, nor should be urged utterly to prejudice our use of those old ecclesiastical writings; much less of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings used in former times, a most commendable institution, as well then [b]to supply the casual, as now the necessary defect of sermons. Vide Gelas. Decret. tom. Concil. ii. p. 462. Circa An. Dom. 366.

In the heat of general persecution, whereunto Christian belief was subject upon the first promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and constancy of weaker minds, when public relation was made unto them after what manner God had been glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holiness during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all men's eyes, through miraculous evidence of grace divine assisting them from above. For which cause the virtues of some being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the rest, this brought in a fourth kind of public reading, whereby the lives of such saints and martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials Concil. Carthag. iii. Can. 13.

[a] Concil. Carthag. iii. c. 47. "Præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesiis legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum." Circa An. Dom. 401.

[b] Concil. Valen. ii. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. "Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ a Diaconibus recitentur."

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solemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable custom being in later ages resumed, where there was neither the like cause to do as the Fathers before had done, nor any care, conscience, or wit, in such as undertook to perform that work, some brainless men have by great labour and travel brought to pass, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more than of saints. If, therefore, Pope Gelasius did so long sithence see those defects of judgment, even then, for which the reading of the acts of martyrs should be, and was at that time forborne in the Church of Rome; we are not to marvel, that afterward legends being grown in a manner to be nothing else but heaps of frivolous and scandalous vanities, they have been even with disdain thrown out, the very nests which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one suit, as if they who abolish legends could not without incongruity retain in the Church either Homilies or those ecclesiastical books.

et Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. et Hadrian. epist. ad Carol. Magn.

Gelas. circa An. Dom. 492. tom. Concil. ii. p. 461.

Concil. Colon. celebrat. An. Dom. 1536. par. ii. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. xi. Viv. de trad. disc. lib. v.

Which books in case myself did think, as some others do, safer and better to be left publicly unread; nevertheless as in other things of like nature, even so in this,[a] my private judgment I should be loth to oppose against the force of their reverend authority, who rather considering the divine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certain of those Apocrypha which we publicly read, have thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginal border unto the Old Testament, and though with divine, yet as human compositions, to grant at the least unto certain of them public audience in the house of God. For inasmuch as the due estimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of those famous oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always most especial care, lest through confused mixture at any time, human usurp the room and title of divine writings. Wherefore, albeit for the people's more plain instruction (as the ancient use hath been) we read in our churches certain books besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our professed opinion,

Hieron. præf. ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. l. i. c. 14.

[a] "In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt." c. unde Relig. d. in extra.

touching the difference whereby we sever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected, that some one or other will haply mistake a thing so manifest in every man's eye, there is no let, but that as often as those books are read, and need so requireth, the style of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to bar even all possibility of error.

Præf. gloss. ord. et Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.

It being then known, that we hold not the Apocrypha for sacred (as we do the holy Scripture), but for human compositions, the subject whereof are sundry divine matters; let there be reason shewed, why to read any part of them publicly it should be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it said, that many things in them are very frivolous and unworthy of public audience; yea, many contrary, "plainly contrary to the holy Scripture." Which hitherto is neither sufficiently proved by him who saith it; and if the proofs thereof were strong, yet the very allegation itself is weak. Let us therefore suppose, (for I will not demand to what purpose it is, that against our custom of reading books not canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in those books which we never used to read,) suppose, I say, that what faults soever they have observed throughout the passages of all those books, the same in every respect were such as neither could be construed, nor ought to be censured otherwise than even as themselves pretend. Yet as men through too much haste oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they should go; so here it appeareth, that an eager desire to rake together whatsoever might prejudice, or any way hinder the credit of apocryphal books, hath caused the collector's pen so to run as it were on wheels, that the mind which should guide it had not leisure to think, whether that which might haply serve to withhold from giving them the authority which belongeth unto sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the canon, would as effectually serve to shut them altogether out of the church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that public use wherein they are only held as profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged, that those books are holy, that they are ecclesiastical and sacred, that to term them divine, as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly so termed, is no way to honour them above desert; yea, even that the whole Church of Christ, as well at the first as sithence, hath most worthily approved

T. C. l. ii. p. 400, 401.

Harm. Conf. sect. 1. Bel. Con. art. 6. Lubert. de Princip. Christ. Dogm. l. i. c. 5.

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their fitness for the public information of life and manners? Is not thus much, I say, acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithstanding receive not the same for any part of the canonical Scripture; by them who deny not but that they are faulty; by them who are ready enough to give instances wherein they seem to contain matter scarce agreeable with holy Scripture? So little doth such their supposed faultiness in moderate men's judgments enforce the removal of them out of the house of God, that still they are judged to retain worthily those very titles of commendation, than which there cannot greater be given to writings, the authors whereof are men. As in truth, if the Scripture itself, ascribing to the persons of men righteousness in regard of their manifold virtues, may not rightly be construed as though it did thereby clear them and make them quite free from all faults, no reason we should judge it absurd to commend their writings as reverend, holy, and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, only that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of error by us, which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Against immodest invectives, therefore, whereby they are charged as being fraught with *outrageous lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable censure will prevail, who without so passionate terms of disgrace do note a difference great enough between apocryphal and other writings, a difference such as Josephus and Epiphanius observe: the one declaring, that amongst the Jews, books written after the days of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, inasmuch as the Jews sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the other acknowledging, that they are profitable,[a] although denying them to be divine, in such construction and sense as the Scripture itself is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the nephew of Jesus do plainly enough signify, "After that my grandfather Jesus had given himself to the reading of the law and the Prophets, and other

The libel of Metaphys. Schoolp. art. 34. Joseph. cont. App. lib. i. [§. 8.]

Præfat. ad lib. Ecclus.

[a] Epiphan. in Ancyret. [de Ponderibus, &c. §. 4.] Χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

books of our fathers, and had gotten therein sufficient judgment, he purposed also to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom, to the intent that they which were desirous to learn, and would give themselves to these things, might profit much more in living according to the law." Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The books of Judith, Toby, Baruch, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest we leave unto men in private.

Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certain solemn occasions, some lessons are chosen out of those books, and of Scripture itself some chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer disgrace to the word of God, or lift up the writings of men above it. For in such choice we do not think, but that fitness of speech may be more respected than worthiness. If in that which we use to read, there happen by the way any clause, sentence, or speech, that soundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive herself of so much gold, rather than to learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsel that St. Jerome giveth Læta, of taking heed how she read the Apocrypha, as also by the help of other learned men's judgments delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely the arguments that should bind us not to read them, or any part of them publicly at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

Of preaching by sermons; and whether sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.

XXI. We marvel the less that our reading of books not canonical is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of canonical Scripture itself, that now it hath grown to be a question, whether the word of God be any ordinary mean to save the souls of men, in that it is either privately studied, or publicly read, and so made known; or else only as the same is preached, that is to say, *explained by a lively voice*, and applied to the people's use as the *speaker in his wisdom thinketh meet*. For this alone is it which they use to call preaching. The public reading of the Apocrypha they condemn altogether as a thing effectual unto evil; the bare reading in like sort of whatsoever, yea even of Scriptures

themselves, they mislike as a thing ineffectual to do that good which we are persuaded may grow by it.

Our desire is in this present controversy, as in the rest, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain arguments, but rather positively to lead on the minds of the simpler sort by plain and easy degrees, till the very nature of the thing itself do make manifest what is truth. First, therefore, because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's word, the same they tie and restrain only unto sermons, howbeit not sermons read neither, (for such they also abhor in the Church,) but sermons without book, sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may have public audience but once; for this cause, to avoid ambiguities, wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the word of God itself, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the word of God is his heavenly truth touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto men; unto Prophets and Apostles by immediate divine inspiration, from them to us by their books and writings. We, therefore, have no word of God but the Scripture. Apostolic sermons were, unto such as heard them, his word, even as properly as to us their writings are. Howbeit not so our own sermons, the expositions which our discourse of wit doth gather and minister out of the word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the word of God, always to mean the Scripture only.

The end of the word of God is to save, and therefore we term it the word of life. The way for all men to be saved, is by the knowledge of that truth which the word hath taught. And sith eternal life is a thing of itself communicable unto all, it behoveth that the word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the word of life hath been always a treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain as to find; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwise serveth, than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth, because it maketh wise unto salvation. Wherefore the ignorant it saveth not; they which live by the word must know it. And being itself the instrument which

God hath purposely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of salvation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of itself be acknowledged a most apt and a likely mean to leave an apprehension of things divine in our understanding, and in the mind an assent thereunto? For touching the one, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich treasures of his own wisdom, hath by delivering his word made choice of the Scriptures as the most effectual means whereby those treasures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth, that to man's understanding the Scripture must needs be even of itself intended as a full and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of eternal life. And concerning our assent to the mysteries of heavenly truth, seeing that the word of God, for the Author's sake, hath credit with all that confess it (as we all do) to be his word, every proposition of holy Scripture, every sentence being to us a principle; if the principles of all kinds of knowledge else have that virtue in themselves, whereby they are able to procure our assent unto such conclusions as the industry of right discourse doth gather from them; we have no reason to think the principles of that truth, which tendeth unto men's everlasting happiness, less forcible than any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certainty the most infallible. But as every thing of price, so this doth require travel. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the world. And the less our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other men's judgments to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever believe, into whom the doctrine of belief is not instilled by instruction, some way received at the first from others. Wherein whatsoever fit means there are to notify the mysteries of the word of God, whether publicly (which we call preaching) or in private, howsoever, the word by every such mean even ordinarily doth save, and not only by being delivered unto men in sermons.

Sermons are not the only preaching which doth save souls. For, concerning the use and sense of this word preaching, which they shut up in so close a prison, although more than enough have already been spoken to redeem the liberty thereof; yet, because they insist so much, and so proudly insult thereon,

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we must a little inure their ears with hearing how others, whom they more regard, are in this case accustomed to use the self-same language with us, whose manner of speech they deride. Justin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their writings the very judgment to come is preached; nor the council of Vaus to insinuate, that presbyters, absent through infirmity from the churches, might be said to preach by those deputies who in their stead did but read Homilies; nor the council of Toledo, to call the usual public reading of the Gospels in the church, preaching; nor others long before these our days to write, that by him who but readeth a lesson in the solemn assembly as part of divine service, the very office of preaching is so far forth executed. Such kind of speeches were then familiar, those phrases seemed not to them absurd; they would have marvelled to hear the outcries which we do,[a] because we think that the Apostles in writing, and others in reading to the church those books which the Apostles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly said to preach. For although men's tongues and their pens differ, yet to one and the self-same general, if not particular, effect, they may both serve. It is no good argument, St. Paul could not write with his tongue, therefore neither could he preach with his pen. For preaching is a general end whereunto writing and speaking do both serve. Men speak not with the instruments of writing, neither write with the instruments of speech; and yet things recorded with one, and uttered with the other, may be preached well enough with both.[b] By their patience therefore be it spoken, the Apostles preached as well when they wrote as when they spake the Gospel of Christ; and our usual public reading of the word of God for the people's instruction is preaching.

Parænet. ad Gent. [p. 24. sqq.] Concil. Valen. ii. c. 2.

Concil. Tol. iv. c. 11.

Rupert. de Divin. Offic. l. i. c. 12, 13. Isid. de Eccles. Offic. l. i. c. 10.

Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpose, in so restraining the same, injurious to God's most sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both sides confessed, that the word of God outwardly administered (his Spirit inwardly

John vi. 46. Matt. xvi. 17.

[a] The Libel of Schoolp. art. 11. T. C. lib. ii. p. 383. "St. Paul's writing is no more preaching, than his pen or his hand is his tongue: seeing they cannot be the same, which cannot be made by the same instruments."

[b] "Evangelizo manu et scriptione." Raimol. de Rom. Eccles. Idolof. præf. ad Co. Essex.

concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and saveth souls. Now whereas the external administration of his word is, as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the same when sermons thereon be made; in the one, they deny that the finger of God hath ordinarily certain principal operations, which we most stedfastly hold and believe that it hath in both.

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2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 3. Acts xvi. 14.

XXII. So worthy a part of divine service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem preaching as the blessed ordinance of God, sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds. Wherefore, how highly soever it may please them with words of truth to extol sermons, they shall not herein offend us. We seek not to derogate from any thing which they can justly esteem, but our desire is to uphold the just estimation of that from which it seemeth unto us they derogate more than becometh them. That which offendeth us is, first, the great disgrace which they offer unto our custom of bare reading the word of God and to his gracious Spirit, the principal virtue whereof thereby manifesting itself for the endless good of men's souls, even the virtue which it hath to convert, to edify, to save souls; this they mightily strive to obscure: and, secondly, the shifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the saving power of the Holy Ghost, they separate from all apparent hope of life and salvation thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude.

What they attribute to sermons only, and what we to reading also.

Touching therefore the use of Scripture, even in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very mean hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, some cause which moved the Apostle St. Paul to require, that those things which any one church's affairs gave particular occasion to write, might, for the instruction of all, be published, and that by reading. 1. When the very having of the books of God was a matter of no small charge and difficulty, inasmuch as they could not be had otherwise than only in written copies, it was the necessity not of preaching things agreeable with the word, but of reading the word itself at large to the people, which caused churches throughout the

1 Thess. v. 27. Colos. iv. 16.

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world to have public care, that the sacred oracles of God being procured by common charge, might, with great sedulity, be kept both entire and sincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeavours of infidels to abolish, and the fraudulence of heretics always to deprave the same, shall we set light by that custom of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown? 2. The voice and testimony of the Church, acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the living God, is, for the truth and certainty thereof, no mean evidence. For if with reason we may presume upon things which a few men's depositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of men are not, both at their first access to the school of Christ, exceedingly moved, yea, and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authority of Scriptures, ever sithence the first publication thereof, even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest-received and every-where-continued custom of reading them publicly as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the word of God, as the use hath ever been in open audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's assent and acknowledgment, that it is his word. 3. A further commodity this custom hath, which is to furnish the very simplest and rudest sort with such infallible axioms and precepts of sacred truth, delivered even in the very letter of the law of God, as may serve them for rules whereby to judge the better all other doctrines and instructions which they hear. For which end and purpose, I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unless far more should be read in the people's hearing, than by a sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole book of God is by reading every year published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very well the readiest interpreter of Scripture occupied many years. 4. Besides, wherefore should any man think, but that reading itself is one of the ordinary means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to instil that celestial verity, which being but so received, is nevertheless effectual to save souls?

John v. 39. Isa. viii. 20.

Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the word of God, as the manner is in our churches. Book V. Ch. xxii.

And because it were odious, if they, on their part, should altogether despise the same, they yield that reading may set forward, but not begin, the work of salvation; that faith may be nourished therewith, but not bred; that herein men's attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God, have like efficacy, both being of power to augment, but neither to effect belief without sermons; that if any believe by reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an extraordinary work of God. Wherein that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. T. C. l. ii. p. 376, 377, 396. P. 378. P. 383.

The Scripture witnesseth, that when the book of the law of God had been sometime missing, and was after found, the king, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with tears confessed, "Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because our fathers have not kept his word, to do after all things which are written in this book." This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as fear God, and yet incur his displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is eternal death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is, notwithstanding, the first step of their re-entrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the word only read unto them. Besides, it seemeth that God would have no man stand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectual, as well to lay even the first foundation, as to add degrees of further perfection in the fear of God; and therefore the law saith, "Thou shalt read this law before all Israel, that men, women, and children may hear, yea, even that their children, which as yet have not known it, may hear it, and, *by hearing it so read*, may learn to fear the Lord." Our Lord and Saviour was himself of opinion, that they which would not be drawn to amendment of life by the testimony which Moses and the Prophets have given concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be persuaded by other means, although God from the very dead should have raised them up preachers. Many 2 Chron. xxiv. 18, 19, 21. Deut. xxi. 11—13. Luke xvi. 31.

hear the books of God, and believe them not. Howbeit, their unbelief, in that case, we may not impute unto any weakness or insufficiency in the mean which is used towards them, but to the wilful bent of their obstinate hearts against it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto such, shall still have cause to complain with the Prophets which were of old, "Who will give credit unto our teaching?" But with whom ordinary means will prevail, surely the power of the word of God, even without the help of interpreters in God's Church, worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but also to their conversion which are not. It shall not boot them who derogate from reading, to excuse it, when they see no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny that aliens and strangers from the family of God are won, or that belief doth use to be wrought at the first in them, without sermons. For they know it is our custom of simple reading, not for conversion of infidels estranged from the house of God, but for the instruction of men baptized, bred, and brought up in the bosom of the Church, which they despise as a thing uneffectual to save such souls. In such they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work faith without sermons.

The reason why no man can attain belief by the bare contemplation of heaven and earth, is for that they neither are sufficient to give us as much as the least spark of light concerning the very principal mysteries of our faith; and whatsoever we may learn by them, the same we can only attain to know according to the manner of natural sciences, which mere discourse of wit and reason findeth out: whereas the things which we properly believe, be only such as are received upon the credit of divine testimony. Seeing, therefore, that he which considereth the creatures of God findeth therein both these defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the mysteries of faith, and not any thing amongst them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in those two respects, that our consideration of creatures, and attention unto Scriptures, are not in themselves, and without sermons, things of like disability to breed or beget faith.

Small cause also there is, why any man should greatly wonder

as at an extraordinary work, if without sermons reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by some special instance, what one article of Christian faith, or what duty required necessarily unto all men's salvation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not apt to notify. Effects are miraculous and strange when they grow by unlikely means. But did we ever hear it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read should believe and live according to the will of Almighty God? Reading doth convey to the mind that truth without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghost. And the end of all Scripture is the same which St. John proposeth in the writing of that most divine Gospel, namely faith, and through faith salvation. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect in itself available, as they which wrote it were persuaded; unless we suppose, that the Evangelists, or others, in speaking of their own intent to instruct and to save by writing, had a secret conceit which they never opened to any, a conceit that no man in the world should ever be that way the better for any sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached upon, or alleged at the least in a sermon. Otherwise, if he which writeth doth that which is forcible in itself, how should he which readeth be thought to do that which in itself is of no force to work belief, and to save believers?

Exod. xxiv. 7.

John xx. 31. Prov. i. 2—4. Rom. i. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 16.

Now, although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousy and fear, lest by thus over-valuing their sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall; nevertheless so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for men's encouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if sermons only be the power of God to save every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and instruction's sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it; they answer fumingly, that they are "ashamed to defile their pens with making answer to such idle questions:" yet in this their mood they cast forth somewhat, wherewith under pain of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us, the profit of reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of faith,

T. C. l. ii. p. 375.

which sermons have once engendered; it is some stay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the preacher; besides, it keepeth sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the soul of man, yet help the retentive force of that stomach of the mind, which receiveth ghostly food at the preacher's hands. But the principal cause of writing the Gospel was, that it might be preached upon or interpreted by public ministers, apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning sermons, should in such sort both darken their eyes, and yet sharpen their wits withal, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude, as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes, which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred word of God unto books is surmised to have been, lest the preacher should want a text thereupon to scholy.

Men of learning hold it for a slip in judgment, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing, which reason findeth common unto more. Whereas, therefore, they take from all kinds of teaching, that which they attribute to sermons, it had been their part to yield directly some strong reason why between *sermons alone* and *faith* there should be ordinarily that coherence which causes have with their usual effects, why a Christian man's belief should so naturally grow from sermons, and not possibly from any other kind of teaching. In belief there being but these two operations, *apprehension* and *assent*, do only sermons cause belief, in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know that many things are believed, although they be intricate, obscure, and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea, although in this world they be no way possible to be understood. Many things believed are likewise so plain, that every common person may therein be

unto himself a sufficient expounder. Finally, to explain even those things which need and admit explication, many other usual ways there are besides sermons. Therefore, sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we first come to apprehend the mysteries of God. Is it in regard then of sermons only, that apprehending the Gospel of Christ, we yield thereunto our unfeigned assent, as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly consider after what sort the heart of man hereunto is framed, must of necessity acknowledge, that whoso assenteth to the words of eternal life, doth it in regard of his authority whose words they are. This is, in man's conversion unto God, τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the first step whereat his race towards heaven beginneth. Unless, therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we shall think it a miracle, if any man acknowledge the divine authority of the Scripture, till some sermon have persuaded him thereunto, and that otherwise neither conversation in the bosom of the church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned men's books, nor information received by conference, nor whatsoever pain and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the law, is so far blest of God, as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant, that faith doth not come but only by hearing sermons?

T. C. l. ii. p. 375.

Fain they would have us to believe the Apostle St. Paul himself to be the author of this their paradox, only because he hath said, that "it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them which believe;" and again, "How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? How shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall men preach except they be sent?" To answer, therefore, both allegations at once, the very substance of what they contain is in few but this. Life and salvation God will have offered unto all; his will is, that Gentiles should be saved as well as Jews. Salvation belongeth unto none but such "as call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Which nations as yet unconverted neither do, nor possibly can do, till they believe. What they are to believe, impossible it is they should know till they hear it. Their hearing requireth our preaching unto them. Tertullian, to draw even Paynims themselves unto Christian belief, willeth

2 Cor. i. 21.

Rom. x. 14, 15.

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the books of the Old Testament to be searched, which were at that time in Ptolemy's library. And if men did not list to travel so far, though it were for their endless good, he addeth, that in Rome, and other places, the Jews had synagogues, whereunto every one which would might resort; that this kind of liberty they purchased by payment of a standing tribute; that there they did openly read the Scriptures; and whosoever "will hear (saith Tertullian),[a] he shall find God; whosoever will study to know, shall be also fain to believe." But sith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will seek instruction at our hands, it remaineth, that unless we will suffer them to perish, salvation itself must seek them; it behoveth God to send them preachers, as he did his elect Apostles throughout the world. There is a knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of nature. This they honour and esteem highly as profound wisdom; howbeit this wisdom saveth them not. That which must save believers, is "the knowledge of the cross of Christ," the only subject of all our preaching. And in their eyes, what seemeth this but folly? It pleaseth God by "the foolishness of preaching" to save. These words declare how admirable force these mysteries have which the world doth deride as follies; they shew that the foolishness of the cross of Christ is the wisdom of true believers; they concern the object of our faith, the matter preached of, and believed in, by Christian men.[b] This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account foolishness; but that they did ever think it a fond or unlikely way to seek men's conversion by sermons, we have not heard. Manifest, therefore, it is, that the Apostle, applying the name of *foolishness* in such sort as they did, must needs, by "the foolishness of preaching," mean the doctrine of Christ, which we learn that we may be saved; but that sermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaseth our Lord to save, he could not

[a] Apologet. [c. 18.] This they did in a tongue, which to all learned men amongst the heathens, and to a great part of the simplest, was familiarly known; as appeareth by a supplication offered unto the emperor Justinian, wherein the Jews made request, that it might be lawful for them to read Greek translations of the LXX interpreters in their synagogues, as their custom before had been. Authent. cxlvi. Col. 10. incipit, Æquum sane.

[b] The Apostle useth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

mean. In like sort, where the same Apostle proveth, that as well the sending of the Apostles, as their preaching to the Gentiles, was necessary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their salvation, who even from their tender infancy never knew any faith or religion than only Christian, no kind of teaching can be available, saving that which was so needful for the first universal conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the sending of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy instruments? Belief, in all sorts, doth come by hearkening and attending to the word of life, which word sometime proposeth and preacheth itself to the hearer; sometime they deliver it, whom privately zeal and piety move to be instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the public either reading thereof, or interpreting. All these tend unto one effect; neither doth that which St. Paul or other Apostles teach concerning the necessity of such teaching as theirs was, or of sending such as they were, for that purpose, unto the Gentiles, prejudice the efficacy of any other way of public instruction, or enforce the utter disability of any other men's vocation thought requisite in this Church for the saving of souls, where means more effectual are wanting.

Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort, and how far, man's salvation doth necessarily depend upon the knowledge of the word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby sermons are distinguished from other kinds of administering the word unto that purpose; and what special property or quality that is, which being nowhere found but in sermons, maketh them effectual to save souls, and leaveth all other doctrinal means besides destitute of vital efficacy. These pertinent instructions, whereby they might satisfy us and obtain the cause itself for which they contend, these things which only would serve, they leave; and (which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselves with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their opinion; sometime they fall upon their poor brethren which can but read,[a] and against

[a] "This tail of readers." "The bishops' more than beggarly presents." "Those rascal ministers." T. C. l. ii. p. 373.

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them they are bitterly eloquent. If we allege what the Scriptures themselves do usually speak for the saving force of the word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howsoever the same shall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always restrain it unto sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath said, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life." But they tell us he spake to the Jews, which Jews before had heard his sermons; and that peradventure it was his mind they should search, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending whensoever the Scriptures should happen to be alleged in sermons. Furthermore, having received apostolical doctrine, the Apostle St. Paul hath taught us to esteem the same as the supreme rule, whereby all other doctrines must for ever be examined. Yea, but inasmuch as the Apostle doth here speak of that he had preached, he flatly maketh (as they strangely affirm) his preachings or sermons the rule whereby to examine all. And then, I beseech you, what rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For if sermons must be our rule, because the Apostles' sermons were so to their hearers; then, sith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apostles' sermons, it resteth that either the sermons which we hear should be our rule, or (that being absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity) no rule at all be remaining for trial, what doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly truth. Again, let the same Apostle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to instruct in righteousness; still, notwithstanding, we err, if hereby we presume to gather, that Scripture read will avail unto any one of all these uses: they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that so much the Scripture can do, if the minister that way apply it in his sermons, otherwise not. Finally, they never hear a sentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their glosses upon it are, the word preached, the Scripture explained, or delivered unto us *in sermons*. Sermons they evermore understand to be that word of God, which alone hath vital operation; the dangerous sequel of which construction I wish they did more attentively weigh. For, sith speech is the very image whereby the mind and soul of the speaker conveyeth itself into the

T. C. l. ii. p. 37.

John v. 39.

Gal. i. 8, 9.

2 Tim. iii. 16.

bosom of him which heareth, we cannot choose but see great reason wherefore the word which proceedeth from God, who is himself very truth and life, should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively and mighty in operation, "sharper than any two-edged sword." Now, if in this and the like places we did conceive that our own sermons are that strong and forcible word, should we not hereby impart even the most peculiar glory of the word of God unto that which is not his word? For, touching our sermons, that which giveth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over corrupt fountain from which they come. In our speech of most holy things, our most frail affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore, when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the people properly the word of God. As for our sermons, be they never so sound and perfect, his word they are not as the sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously termed his word, because his word is commonly the subject whereof they treat, and must be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding, by these and the like shifts, they derive unto sermons alone, whatsoever is generally spoken concerning the word.

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Heb. iv. 12.

Again, what seemeth to have been uttered concerning sermons, or their efficacy or necessity in regard of divine matter, and must consequently be verified in sundry other kinds of teaching if the matter be the same in all; their use is to fasten every such speech unto that one only manner of teaching which is by sermons, that still sermons may be all in all. Thus, because Solomon declareth, that the people decay, or perish, for want of knowledge, where no prophesying at all is, they gather, that the hope of life and salvation is cut off, where preachers are not, which prophesy by sermons, how many soever they be in number that read daily the word of God, and deliver, though in other sort, the self-same matter which sermons do. The people which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophesying, no teaching, perish. But that they should of necessity perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of Solomon import.

T. C. l. ii. p. 381. Prov. xxix. 18.

Another usual point of their art in this present question,

T. C. l. ii. p. 379

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John iii. 14; 2 Cor. ii. 14—16; 2 Tim. ii. 15; Matt. xvi. 19; 1 Cor. iii. 6.

is to make very large and plentiful discourses how Christ is by sermons lifted up higher and more apparent to the eye of faith; how the savour of the word is more sweet, being brayed, and more able to nourish, being divided, by preaching, than by only reading proposed; how sermons are the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain in comparison still clasped; how God giveth richer increase of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, than by bare and simple reading. Out of which premises, declaring how attainment unto life is easier where sermons are, they conclude an impossibility[a] thereof where sermons are not. Alcidamas the sophister hath many arguments to prove, that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated speech. The like whereunto, and in part the same, are brought by them who commend sermons, as having (which all men, I think, will acknowledge) sundry peculiar and proper virtues, such as no other way of teaching besides hath. Aptness to follow particular occasions presently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice, and gesture, to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of men, this sermons may challenge. Wherein, notwithstanding so eminent properties whereof lessons are haply destitute, yet lessons being free from some inconveniences whereunto sermons are more subject, they may in this respect no less take, than in other they must give, the hand which betokeneth pre-eminence. For there is nothing which is not some way excelled, even by that which it doth excel. Sermons, therefore, and lessons, may each excel other in some respects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our salvation.

T. C. l. ii. p. 395.

To which effect, when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie, to find out the strongest causes, wherefore they should imagine that reading is itself so unavailable, the most we can learn at their hands is, that sermons are the ordinance of God, the Scriptures dark, and the labour of reading easy. First, therefore, as we know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his special providence evermore bless with happy success, those things which himself appointeth; so his Church,

T. C. l. ii. p. 396.

[a] "No salvation to be looked for, where no preaching is." T. C. l. ii. p. 380.

we persuade ourselves, he hath not in such sort given over to a reprobate sense, that whatsoever it deviseth for the good of the souls of men, the same he doth still accurse and make frustrate. Or, if he always did defeat the ordinances of his Church, is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherefore then should we think, that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to bless the labour of dividing his word according unto each man's private discretion in public sermons, and to withdraw itself from concurring with the public delivery thereof by such selected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath solemnly appointed to be read for the people's good, either by ordinary course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of special occasions? Reading (saith Isidore) is to the hearers no small edifying. To them whose delight and meditation is in the law, seeing that happiness and bliss belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may presume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very word which is read, to be both presently their joy, and afterwards their study that hear it. St. Augustine, speaking of devout men, noteth how they daily frequented the church, how attentive ear they give unto the lessons and chapters read, how careful they were to remember the same, and to muse thereupon by themselves. St. Cyprian[a] observeth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity were to him an argument that there is in this ordinance a blessing, such as ordinarily doth accompany the administration of the word of life. It were much if there should be such a difference between the hearing of sermons preached, and of lessons read in the church, that he which presenteth himself at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet David, "Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes, direct me in the path of thy commandments," might have the ground of usual experience, whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the grace he seeketh; they contrariwise not so, who crave the like assistance of his Spirit when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this, therefore, preaching and reading are equal, that both are approved as his ordinances,

Deut. xxxi. 11—13.

De Eccles. Offic. l. i. c. 10. Psal. i. 2.

Ps. cxix. 16.

Aug. in Psal. lxvi.

Psal. cxix. 33, 35.

[a] "Lector personat verba sublimia. Evangelium Christi legis a fratribus conspicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur." Cyprian. l. ii. Epist. 5.

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both assisted with his grace. And if his grace do assist them both to the nourishment of faith already bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yielded, imagine, that in the breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forsake the other.

T. C. l. ii. p. 383, 384, 392.

Touching *hardness*, which is the second pretended impediment, as against homilies, being plain and popular instructions, it is no bar, so neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no, not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how small soever they will have it, must of necessity be granted sufficient to notify that which is plain or easy to be understood. And of things necessary to all men's salvation, we have been hitherto accustomed to hold (especially sithence the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the simplest having now a key unto knowledge, which the eunuch in the Acts did want, our children may of themselves by reading understand that which he without an interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and easy to be understood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgment afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not so hard, but that the only reading thereof may give life unto willing hearers.

Acts viii. 31.

The easy performance of which holy labour is in like sort a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an infidel, yea, though a child, may be able to read, there is no doubt but the meanest and worst amongst the people under the law had been as able, as the priests themselves were, to offer sacrifice: did this make sacrifice of no effect unto that purpose for which it was instituted? In religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardness of their execution, as by the worthiness and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodness of God in nature, when we consider how he hath provided, that things most needful to preserve this life should be most prompt and easy for all living creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a sign of his wonderful providence over us, when the food of eternal life, upon the utter want whereof our endless death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and always set in such a readiness, that those very means, than which

nothing is more easy, may suffice to procure the same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lack of scribes and expounders that can be our just excuse. The word which saveth our souls is near us; we need for knowledge but to read and live. The man which readeth the word of God, the word itself doth pronounce blessed, if he also observe the same.

Now all these things being well considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any man to judge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is most conveniently sought; whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath been shewed; or else on theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of salvation for them unto whom the word of God is but only read, do seldom name them but with great disdain and contempt, who execute that service in the Church of Christ. By means whereof it hath come to pass, that churches, which cannot enjoy the benefit of usual preaching, are judged as it were even forsaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort: contrariwise, those places which every day, for the most part, are at sermons as the flowing sea, do, both by their emptiness at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens, shew to the voice of the living God, this way sounding in the ears of men, a great deal less reverence than were meet.

T. C. l. ii. p. 363, 367.

But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can choose but think them cruel, which doth hear them so boldly teach, that if God (as to Him there is nothing impossible) do haply save any such as continue where they have all other means of instruction, but are not taught by continual preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitness of so poor instruments can give any man cause to hope for; that sacraments are not effectual to salvation, except men be instructed by preaching before they be made partakers of them; yea, that both sacraments and prayers also, where sermons are not, "do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation;" what man's heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true, that the weakness of our wits, and the dulness of our affections, do make us, for the most part, even as our Lord's own disciples were for a certain time, hard and slow to believe what is written. For help whereof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectual manner. The principal churches throughout the land,

Pag. 364, 365, 380, 383, 384.

P. 392.

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and no small part of the rest, being in this respect by the goodness of God so abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that justly any man should think the ordinary means of eternal life taken from them, because their teaching is in public for the most part but by reading. For which cause, amongst whom there are not those helps that others have, to set them forward in the way of life, such to dishearten with fearful sentences, as though their salvation could hardly be hoped for, is not, in our understanding, so consonant with Christian charity. We hold it safer a great deal, and better to give them encouragement, to put them in mind, that it is not the deepness of their knowledge, but the singleness of their belief, which God accepteth; that they which "hunger and thirst after righteousness shall be satisfied;" that no imbecility of means can prejudice the truth of the promise of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to sharpen the edge of their own industry; and that painfulness by feeble means shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost.

Ecclus. li. 26, 27; Matt. xii. 20; 1 Tim. i. 5; Rom. xiv. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 10; Matt. v. 6; Phil. i. 6; 1 Pet. v. 10; Matt. iii. 19; 1 Thess. iv. 18; Heb. x. 24; Jude 20, 21; 1 Pet. iv. 10; Luke xi. 31.

As for the men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer about the force of the word of God, either read by itself, or opened in sermons, their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might give us very just cause to think, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoever they have been driven to devise some odd kinds of blind uses, whereunto they may answer that reading doth serve, yet the reading of the word of God in public, more than their preachers' bare text, who will not judge that they deem needless; when if we chance at any time to term it necessary, as being a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no church can omit: they only are the men, that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been crossed and gain-

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sayed; they only the men, which have given their peremptory sentence to the contrary, "It is untrue that simple reading is necessary in the Church." And why untrue? "Because, although it be very convenient which is used in some churches, where before preaching-time the church assembled hath the Scriptures read in such order, that the whole canon thereof is oftentimes in one year run through; yet a number of churches which have no such order of simple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if simple reading were necessary." A poor, a cold, and a hungry cavil! Shall we therefore, to please them, change the word *necessary*, and say, that it hath been a commendable order, a custom very expedient, or an ordinance most profitable, (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoveful,) to read the word of God at large in the church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is, whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or satisfy their minds. They have against it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that "Two things to one and the same end cannot but very improperly be said most profitable." And therefore, if preaching be most profitable to man's salvation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not.

Book V. Ch. xxii. T. C. l. ii. p. 381.

T. C. l. ii. p. 372.

Are they resolved then at the leastwise, if preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaseth God to save our souls, what kind of preaching it is which doth save? Understand they, how or in what respect there is that force or virtue in preaching? We have reason therefore to make these demands; for that although their pens run all upon preaching and sermons, yet when themselves do practise that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and those words they shun as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they preach, or to give to their own instructions and exhortations the name of sermons; the pain they take themselves in this kind, is either opening, or lecturing, or reading, or exercising, but in no case preaching. And in this present question, they also warily protest, that what they ascribe to the virtue of preaching, they still mean it of good preaching. Now one of them saith, that a good sermon must expound and apply a large portion of the text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to understand, that sound preaching "is

T. C. l. ii. p. 385.

Complaint of the commonalty.

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Dr. Some's Painter, p. 21.

not to do as one did at London, who spent most of his time in invectives against good men, and told his audience how the magistrate should have an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church." The best of them hold it for no good preaching, "when a man endeavoureth to make a glorious show of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himself to the capacity of the simple." But let them shape us out a good preacher by what pattern soever it pleaseth them best, let them exclude and enclose whom they will with their definitions, we are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, so that when once we are agreed what sermons shall currently pass for good, we may at length understand from them, what that is in a good sermon which doth make it the word of life unto such as hear. If substance of matter, evidence of things, strength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue else which words and sentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the best sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or homilies and sermons, can ever by the ordinary grace of God save any soul. So that, although we had all the sermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which sermons was of power to convert thousands of the hearers unto Christian faith; yea, although we had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations, which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and should read them ten thousand times over, to faith and salvation no man could hope hereby to attain. Whereupon it must of necessity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of sermons doth grow from certain accidents, which are not in them, but in their maker: his virtue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice, who first uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final conclusion be, "Sermons we know are the only ordinary means to salvation, but why or how we cannot tell?"

Wherefore to end this tedious controversy, wherein the too great importunity of our over eager adversaries hath con-

strained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenness of so poor a cause could have seemed at the first likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and passions are accustomed to weigh all things and accordingly to give their sentence, shall here sit down to receive our audit and to cast up the whole reckoning on both sides; the sum which truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this: That as medicines, provided of nature and applied by art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect sometime under and sometime above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the patient doth more or less concur with them; so, whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God; or by homilies concerning matter of belief and conversation seek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and man; whether we deliver them books to read and consider of in private at their own best leisure, or call them to the hearing of sermons publicly in the house of God; albeit every of these and the like unto these means do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant; yet the operation which they have in common being most sensibly and most generally noted in one kind above the rest, that one hath in some men's opinions drowned altogether the rest, and injuriously brought to pass that they have been thought, not less effectual than the other, but without the other ineffectual to save souls. Whereas the cause why sermons only are observed to prevail so much, while all means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is in truth but that singular affection and attention which the people sheweth every where towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other; the reason hereof being partly the art which our adversaries use for the credit of their sermons, to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching besides; partly a custom which men have to let those things carelessly pass by their ears, which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whenever it pleaseth themselves; partly the especial advantages which sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and because by the hearer it is still presumed, that if they be let slip for the present, what good soever they contain is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is

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the true cause of odds between sermons and other kinds of wholesome instruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto so much defended on the contrary side, making sermons the only ordinary means unto faith and eternal life, sith this hath neither evidence of truth, nor proof sufficient to give it warrant, a cause of such quality may with far better grace and conveniency ask that pardon, which common humanity doth easily grant, than claim in challenging manner that assent, which is as unwilling, when reason guideth it, to be yielded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently, due. All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated; so, because we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomsoever, therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall always be our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the self-same fervent zeal wherewith they seem to affect the good of the souls of men, and to thirst after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the world's end. For in this we are not their adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer.

XXIII. Between the throne of God in heaven, and his Church upon earth here militant, if it be so that Angels have their continual intercourse, where should we find the same more verified than in those two ghostly exercises, the one doctrine, and the other prayer? For what is the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels descended from above? What to pray, but the sending of Angels upward? His heavenly inspirations, and our holy desires, are as so many Angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know that God is our supreme truth; so prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our sovereign good. Besides, sith on God, as the most high, all inferior causes in the world are dependent; and the higher any cause is, the more it coveteth to impart virtue unto things beneath it, how should any kind of service we do or can do, find greater acceptance than prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him in desiring that wherewith his very nature doth most delight? Is not the name of prayer usual to signify even all the service that ever we do unto God? And that for

no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in religion no acceptable duty which devout invocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or infer. Prayers are those "calves of men's lips;" those most gracious and sweet odours; those rich presents and gifts, which, being carried up into heaven, do best testify our dutiful affection, and are, for the purchasing of all favour at the hands of God, the most undoubted means we can use. On others, what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully, bestowed than our prayers? If we give counsel, they are the simpler only that need it; if alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other duty besides is but to shew itself as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other things for men's behoof, when through maliciousness or unkindness they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, prayer is that which we always have in our power to bestow, and they never in theirs to refuse. Wherefore, "God forbid," saith Samuel, speaking unto a most unthankful people, a people weary of the benefit of his most virtuous government over them, "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you." It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we have on earth concerning things that are done in heaven. Notwithstanding, thus much we know even of saints in heaven, that they pray. And therefore prayer being a work common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a work common unto men with Angels, what should we think, but that so much of our lives is celestial and divine as we spend in the exercise of prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable visitations which God hath sent men from above, have taken especially the times of prayer as their most natural opportunities.

Hosea xiv. 2. Rev. v. 8. Acts x. 4.

Rom. i. 9. 1 Thess. v. 17. Luke xviii. 1.

1 Sam. xii. 23.

Dan. ix. 20. Acts x. 30.

Of public prayer.

XXIV. This holy and religious duty of service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that visible mystical body, which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice both for time and place and form, according to the exigence of our own occasions in private: but the service, which we do as members of a public body, is public, and for that cause must needs be ac-

Psal. iv. 17. Dan. ix. 3. Acts x. 9.

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counted by so much worthier than the other, as a whole society of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration unto Christian assemblies there are most special promises made. St. Paul, though likely to prevail with God as much as any one, did notwithstanding think it much more, both for God's glory and his own good, if prayers might be made and thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of men. The prince and people of Nineveh assembling themselves as a main army of supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withstand them. I speak no otherwise concerning the force of public prayer in the Church of God, than before me Tertullian hath done, "We come by troops to the place of assembly, that being bonded as it were together, we may be supplicants enough to besiege God with our prayers: these forces are unto him acceptable."

Matt. xviii. 20.

2 Cor. i. 11.

Jonah iv. 11.

Apolog. c. 39.

[a] When we publicly make our prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we ask publicly are approved as needful and good in the judgment of all, we hear them sought for and desired with common consent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that, if so be our zeal and devotion to Godward be slack, the alacrity and fervour of others serveth as a present spur. [b] "For even prayer itself, (saith St. Basil,) when it hath not the consort of many voices to strengthen it, is not itself." Finally, the good which we do by public prayer is more than in private can be done, for that besides the benefit which is here, is no less procured to ourselves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and consequently, whereas secret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one man's contempt of the common prayer of the Church of God may be, and oftentimes is, most hurtful unto many. In which considerations, the Prophet David so often voweth unto God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the congregation; so earnestly exhorteth others to sing praises unto the Lord in his courts, in his sanctuary, before the memorial of his holiness; and so much complaineth of his own

Ps. cxxii. 1.

Ps. xxvi. 12; xxxiv. 17; xxx. 4; xcvi. 9.

[a] "Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, sunt magni; et multorum preces impossibile est contemni." Ambros. l. de Pœn.

[b] Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ, μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας, ἀδρανεστέρα ἐστὶ πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. Basil. Epist. lxviii. [al. xcviii.]

uncomfortable exile, wherein although he sustained many most grievous indignities, and endured the want of sundry both pleasures and honours before enjoyed, yet, as if this one were his only grief, and the rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of public assemblies, and the happiness of such as had free access thereunto.

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Ps. xxvii. 4; xlii. 4; lxxxiv. 1.

XXV. A great part of the cause wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the love of public devotion, is that virtue, force, and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend solemnity of common prayer duly ordered hath to help that imbecility and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of ourselves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our souls as is requisite. To this end, therefore, all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with public as with private prayer. In this, rather secrecy is commanded than outward show; whereas that being the public act of a whole society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of men, therefore, unto this service, hath been ever solemn.

Of the form of common prayer.

Matt. vi. 5, 6.

And concerning the place of assembly, although it serve for other uses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himself hath to this, as to the chiefest of all other, plainly sanctified his own temple, by entitling it "the House of Prayer," what pre-eminence of dignity soever hath been, either by the ordinance, or through the special favour and providence of God annexed unto his sanctuary, the principal cause thereof must needs be in regard of Common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the gravest of the ancient Fathers seriously were persuaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming, that the house of prayer is a court, beautified with the presence of celestial powers; that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our associates; and that, with reference hereunto, the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decency for the Angels' sake; how can we come to the house of prayer, and not be moved with the very glory[a] of the place

Matt. xxi. 13.

Chrysost. Hom. xv. ad Hebr. et xxiv. in Act.

1 Cor. xi. 10.

[a] "Power and beauty are in his sanctuary." Psal. xcvi. 6.

itself, so to frame our affections praying, as doth best beseem them, whose suits the Almighty doth there sit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of men, there needed no penal statutes to draw them unto public prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the churches were presently filled;[a] the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and washed with their tears of devout joy.

And as the place of public prayer is a circumstance in the outward form thereof, which hath moment to help devotion; so the person much more, with whom the people of God do join themselves in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the service he doth. The authority of his calling is a furtherance, because, if God hath so far received him into favour, as to impose upon him by the hands of men that office of blessing the people in his name, and making intercession to him in theirs; which office he hath sanctified with his own most gracious promise, and ratified that promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when others before, in like place, have done the same; is not his very ordination a seal as it were to us, that the self-same divine love, which hath chosen the instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereunto he ordained it, in blessing his people, and accepting the prayers which his servant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable title, which the ancients used to give unto God's ministers, terming them usually *God's most beloved*, which were ordained to procure by their prayers, his love and favour towards all. Again, if there be not zeal and fervency in him which proposeth for the rest those suits and supplications which they by their joyful acclamations must ratify; if he praise not God with all his might; if he pour not out his soul in prayer; if he take not their causes to heart, and speak not as Moses, Daniel, and Ezra did for their people: how should there be but in them frozen coldness, when his affections seem benumbed from whom theirs should take fire? Virtue and godliness of life are

Numb. vi. 23; 2 Chron. xxx. 27.

Cod. l. i. tit. 3. de Episc. et Cler. 43. et 44. sæpe.

[a] "Ad domos statim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis supplicamus." Salvian. de Prov. l. vi. [ad fin.]

required at the hands of the minister of God, not only in that he is to teach and instruct the people, who for the most part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholesome instruction of them, whose life swerveth from the rule of their own doctrine; but also much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether we respect the weakness of the people, apt to loathe and abhor the sanctuary when they which perform the service thereof are such as the sons of Eli were; or else consider the inclination of God himself, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in prayer, and hath given the world plainly to understand, that the wicked, although they cry, shall not be heard. They are not fit supplicants to seek his mercy on the behalf of others, whose own unrepented sins provoke his just indignation. Let thy priests, therefore, O Lord, be evermore clothed with righteousness, that thy saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and sing!

1 Tim. ii. 8; John ix. 31; Jer. ix. 11; Ezech. viii. 18; Psal. cxxxii. 9.

But of all helps for due performance of this service, the greatest is that very set and standing order itself, which, framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form prescribed whatsoever is herein publicly done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it must be acknowledged a work of singular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a prescript form of common prayer, although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same analogy. So that, if the liturgies of all ancient churches throughout the world be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived they had all one original mould, and that the public prayers of the people of God in churches thoroughly settled, did never use to be voluntary dictates, proceeding from any man's extemporal wit.

To him which considereth the grievous and scandalous inconveniences whereunto they make themselves daily subject, with whom any blind and secret corner is judged a fit house of common prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into, where every man's private spirit and gift (as they term it) is the only bishop that ordaineth him to this ministry; the irksome deformities whereby, through endless and senseless effusions of indigested prayers, they oftentimes disgrace in

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most unsufferable manner the worthiest part of Christian duty towards God, who herein are subject to no certain order, but pray both what and how they list; to him, I say, which weigheth duly all these things, the reasons cannot be obscure why God doth in public prayer so much respect the solemnity of places where, the authority and calling of persons by whom, and the precise appointment even with what words or sentences his name should be called on amongst his people.

2 Chron. vi. 20; Joel ii. 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 30.

Of them which like not to have any set form of common prayer.

XXVI. No man hath hitherto been so impious, as plainly and directly to condemn prayer. The best stratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his kingdom to be no one way more shaken than by the public devout prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a strange conceit, that to serve God with any set form of common prayer is superstitious.

Numb. vi. 23.

As though God himself did not frame to his priests the very speech wherewith they were charged to bless the people; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary prayers, had not left us of his own framing one which might both remain as a part of the church liturgy, and serve as a pattern whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacy, yet without superfluity of words. If prayers were no otherwise accepted of God, than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to judge him by our own bellies, and to imagine that he doth loathe to have the self-same supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waste away themselves in making; if being made to remain that they may be resumed and used again as prayers, they be but instruments of superstition: surely we cannot excuse Moses, who gave such occasion of scandal to the world, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit for that admirable victory given them against Pharaoh, unless so dangerous a precedent were left for the casting of prayers into certain poetical moulds, and for the framing of prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which

brought them forth at the first. For that very hymn of Moses grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish liturgy; nor only that, but sundry other sithence invented. Their books of common prayer contained partly hymns taken out of the holy Scripture, partly benedictions, thanksgivings, supplications, penned by such as have been, from time to time, the governors of that synagogue. These they sorted into their several times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced between the divine readings of the law and Prophets. Unto their custom of finishing the Passover with certain Psalms, there is not any thing more probable, than that the holy Evangelist doth evidently allude, saying, That after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles, they sung,[a] and went forth to the Mount of Olives.

As the Jews had their songs of Moses and David, and the rest; so the Church of Christ, from the very beginning, hath both used the same, and besides them other of like nature, the song of the Virgin Mary, the song of Zachary, the song of Simeon, such hymns as the Apostle doth often speak of, saying, "I will pray and sing with the Spirit." Again, "in psalms, hymns, and songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily." Hymns and psalms are such kinds of prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by meditation beforehand, or else by prophetical illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God, by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, enabled men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying of his Church.

1 Cor. xiv. 15; Ephes. v. 19.

Of them who allowing a set form of prayer, yet allow not ours.

XXVII. Now, albeit the admonitioners did seem at the first to allow no prescript form of prayer at all, but thought it the best that their minister should always be left at liberty to pray as his own discretion did serve; yet because this opinion, upon better advice, they afterwards retracted, their defender and his associates have sithence proposed to the world a form such as themselves like, and, to shew their dislike of

[a] Matt. xxvi. 30. Ὑμνήσαντες, having sung the Psalms which were usual at that feast, those Psalms which the Jews call the great Hallelujah, beginning at the 113th and continuing to the end of the 118th. See Paul Burgens. in Psal. cxiii. addit. 1. and Scaliger de Emendat. Tempor.

ours, have taken against it those exceptions, which whosoever doth measure by number, must needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath so many faults; whosoever by weight, cannot choose but esteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous adversaries hath not hitherto observed any defect, which themselves can seriously think to be of moment. Gross errors, and manifest impiety, they grant we have taken away. Yet many things in it they say are amiss;[a] many instances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable, as they pretend, with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the form of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which churches elsewhere reformed allow and observe; our attire disgraceth it; it is not orderly read, nor gestured as beseemeth: it requireth nothing to be done which a child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cuts or shreddings, which may be better called wishes than prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings in such manner, as, if supplicants should use in proposing their suits unto mortal princes, all the world would judge them mad; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to say after the minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalms by course, from side to side; it useth the Lord's Prayer too oft; the songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well spare; it hath the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from those evils against which we pray it giveth no thanks; some things it asketh unseasonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from thunder and tempest, when no danger is nigh; some in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthiness dare not ask; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliverance

[a] "Whereas Mr. Doctor affirmeth, that there can be nothing shewed in the whole book, which is not agreeable unto the word of God; I am very loth," &c. "Notwithstanding, my duty of defending the truth, and love which I have first towards God, and then towards my country, constraineth me, being thus provoked, to speak a few words more particularly of the form of prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appear, it may please the Queen's Majesty, and her honourable council, with those of the parliament," &c. T. C. l. i. p. 131. afterward, p. 135.

from sudden death, riddance from all adversity, and the extent of saving mercy towards all men. These, and such like, are the imperfections, whereby our Form of Common Prayer is thought to swerve from the word of God. A great favourer of that part, but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, a painful, a right virtuous and good man, did not fear sometime to undertake, against popish detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole church-service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the word of God. And even they which would file away most from the largeness of that offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing terms acknowledge little less. For when those opposite judgments which never are wont to construe things doubtful to the better, those very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever hath but the least show whereby it may be suspected to savour of, or to sound towards, any evil, do by their own voluntary sentence clearly free us from gross errors, and from manifest impiety herein; who would not judge us to be discharged of all blame, which are confessed to have no great fault, even by their very word and testimony in whose eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accustomed to seem small.

Nevertheless, what they seem to offer us with the one hand, the same with the other they pull back again. They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious: yet errors we have, which the sharp insight of their wisest men doth espy; there is hidden impiety, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilful ears perceive certain harsh and unpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the rules of divine harmony, such as the laws of God, cannot bear.

The form of our liturgy too near the papists, too far different from that of other reformed churches, as they pretend.

XXVIII. Touching our conformity with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference between some reformed churches and ours, that which generally hath been already answered, may serve for answer to that exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the form of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and Christian men; some things, in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow

Book V. Ch. xxviii.

reason and truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love.

T. C. l. i. p. 135. A book of the Form of Common Prayer tendered to the parliament, p. 46.

For although they profess they agree with us touching "a prescript form of prayer to be used in the church;" yet in that very form which they say is "agreeable to God's word and the use of reformed churches," they have by special protestation declared, that their meaning is not, it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tie their minister. "It shall not (they say) be necessary for the minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with some like confession to proceed to the sermon; which ended, he either useth the prayer for all states before mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart." Herein, therefore, we hold it much better, with the Church of Rome, to appoint a prescript form which every man shall be bound to observe, than with them to set down a kind of direction, a form for men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves.

Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that public prayer is a duty entire in itself, a duty requisite to be performed much oftener than sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a public form how to serve God both morning and evening, whether sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their form of reformed prayer sheweth only what shall be done

Page 22.

"upon the days appointed for the preaching of the word;"

Page 24.

with what words the ministers shall begin, "when the hour appointed for the sermon is come;" what shall be said or sung before sermon, and what after. So that, according to this form of theirs, it must stand for a rule, "No sermon, no service." Which oversight occasioned the French spitefully to term religion, in that sort exercised, a mere preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse, in consideration whereof we cannot be induced to prefer their reformed form of prayer before our own, what church soever we resemble therein.

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Attire belonging to the service of God.

XXIX. The attire[a] which the minister of God is by order to use at times of divine service, being but a matter of mere formality, yet such as for comeliness-sake hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of men not unnecessary to concur with other sensible notes, betokening the different kind or quality of persons and actions whereto it is tied; as we think not ourselves the holier because we use it, so neither should they, with whom no such thing is in use, think us therefore unholy, because we submit ourselves unto that, which in a matter so indifferent, the wisdom of authority and law hath thought comely. To solemn actions of royalty and justice, their suitable ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in religion a stain?

Hieron. in xliv. Ezech.

"Divine religion (saith St. Jerome, speaking of the priestly attire of the law) hath one kind of habit wherein to minister before the Lord, another for ordinary uses belonging unto common life." Pelagius having carped at the curious neatness of men's apparel in those days, and through the sourness of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, that the "glory of clothes and ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godliness;" St. Jerome, whose custom is not to pardon over easily his adversaries, if any where they chance to trip, presseth him, as thereby making all sorts of men in the world *God's enemies*. "Is it enmity with God (saith he) if I wear my coat somewhat handsome?" If a Bishop, a Priest, Deacon, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order, "come to administer the usual sacrifice in a white garment,"[b] are they hereby God's adversaries? "Clerks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen, than in foul and ragged clothes. Not to speak any thing of secular men, which are proclaimed to have war with God, as oft as ever they put on precious and shining clothes." By which words of Jerome, we may take it at the least for a probable conjecture, that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning, by

Hieron. adver. Pelag. l. i. c. 9.

[a] "We think the surplice especially unmeet for a minister of the Gospel to wear." T. C. l. i. p. 71. "It is easily seen by Solomon, Eccles. ix. 8, that to wear a white garment was highly esteemed in the east parts, and was ordinary to those that were in any estimation, as black with us, and therefore was no several apparel for the ministers to execute their ministry in." p. 75.

[b] "By a white garment is meant a comely apparel, and not slovenly." T. C. l. i. p. 77.

Book V. Ch. xxix.

so general a speech, even the neatness of that very garment itself, wherein the clergy did then use to administer publicly the holy Sacrament of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood: for that they did then use some such ornament, the words of Chrysostom give plain testimony, who, speaking to the clergy of Antioch, telleth them, that if they did suffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his blood; that for this purpose God had called them to the rooms which they held in the Church of Christ; that this they should reckon was their dignity, this their safety, this their whole crown and glory; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not, when the Sacrament is administered, imagine themselves called only "to walk up and down in a white and shining garment."

Chrysost. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. v. serm. 69.

Now, whereas these speeches of Jerome and Chrysostom do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial garments as were then in use: to this they answer, that by Jerome nothing can be gathered, but only that the ministers came to Church in handsome holiday apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the law of God to go like slovens, but the weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chrysostom meaneth indeed the same which we defend,[a] but seemeth rather to reprehend than allow it as we do. Which answer wringeth out of Jerome and Chrysostom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same persons (namely the clergy) and of their weed at the same time, when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the self-same kind of weed, a white garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing itself to be different whereof they speak, or their judgments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful because it was fair or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in itself, if they which wear it do nothing else but wear

[a] "It is true, Chrysostom maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignity of the ministry was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about the church with a white garment." T. C. l. i. p. 75.

the robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of white apparel in the eastern part of the world, is a token of greater fitness for this sacred use, wherein it were not convenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding, I am not bent to stand stiffly upon these probabilities, that in Jerome's and Chrysostom's time any such attire was made several to this purpose. Yet surely the words of Solomon are very impertinent to prove it an ornament, therefore not several for the ministers to execute their ministry in, because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinary apparel white. For we know that when Solomon wrote those words, the several apparel for the ministers of the law to execute their ministry in was such. Book V. Ch. xxix.

The wise man, which feared God from his heart, and honoured the service that was done unto him, could not mention so much as the garment of holiness, but with effectual signification of more singular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God should make the least things which are employed in his service amiable, than that their over-scrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a vestment, should from the very service of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be respected, because even they so account now of it, whose first disputations against it were such as if religion had scarcely any thing of greater weight. Ecclus. xiv. 7.

Their allegations were then, "That if a man were assured to gain a thousand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or be unto him a cause of falling, he ought not to do it; that this popish apparel, the surplice especially, hath been by papists abominably abused; that it hath been a mark, and a very sacrament of abomination; that remaining, it serveth as a monument of idolatry; and not only edifieth not, but, as a dangerous and scandalous ceremony, doth exceeding much harm to them of whose good we are commanded to have regard: that it causeth men to perish, and make shipwreck of conscience;" for so themselves profess they mean, when they say the weak are offended herewith; "that it hardeneth papists, hindereth the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospel, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occasion to think hardly of their ministers; that if the magistrates T. C. l. i. p. 79. Page 71. Page 75. Page 72. T. C. l. ii. p. 403; l. i. p. 73, 76; l. ii. p. 403.

Book V. Ch. xxix. may command, or the Church appoint rites and ceremonies, yet seeing our abstinence from things in their own nature indifferent, if the weak brother should be offended, is a flat commandment of the Holy Ghost, which no authority either of church or commonwealth can make void; therefore, neither may the one nor the other lawfully ordain this ceremony, which hath great incommodity and no profit, great offence and no edifying; that by the law it should have been burnt and consumed with fire, as a thing infected with leprosy; that the example of Hezekiah beating to powder the brazen serpent, and of Paul abrogating those abused feasts of charity, enforceth upon us the duty of abolishing altogether a thing which hath been and is so offensive; finally, that God by his Prophet hath given an express commandment, which in this case toucheth us no less than of old it did the Jews: Ye shall pollute the covering of the images of silver, and the rich ornament of your images of gold, and cast them away as a stained rag; thou shalt say to it, Get thee hence." These, and such like, were their first discourses touching that church-attire, which with us for the most part is usual in public prayer, our ecclesiastical laws so appointing, as well because it hath been of reasonable continuance, and by special choice was taken out of the number of those holy garments, which (over and besides their mystical reference) served for comeliness under the law; and is in the number of those ceremonies, which may with choice and discretion be used to that purpose in the Church of Christ; as also for that it suiteth so fitly with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth when his saints praise him; and so lively resembleth the glory of the saints in heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appear for men in the presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would choose any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a service.

T. C. l. i. p. 76. Page 81. Page 78. Isa. xxx. 22. Exod. xxviii. 2; xxxix. 27. Ps cxlix. 2. Apoc. xv. 6. Mar. xvi. 5.

As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against it, shall we give them credit, when the very authors from whom they come, confess they believe not their own sayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two universities, and of others who abroad having ecclesiastical charge, do favour mightily their cause, and by all

means set it forward, might, by persisting in the extremity of that opinion, hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to strengthen; they asked counsel, as it seemed, from some abroad, who wisely considered that the body is of far more worth than the raiment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that sometimes authority "must and may with good conscience be obeyed, even where commandment is not given upon good ground; that the duty of preaching is one of the absolute commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forsaken for the bare inconveniency of a thing, which in its own nature is indifferent; that one of the foulest spots in the surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness; yet hereby there is no unlawfulness proved, but only an inconveniency, that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconveniency neither as may not be borne with; that when God doth flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not we should obey his commandment herein, unless we may do it, and not leave undone that which the Lord hath absolutely commanded. Always provided, that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation, to wear a scandalous badge of idolatry rather than forsake his pastoral charge, do (as occasion serveth) teach, nevertheless, still the incommodity of the thing itself, admonish the weak brethren that they be not, and pray unto God so to strengthen them that they may not be, offended thereat." So that whereas before, they which had authority to institute rites and ceremonies were denied to have power to institute this, it is now confessed, that this they may also lawfully, but not so conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought who had it in utter detestation and hatred, as a thing abominable; they now do well, which think it may be borne and used with a very good conscience; before, he which by wearing it were sure to win thousands unto Christ, ought not to do it, if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done, rather than that should be given over whereby notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one.

T. C. l. i. p. 74. et l. ii. p. 250. Index, l. iii. c. 8.

l. iii. p. 262, 263.

Lib. iii. p. 263.

P. 263.

The examples of Hezekiah and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Isaiah, the strict apostolical prohibition of things indifferent, whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible laws against our ecclesiastical attire, as neither church nor commonwealth could possibly make void; which now one of far less authority than either, hath found how to frustrate, by dispensing with the breach of inferior commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept.

But it booteth them not thus to solder up a broken cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder, do what they can. Let them ingenuously confess that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer were unlawfulness, because they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful, because in truth they concern it not, it followeth, that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless, therefore, they be able thoroughly to resolve themselves, that there is no one sentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth control the wearing of it in such manner, and to such purpose, as the Church of England alloweth; unless they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears, whereof if there were at the first some probable cause, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath itself worn that out also; unless, I say, thus resolved in mind, they hold their pastoral charge with the comfort of a good conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them in their course, to take such occasions as they say are requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell their audience, "Brethren, our heart's desire is, that we might enjoy

the full liberty of the Gospel, as in other reformed churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of authority hath imposed no grievous burden. But such is the misery of these our days, that so great happiness we cannot look to attain unto. Were it so, that the equity of the law of Moses could prevail, or the zeal of Hezekiah be found in the hearts of those guides and governors under whom we live; or the voice of God's own prophets be duly heard; or the examples of the Apostles of Christ be followed; yea, or their precepts be answered with full and perfect obedience: these abominable rags, polluted garments, marks and sacraments of idolatry, which power, as you see, constraineth us to wear, and conscience to abhor, had long ere this day been removed both out of sight and out of memory. But, as now things stand, behold to what narrow straits we are driven: on the one side we fear the words of our Saviour Christ, 'Wo be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh;' on the other side, at the Apostle's speech we cannot but quake and tremble, 'If I preach not the Gospel, wo be unto me.' Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other remedy, but to hazard your souls the one way, that we may the other way endeavour to save them. Touching the offence of the weak, therefore, we must adventure it. If they perish, they perish. Our pastoral charge is God's most absolute commandment. Rather than that shall be taken from us, we are resolved to take this filth and to put it on, although we judge it to be so unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach so arrayed before you, we do as much as in us lieth, to cast away your souls that are weak-minded, and to bring you unto endless perdition. But we beseech you, brethren, have a care of your own safety, take heed to your steps, that ye be not taken in those snares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalf to Almighty God is, that the poison which we offer you, may never have the power to do you harm."

Advice and counsel is best sought for at their hands which either have no part at all in the cause whereof they instruct; or else are so far engaged, that themselves are to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their own counsels. The one of which two considerations maketh men the less respective, and the other, the more circumspect. Those good and learned

Book V. Ch. xxx.

men which gave the first direction to this course, had reason to wish that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But, if themselves had gone under those sails which they require to be hoisted up, if they had been themselves to execute their own theory in this church, I doubt not but easily they would have seen, being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of advising men, first to wear the apparel that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them so to preach, as they might be sure they could not continue, except they imagine that laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to speak as they list, even against that which themselves do by constraint of laws; they would have easily seen, that our people being accustomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publicly under any pretence reproved, and the men themselevs worse which reprove it and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound, by making protestations in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair entreaty with the weak brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profess that he putteth fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer that he hopeth it shall not burn. It had been, therefore, perhaps safer and better for ours to have observed St. Basil's advice, both in this and in all things of like nature: "Let him which approveth not his governors' ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) shew his dislike if he have λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or else let him quietly with silence do what is enjoined." Obedience with professed unwillingness to obey, is not better than manifest disobedience.

Basil. Regul. fus. disput. Respons. ad inter. 47.

Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose. T. C. l. i. p. 134.

XXX. Having thus disputed whether the surplice be a fit garment to be used in the service of God, the next question whereunto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the minister should say service in the chancel, or turn his face at any time from the people, or before service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them

which trouble us with those doubts, we would more willingly be resolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain to debase religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them? Things of so mean regard and quality, although necessary to be ordered, are notwithstanding very unsavoury when they come to be disputed of: because disputation presupposeth some difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple or very froward, who need be taught by disputation what is meet.

When we make profession of our faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fall down: because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our liturgy consist in the reading of the word of God, and the proclaiming of his law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose, even when there is no communion administered, nevertheless, being devised at the first for that purpose, are at the table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the people, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto them, all as before his sight whom we fear, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemliness we would be surely as loth as they who most reprehend or deride what we do.

Now, because the Gospels which are weekly read, do all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered, in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially, in token of the greater reverence, to stand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jesus to bow: which harmless ceremonies, as there is *no man constrained to use;* so we know no reason wherefore any man should yet imagine it an insufferable evil. It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other messengers, although speaking as from God also. And against infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jesus Christ, such ceremonies are most profitable. As for any erroneous estimation, advancing

T. C. l. i. p. 203.

Mark xii. 6.

Book V. Ch. xxx.

the Son above the Father and the Holy Ghost, seeing that the truth of his equality with them is a mystery so hard for the wits of mortal men to rise unto, of all heresies that which may give him superiority above them is least to be feared.

T. C. l. iii. p. 215.

But to let go this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where justly found, law hath referred the whole disposition and redress thereof to the ordinary of the place; they which elsewhere complain that disgrace and injury is offered even to the meanest parish minister, when the magistrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not so small a matter as that to his own discretion, being presumed a man discreet and trusted with the care of the people's souls, do think the gravest prelates in the land no competent judges to discern and appoint where it is fit for the minister to stand, or which way convenient to look praying. From their ordinary, therefore, they appeal to themselves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing against the which they have so long since given sentence, nor yet make answer unto what they bring, which is, that St. Luke, declaring how "Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples," did thereby deliver an unchangeable rule, that whatsoever is done in the church ought to be done in the midst of the church; and therefore not baptism to be administered in one place, marriage solemnized in another, the supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth sermons, in a fifth prayers to be made; that the custom which we use is Levitical, absurd, and such as hindereth the understanding of the people; that if it be meet for the minister at some time to look towards the people, if the body of the church be a fit place for some part of divine service, it must needs follow, that whensoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath absurdity. All these reasons, they say, have been brought, and were hitherto never answered; besides a number of merriments and jests, unanswered likewise, wherewith they have pleasantly moved much laughter at our manner of serving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull-spirited men. We are still persuaded, that a bare denial is answer sufficient to things which mere fancy objecteth; and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy, is Isaac's apology to his brother Ishmael, the apology

T. C. l. i. p. 74.

T. C. l. i. p. 134; l. iii. p. 188.

Acts i. 15. T. C. l. i. p. 134; l. iii. p. 187.

which patience and silence maketh. Our answer, therefore, to their reasons, is, no; to their scoffs, nothing.

Easiness of praying after our form.

XXXI. When they object that our book requireth nothing to be done, which a child may not do as "lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the book contenteth itself,"[a] is it their meaning, that the service of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or else that the book containing it should teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned, or children, to be admitted thereunto? In setting down the form of common prayer, there was no need that the book should mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitness of an ignorant minister, more than that he which describeth the manner how to pitch a field, should speak of moderation and sobriety in diet.

And concerning the duty itself, although the hardness thereof be not such as needeth much art, yet surely they seem to be very far carried besides themselves, to whom the dignity of public prayer doth not discover somewhat more fitness in men of gravity and ripe discretion, than in "children of ten years of age," for the decent discharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who speak thus, should thus judge. At the board and in private it very well becometh children's innocency to pray, and their elders to say Amen. Which being a part of their virtuous education, serveth greatly both to nourish in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of infants to sound his praise. But public prayer, the service of God in the solemn assembly of saints, is a work, though easy, yet withal so weighty and of such respect, that the great facility thereof is but a slender argument to prove it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children, as to men of years, howsoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order, wherewith the book contenteth itself.

The book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what

[a] "Another fault in the whole service or liturgy of England is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching ministry, in requiring nothing to be done by the minister, which a child of ten years old cannot do as well and as lawfully as that man wherewith the book contenteth itself." T. C. l. i. p. 133. et l. iii. p. 184.

should any prescript form of prayer framed to the minister's hand require, but only so to be read as behoveth? We know that there be in the world certain voluntary overseers of all books, whose censure, in this respect, would fall as sharp on us, as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a form of prayer, we should either express or include any thing, more than what doth properly concern prayer. The minister's greatness or meanness of knowledge to do other things, his aptness or insufficiency otherwise than by reading to instruct the flock, standeth in this place as a stranger with whom our form of common prayer hath nothing to do.

Wherein their exception against easiness, as if that did nourish ignorance, proceedeth altogether out of a needless jealousy. I have often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass, that the Church should every where have able preachers to instruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it; and which were the speediest way to remove them. In which consultation, the multitude of parishes, the paucity of schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered unto men's inclinations that way, the penury of the ecclesiastical estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many livings of principal value, clean taken away from the Church long sithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that spiritual promotions use to take by often falling, the want of somewhat in certain statutes which concern the state of the Church, the too great facility of many bishops, the stony hardness of too many patrons' hearts, not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any discourse concerning any defect of knowledge in the clergy. But whosoever be found guilty, the communion-book hath surely deserved least to be called in question for this fault. If all the clergy were as learned, as themselves are that most complain of ignorance in others, yet our book of prayer might remain the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a let unto any man's skill in preaching; which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no such necessary element, that every act of religion should be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able preacher.

The length of our service. T. C. l. i. p. 133. et l. iii. p. 184.

XXXII. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reproved in prayer: the one, when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when superstition made it long. As, therefore, prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when hypocrisy is the cause of open praying; so the length of prayer is likewise a fault, howbeit not simply, but where error and superstition causeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of speech to be used. It is not, as some do imagine, (saith St. Augustine,) that long praying is that fault of much speaking in prayer, which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not he himself in prayer have continued whole nights. "Use in prayer no vain superfluity of words, as the heathens do, for they imagine that their much speaking will cause them to be heard:" whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how virtuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk, who come to present their supplications before him.

Aug. Ep. 121. [al. 130. c. 10.]

Luke vi. 12. [Matt. vi. 7.]

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as in public prayer we are not only to consider what is needful in respect of God, but there is also in men that which we must regard; we somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick dispatch of a duty so important, should give the world occasion to deem that the thing itself is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require. Beside, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, have yet, through the length of divine service, opportunity left them, at the least, for access unto some reasonable part thereof. Again, it should be considered, how it doth come to pass that we are so long. For, if that very service of God in the Jewish synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctify with the presence of his own person, had so large portions of the law and the Prophets, together with so many prayers and psalms read day by day, as do equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was never thought to deserve blame, is it now an offence that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things whereupon

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so much time was then well spent, have sithence that lost their dignity and worth. If the reading of the law, the Prophets, and Psalms, be a part of the service of God as needful under Christ as before, and the adding of the New Testament as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith, instead of Jewish prayers, it be also for the good of the Church to annex that variety which the Apostle doth commend, seeing that the time which we spend is no more than the orderly performance of these things necessarily required, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never so few, are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which speaketh no more than edifieth, is undeservedly reprehended for much speaking.

1 Tim. ii. 1.

T. C. l. iii. p. 184.

That as "the Devil under the colour of long prayer drave preaching out of the Church *heretofore*, so we in appointing so long prayers and readings, whereby the less can be spent in preaching, maintain an unpreaching ministry," is neither advisedly nor truly spoken. They reprove long prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in itself a thing commendable; for so it must needs be, if the Devil have used it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the suspicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcasteth itself is always a fair and plausible pretence of seeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to seek, and avoid the evil which his purpose was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, than if, as he hath under colour of long prayer driven preaching out of the Church, so we should take the quarrel of sermons in hand, and revenge their cause by requital, thrusting prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long preaching? In case our prayers being made at their full length did necessarily enforce sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an unpreaching ministry, unless we will say that those ancient Fathers, Chrysostom, Augustine, Leo, and the rest, whose homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part than our sermons are, did then not preach when the speeches were not long. The necessity of shortness caused men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprise much matter in few words. But neither did it maintain inability,

nor at all prevent opportunity of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose.

"An hour and a half" is, they say, in reformed churches ordinarily thought reasonable "for their whole liturgy or service." Do we then continue, as Ezra did, in reading the law from morning till mid-day? or, as the Apostle St. Paul did, in prayer and preaching, till men through weariness be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make such complaint is but this, that if our whole form of prayer be read, and besides an hour allowed for a sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour. Which half-hour being such a matter as the "age of some, and the infirmity of other some, are not able to bear;" if we have any sense of the "common imbecility," if any care to preserve men's wits from being broken with the very "bent of so long attention," if any love or desire to provide that things most holy be not with hazard of men's souls abhorred and loathed, this half-hour's tediousness must be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greatest part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will serve to help so dangerous an inconvenience.

Neh. viii. 3.

Acts xx. 9.

XXXIII. The brethren in Egypt (saith St. Augustine, epist. 121.) are reported to have many prayers, but every one of them very short, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of sudden quickness, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind which in prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which St. Augustine doth allow, they condemn. Those prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that respect which we have already mentioned, as also thereby the better to express that quick and speedy expedition wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of prayer, are delighted to present our suits in heaven, even sooner than our tongues can devise to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base terms as do very ill beseem men of their gravity. Such speeches are scandalous, they savour not of God in him that useth them, and unto virtuously disposed minds they are grievous corrosives. Our case were miserable, if that wherewith we most endeavour to please God

Instead of such prayers as the primitive churches have used, and those that be reformed now use; we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreddings, rather wishes than prayers. T. C. l. i. p. 138. et l. iii. p. 210, 211.

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were in his sight so vile and despicable, as men's disdainful speech would make it.

Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.

XXXIV. Again, forasmuch as effectual prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the soul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good so by turns to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the mind, the understanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exercise with variety, neither might feel any great weariness, and yet each be a spur to other. For prayer kindleth our desire to behold God by speculation; and the mind, delighted with that contemplative sight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the mysteries of heavenly wisdom continually stirring up in us correspondent desires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due sort, is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earnest to pray, for the time which we bestow as well in the one as the other.

But for what cause soever we do it, this intermingling of lessons with prayers is,[a] in their taste, a thing as unsavoury, and as unseemly in their sight, as if the like should be done in suits and supplications before some mighty prince of the world. Our speech to worldly superiors we frame in such sort as serveth best to inform and persuade the minds of them who otherwise neither could nor would greatly regard our necessities: whereas, because we know that God is indeed a King, but a *great* king, who understandeth all things beforehand, which no other king besides doth, a king which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a king readier to grant than we to make our requests; therefore in prayer we do not so much respect what precepts art delivereth, touching the

[a] "We have no such forms in Scripture as that we should pray in two or three lines, and then after having read awhile some other thing, come and pray as much more, and so the twentieth or the thirtieth time, with pauses between. If a man should come to a prince, and having very many things to demand; after he had demanded one thing, would stay a long time, and then demand another, and so the third: the prince might well think, that either he came to ask before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten some piece of his suit, or that he was distracted in his understanding, or some other like cause of the disorder of his supplication." T. C. l. i. p. 138. "This kind of reason the Prophet in the matter of sacrifices doth use." T. C. l. iii. p. 210.

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method of persuasive utterance in the presence of great men, as what doth most avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary side do think, that the same rules of decency which serve for things done unto terrene powers, should universally decide what is fit in the service of God; if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxim, that the Church must deliver her public supplications unto God, in no other form of speech than such as were decent, if suit should be made to the great Turk, or some other monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of common prayer. Suppose that the people of a whole town, with some chosen men before them, did continually, twice or thrice a week, resort to their king, and every time they come, first acknowledge themselves guilty of rebellions and treasons, then sing a song, and after that explain some statute of the land to the standers-by, and therein spend, at the least, an hour; this done, turn themselves again to the king, and for every sort of his subjects crave somewhat of him; at the length sing him another song, and so take their leave: might not the king well think, that either they knew not what they would have, or else that they were distracted in mind, or some other such like cause of this disorder of their supplication? This form of suing unto kings were absurd: this form of praying unto God they allow.

When God was served with legal sacrifices, such was the miserable and wretched disposition of some men's minds, that the best of every thing they had being culled out for themselves, if there were in their flocks any poor, starved, or diseased thing, not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wise hypocrites do, when they rob God to enrich themselves) that the fatness of calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the best things are most profitable, to him all is one if the mind of the offerer be good, which is the only thing he respecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet Malachi allegeth, that gifts are offered unto God, not as supplies of his want indeed,[a] but yet as testimonies

[a] Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δωρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμά ἐστιν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 5.

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of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatness. For which cause, sith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of those presents which we bring them for honour's sake; it must needs follow, that if we dare not disgrace our worldly superiors with offering unto them such refuse as we bring unto God himself, we shew plainly, that our acknowledgment of his greatness is but feigned; in heart we fear him not so much as we dread them. "If ye offer the blind for a sacrifice, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy prince; will he be content, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts. Cursed be the deceiver which hath in his flock a male, and having made a vow, sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: for I am a great king, saith the Lord of hosts." Should we hereupon frame a rule, that what form of speech or behaviour soever is fit for suitors in a prince's court, the same, and no other, beseemeth us in our prayers to Almighty God?

Mal. i. 8, 14.

The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.

XXXV. But in vain we labour to persuade them that any thing can take away the tediousness of prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and form which themselves assign. Whatsoever, therefore, our liturgy hath more than theirs, under one devised pretence or other they cut it off. We have of prayers for earthly things, in their opinion, too great a number; so oft to rehearse the Lord's Prayer in so small a time is, as they think, a loss of time;[a] the people's praying after the minister, they say, both wasteth time and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the Psalms they would not

[a] "I can make no geometrical and exact measure, but verily I believe there shall be found more than a third part of the prayers, which are not psalms and texts of Scripture, spent in praying for and praying against the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the prayers of the Church set down in the Scripture, and especially of our Saviour Christ's prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed." T. C. l. i. p. 136. "What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lord's Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one on the neck of another! Our Saviour Christ doth not there give a prescript form of prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a rule and square to frame all our prayers by. I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. I know also that in a few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a prayer, and I confess that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lord's Prayer: but I stand upon this, that there is no necessity laid upon us to use these very words, and no more." T. C. l. i. p. 219.

have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, nor to be sung or said by turns, nor such music to be used with them; those evangelical hymns they allow not to stand in our liturgy; the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, the sentence of glory, wherewith we use to conclude Psalms, these things they cancel, as having been instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now superfluous.

Touching prayers for things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath set down so many of them without cause. They, peradventure, which find this fault, are of the same affection with Solomon; so that, if God should offer to grant them whatsoever they ask, they would neither crave riches, nor length of days, nor yet victory over their enemies, but only an understanding heart; for which cause themselves having eagles' wings, are offended to see others fly so near the ground. But the tender kindness of the Church of God it very well beseemeth to help the weaker sort, which are by so great odds more in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may be therewith for a time displeased.

Ignorant we are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Christ being present on earth, there came not any unto him with better success for the benefit of their souls' everlasting happiness, than they whose bodily necessities gave them the first occasion to seek relief, where they saw willingness and ability of doing every way good unto all.

The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghostly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore, our desires heaven-ward should both in measure and number no less exceed, than their glorious object doth every way excel in value. These things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect judgment. But yet it must be withal considered, that the greatest part of the world are they which be farthest from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense which tend to their happiness in the world to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their minds, even with hearty affection and zeal at the least, unto those branches of public prayer wherein their own particular is moved. And

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by this mean there stealeth upon them a double benefit: first, because that good affection, which things of smaller account have once set on work, is by so much the more easily raised higher; and, secondly, in that the very custom of seeking so particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts, which they know can never have his allowance whose assistance their prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer have, therefore, besides their direct use, a service, whereby the Church underhand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the souls of men as with certain baits. If then their calculation be true, (for so they reckon,) that a full third of our prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one petition amongst seven, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can be in men's desires, the very highest mark whereat we are able to aim.

For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our prayers as a guide,[a] and to add it in the end of some principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftener as occasion requireth more solemnity or length in the form of divine service; not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein mispent, the time wastefully consumed, and the office itself made worse, by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort; for the good of whose souls there is not in Christian religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only because prayer, but because this very prayer, is of such efficacy and necessity: for that our Saviour did but set men a bare example how to contrive or devise prayers of their own, and no way bind them to use this, is no doubt an error. John the Baptist's disciples, which had been always

[a] "Præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones." Tertull. de Orat. [c. 9.]

brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first infancy, till they came to the school of John, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call upon the name of God; but of their master they had received a form of prayer amongst themselves, which form none did use saving his disciples, so that by it, as by a mark of special difference, they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as John had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and St. Augustine do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*, the prayer which Christ's own law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it; and, therefore, what part of the world soever we fall into, if Christian religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. "Seeing that we have (saith St. Cyprian) an advocate with the Father for our sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us allege unto God the words which our advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plain warrant, that in his name what we ask we shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we sue, if not only his name do countenance, but also his speech present our requests?" Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God himself hath composed, were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath also taught us to pray, to the end that, speaking unto the Father in his Son's own prescript form, without scholy or gloss of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other prayers we use many besides this, and this oftener than any other; although not tied so to do by any commandment of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causeless dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us as much as once to forbear, in any place, a thing which, uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart, affordeth to God himself that glory, that aid to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect that solid comfort, which is unspeakable.

Book V. Ch. xxxv. Luke xi. 1.

Cypr. de Orat. Dom. [c. 2.]

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The people's saying after the minister.

XXXVI. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might persuade us to use it before or after sermons only (because so their manner is), and not (as all Christian people have been of old accustomed) insert it so often in the liturgy. But the people's custom to repeat any thing after the minister, they utterly dislike.[a] Twice we appoint that the words which the minister first pronounceth, the whole congregation shall repeat after him: as first in the public confession of sins, and again in rehearsal of our Lord's Prayer presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received. A thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemly to be done, although it had been so appointed oftener than with us it is. But surely, with so good reason it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not in all respects so well.

Could there be any thing devised better, than that we all, at our first access unto God by prayer, should acknowledge meekly our sins, and that not only in heart but with tongue: all which are present being made ear-witnesses even of every man's distinct and deliberate assent unto each particular branch of a common indictment drawn against ourselves? How were it possible that the Church should any way else with such ease and certainty provide that none of her children may, as Adam, dissemble that wretchedness, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a preamble, especially to common prayer?

In like manner, if the Church did ever devise a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received those heavenly mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himself unto us, and giveth visible testification of our blessed communion with him, we should, in hatred of all heresies, factions, and schisms, the pastor as a leader, the people as willing followers of him step by step, declare openly ourselves

[a] "Another fault is, that all the people are appointed in divers places to say after the minister, whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, and a confused noise of the people (one speaking after another) caused, but an opinion bred in their heads, that those only be their prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the minister, otherwise than the order which is left to the Church doth bear, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, and otherwise than Justin Martyr sheweth the custom of the churches to have been in his time." T. C. l. i. p. 139. and l. iii. p. 211—213.

united as brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that most effectual supplication,[a] wherein he unto whom we offer it hath himself not only comprehended all our necessities, but in such sort also framed every petition, as might most naturally serve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import, a multitude of speakers together? For which cause communicants have ever used it, and we at that time, by the form of our very utterance, do shew we use it, yea, every word and syllable of it, as communicants. In the rest, we observe that custom whereunto St. Paul alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to shew indefinitely what was done, but not universally to bind for ever all prayers unto one only fashion of utterance. 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

The reasons which we have alleged induce us to think it still a good work, which they, in their pensive care for the well bestowing of time, account waste. As for unpleasantness of sound, if it happen, the good of men's souls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not so nice as to cast away a sharp knife, because the edge of it may sometimes grate; and such subtile opinions, as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

Our manner of reading the Psalms, otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.

XXXVII. The complaint which they make about Psalms and Hymns, might as well be over-past without any answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a just reason even of the least things, wherein undeservedly they have but as much as dreamed or suspected that we do amiss. They seem sometimes so to speak, as if it greatly offended them that such Hymns and Psalms as are Scripture, should in common prayer be otherwise used than the rest of the Scripture is wont;[b] sometimes displeased they are at the artificial music which we add unto Psalms of this kind, or of any na-

[a] Τίς γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι δύναται, μεθ' οὗ μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς Θεὸν τὴν φωνήν. Basil. Præf. in Psal. i. p. 126. ed. Par. 1618.

[b] "They have always the same profit to be studied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the rest, that they are to be sung. But to make daily prayers of them, hand over head, or otherwise than the present estate wherein we be doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abusing of them." T. C. l. iii. p. 206.

ture else; sometimes the plainest and the most intelligible rehearsal of them yet they savour not, because it is done by interlocution, and with a mutual return of sentences from side to side.

They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Psalms. The choice and flower of all things profitable in other books,[a] the Psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The ancients, when they speak of the Book of Psalms, use to fall into large discourses, shewing how this part, above the rest, doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men; it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working, in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, a habit or disposition of mind whereby they are made fit vessels, both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for man to know, which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident unto the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is, that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all. This is the very cause why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their minister, and not the minister alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

[a] Ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν παντέρων ὑμνολογία, Dionys. Hierar. Eccles. cap. iii.

XXXVIII. Touching musical harmony, whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such, notwithstanding, is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath, in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think, that the soul itself by nature is, or hath in it, harmony: a thing which delighteth all ages, and beseemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea, so to imitate them, that, whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony the very image and character even of virtue and vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony; than some, nothing more strong and potent unto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another, we need no proof but our own experience, inasmuch as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and heaviness, of some more mollified and softened in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity, there is also that carrieth as it were into ecstasies, filling the mind with a heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner severing it from the body: so that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort, and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is, by a native puissance and efficacy, greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw

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forth tears of devotion, if the mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections.

The Prophet David having therefore singular knowledge, not in poetry alone, but in music also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the house of God, left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely indited poems, and was further the author of adding unto poetry melody in public prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental for the raising up of men's hearts, and the sweetening of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retain it as an ornament to God's service, and a help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental music, approving, nevertheless, the use of vocal melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony, and not the other.

In church-music curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions, which the matter that goeth with it leaveth or is apt to leave, in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, the faults prevented, the force and equity of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus observeth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain than we are; that their singing was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the custom which we now use was not instituted so much for their cause which are spiritual, as to the end that into grosser and heavier minds, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of melody might make some entrance for good things. St. Basil himself, acknowledging as much, did not think that from such

inventions the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated:[a] "For (saith he) whereas the Holy Spirit saw that mankind is unto virtue hardly drawn, and that righteousness is the least accounted of by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which, mingled with heavenly mysteries, causeth the smoothness and softness of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were by stealth, the treasure of good things into man's mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of psalms devised for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of virtue as not yet grown to ripeness, might, when they think they sing, learn. O the wise conceit of that heavenly teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight we may also learn that whereby we profit!"

Of singing or saying Psalms and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and minister answer one another by course.

XXXIX. And if the Prophet David did think, that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity (Psal. lv. 14.); [b]how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their pastor, and in their pastor towards every of them, between whom there daily and interchangeably pass, in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly acclamations,

[a] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεπὲς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βιοῦ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποίει; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν, ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα.—Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται,—ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ τε ᾄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. Basil. in Psal. [i. p. 125.]

[b] "For the singing of Psalms by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it so great authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius's time, and partly in making the world believe that this came from heaven, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort: which as it is a mere fable, so it is confuted by historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some others unto Flavianus and Diodorus." T. C. l. i. p. 203.

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exultations, provocations, petitions, songs of comfort, psalms of praise and thanksgiving? In all which particulars, as when the pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto; or, when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most shew his own and stir up others' zeal, to the glory of that God whose name they magnify; or, when he proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or, when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet, to proclaim unto them the laws of God, they adjoining, though not as Israel did, by way of generality, a cheerful promise, "All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do;" yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoureth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several lowly and humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or, when they wish reciprocally each others' ghostly happiness; or, when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readiness declare he speaketh not in vain unto them. These interlocutory forms of speech, what are they else, but most effectual, partly testifications, and partly inflammations, of all piety?

Exod. xiv. 8; xxiv. 3; Deut. v. 27; xxvi. 17; Josh. xxiv. 16.

When and how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. Socrates maketh Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch in Syria, the first beginner thereof, even under the Apostles themselves. But against Socrates they set the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch, as Socrates doth; howbeit, ascribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, men which constantly stood in defence of the apostolic faith against the bishop of that church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians. Against both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina is brought as a witness, to testify that Damasus, bishop of Rome, began it in his time. Of the Latin church, it may be true which Platina saith. And, therefore, the eldest of that church which maketh any mention thereof is St. Ambrose,[a] bishop of Milan, at the

Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 8. Theod. lib. i. cap. 24.

Plat. in Vita Damasi I.

[a] "Bene mari plerumque comparatur ecclesia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus stridet; tum responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulie-

same time when Damasus was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians, St. Basil having brought it into his church before they of Neocæsarea used it, Sabellius the heretic, and Marcellus, took occasion thereat to incense the churches against him, as being an author of new devices in the service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and singularity, he allegeth for that which he himself did the example of the churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and, in a manner, all that reverenced the custom of singing psalms together. If the Syrians had it then before Basil, Antioch, the mother-church of those parts, must needs have used it before Basil, and consequently before Damasus. The question is then, how long before, and whether so long, that Ignatius, or as ancient as Ignatius, may be probably thought the first inventors. Ignatius in Trajan's days suffered martyrdom. And of the churches in Pontus and Bithynia, to Trajan the emperor, his own vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they used to meet together at a certain day, and to praise Christ with hymns as a God, *secum invicem*, one to another amongst themselves. Which, for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the self-same form which Philo Judæus expresseth, declaring how the Essenes were accustomed with hymns and psalms to honour God, sometime all exalting their voices together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein, as he thought, they swerved not much from the pattern of Moses and Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the angels praising God after that sort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one, which must be with us of greater authority, did. "I saw the Lord (saith the Prophet Isaiah) on a high throne; the Seraphim stood upon it; one cried to another, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole world is full of his glory." But whosoever were the author, whatsoever the time, whencesoever the example of beginning this custom in the Church of Christ; sith we are wont to suspect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counsel must needs seem

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Basil. Epist. 63.

Plin. Secund. Epist. lib. x. [ep. 101.]

Exod. xv. 1, 21.

Isa. vi. 1—3.

rum, virginium, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat." Hexam. lib. ii. cap. 5.

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very unseasonable, who advise men how to suspect that wherewith the world hath had, by their own account, twelve hundred years' acquaintance, and upwards, enough to take away suspicion and jealousy. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil, which hath been so long retained.

As for the Devil, which way it should greatly benefit him to have this manner of singing psalms accounted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the angels of heaven, we do not well understand. But we very well see, in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of discourse. For perceiving, at the first, but only some cause of suspicion and fear lest it should be evil, they are presently in one and the self-same breath resolved, [a]that "what beginning soever it had, there is no possibility it should be good." The potent arguments which did thus suddenly break in upon them, and overcome them, are, first, that it is not unlawful for the people all jointly to praise God in singing of psalms. Secondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the law of God, to sing every verse of the whole psalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout. Thirdly, that it cannot be understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, forasmuch as lawfulness to sing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient; the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong, that it might persuade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful.

And shall this enforce us to banish a thing, which all Christian churches in the world have received; a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved councils and laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which

[a] "From whencesoever it came, it cannot be good, considering, that when it is granted that all the people may praise God, (as it is in singing of psalms,) then this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice, to sing the whole psalm, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore besides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being tossed after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, these other two inconveniences come of this form of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed churches." T. C. l. i. p. 203.

always heretofore the best men, and wisest governors of God's people, did think they could never commend enough; a thing which, as Basil was persuaded, did both strengthen the meditation of those holy words which were uttered in that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto God's people of old did resort with hope and thirst, that thereby especially their souls might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up fragrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our invisible enemy is always apt to minister, watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the virtuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful and heavy accidents which befall men in this present life; to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostle's own exhortation, "Speak to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, making melody, and singing to the Lord in your hearts," that surely there is more cause to fear lest the want thereof be a maim, than the use a blemish to the service of God.

Eph. v. 12.

It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Psalms, should be thought to depend altogether on that only form of singing or reading them by course, as with us the manner is; but the end of our speech is to shew, that because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the self-same custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that and no other form, it may be justly avouched, that we ourselves retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the ancients so oft and so highly commend the former. Let novelty therefore in this give over endless contradictions, and let ancient custom prevail.

Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc Dimittis.

XL. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency and use of reading the Psalms oftener than other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis* oftener than the rest of the Psalms,

the causes are no whit less reasonable; so that if the one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are songs which concern us so much more than the songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the law, the New Testament than the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use deserve to be oftener repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftener repetition, what disorder is it, if these few evangelical hymns, which are in no respect less worthy, and may be by reason of their paucity imprinted with much more ease in all men's memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day prayers and supplications the very same; why not as fit and convenient to magnify the name of God day by day with certain the very self-same psalms of praise and thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprove the other.

For the anciently received use of intermingling hymns and psalms with divine readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly serve unto that purpose, how should it better have been devised, than that a competent number of the old being first read, these of the new should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place, notwithstanding, there is joined with *Benedictus* the 100th Psalm; with *Magnificat* the 98th; the 67th with *Nunc Dimittis;* and in every of them the choice left free for the minister to use indifferently the one for the other. Seeing, therefore, they pretend no quarrel at other psalms, which are in like manner appointed also to be daily read, why do these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world, by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels, embraced him; being prophetical discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other psalms did but foresignify; they are, against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the most luculent testimonies, that Christian religion hath; yea, the only sacred hymns they are, that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself; the other being songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but songs wherewith, as we serve God, so the Jew likewise.

And whereas they tell us, these songs were fit for that purpose, when Simeon, and Zachary, and the blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit;[a] should they not remember how expressly Hezekiah, amongst many other good things, is commended for this also, that the praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth, by using in public divine service, the songs of David and Asaph unto that very end? 2 Chron. xxix. 30. Either there wanted wise men to give Hezekiah advice, and to inform him of that which in his case was as true as it is in ours, namely, that without some inconvenience and disorder he could not appoint those psalms to be used as ordinary prayers, seeing that although they were songs of thanksgiving, such as David and Asaph had special occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occasions did not befall; or else Hezekiah was persuaded, as we are, that the praises of God in the mouths of his saints are not so restrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them; first, because the mystical communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interested in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth at God's hands; secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extol the goodness of God, whose mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth do come no more, yet, the fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but only in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance between the benefits, which we and others have received, may serve to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit for both; a clear demonstration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers' commentaries and meditations upon the Psalms. Last of all, because even when there is not as much as the show of any resemblance, nevertheless, by often using their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

[a] "These thankgivings were made by occasion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be used for ordinary prayers, than the *Ave-Maria*. So that both for this cause, and the other before alleged of the Psalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary prayers of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 238.

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Of the Litany.

XLI. The public estate of the Church of God amongst the Jews hath had many rare and extraordinary occurrences; which also were occasions of sundry[a] open solemnities and offices, whereby the people did with general consent make show of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appear usual in the ancient Church of Christ, by that which Tertullian speaketh of Christian women matching themselves with infidels. "She cannot content the Lord with performance of his discipline, that hath at her side a vassal whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to cross whatsoever the faithful shall do. If her presence be required at the time of station or standing prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his baths; if a fasting-day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the Church to go forth in solemn procession, his whole family have such business come upon them that no one can be spared."

Tertul. lib. ii. ad Uxor. [c. 4.]

These processions, as it seemeth, were first begun for the interring of holy martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were entombed. Which thing the name itself applied by heathens unto the office of exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the ancients delivered concerning

Terent. Andr. [Phorm. v. 8. 37.]

[a] "We pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us; as from lightning and thundering in the midst of winter; from storms and tempests, when the weather is most fair, and the seas most calm. It is true, that upon some urgent calamity a prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commodity for want whereof the Church is in distress, or the turning away of that mischief which either approacheth, or is already upon it. But to make those prayers, which are for the present time and danger, ordinary and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture, or example of the primitive Church. And here, for the simples' sake, I will set down after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There was one Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, which, in the time of great earthquakes which were in France, instituted certain supplications, which the Grecians (and we of them) call the Litany, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other discommodities rose in other countries, they likewise had prayers accordingly. Now Pope Gregory either made himself, or gathered the supplications that were made against the calamities of every country, and made of them a great Litany or Supplication, as Platina calleth it, and gave it to be used in all churches: which thing albeit all churches might do for the time, in respect of the case of the calamity which the churches suffered; yet there is no cause why it should be perpetual that was ordained but for a time; and why all lands should pray to be delivered from the incommodities that some land hath been troubled with." T. C. l. i. p. 137. Exod. xv. 20. Wisd. x. 20. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 1 Chron. xiii. 5. 2 Chron. xx. 3. Joel ii. 15.

Christian processions,[a] partly also the very dross which superstition thereunto added, I mean, the custom of invoking saints in procession, heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose are by use easily converted to more, it grew, that supplications, with this solemnity for the appeasing of God's wrath and the averting of public evils, were of the Greek Church termed Litanies, Rogations of the Latin. To the people of Vienna (Mamercus being their bishop about 450 years after Christ) there befell many things, the suddenness and strangeness whereof so amazed the hearts of all men, that the city they began to forsake as a place which heaven did threaten with imminent ruin. It beseemed not the person of so grave a prelate to be either utterly without counsel, as the rest were, or in a common perplexity to shew himself alone secure. Wherefore as many as remained he earnestly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, using those virtuous and holy means wherewith others in like case have prevailed with God. To which purpose he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in use, and addeth unto them that which the present necessity required. Their good success moved Sidonius, bishop of Averna, to use the same so corrected Rogations, at such time as he and his people were after afflicted with famine, and besieged with potent adversaries. For, till the empty name of the empire came to be settled in Charles the Great, the fall of the Romans' huge dominion, concurring with other universal evils, caused those times to be days of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that Rogations or Litanies were then the very strength, stay, and comfort of God's Church. Whereupon, in the year 506, it was by the council of Aurelia decreed, that the whole Church should bestow yearly, at the feast of Pentecost, three days in that kind of processionary service. About half a hundred years after, to the end that the Latin Churches, which all observed this custom, might not vary in the order and form of those great Litanies, which were so solemnly every where exercised, it was thought convenient by Gregory the First and the best of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one.

Socrat. l. vi. c. 8. Sozom. l. viii. c. 8. Theod. l. ii. c. 24. l. iii. c. 10. Novel. lxviii. 51 Basil. Epist. lxiii. Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 3. Cedren. in Theodos.

Sidon. lib. vii. Epist. 1.

Concil. tom. ii. p. 513.

[a] "Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper quando necesse est, progressura sis." Hier. Epist. xxii. ad Eust. [al. xviii. §. 17.]

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Concil. tom. v. Anno 1536.

But this iron began at length to gather rust; which thing the synod of Colen saw, and in part redressed within that province; neither denying the necessary use for which such Litanies serve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is desired by public suit, to the end that plagues, destructions, calamities, famines, wars, and all other the like adversities, which for our manifold sins we have always cause to fear, may be turned away from us and prevented through his grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse whereunto, as sundry other things, so this had grown by men's improbity and malice; to whom, that which was devised for the appeasing of God's displeasure, gave opportunity of committing things which justly kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof, it was then thought better, that these, and all other supplications and processions, should be nowhere used, but only within the walls of the house of God, the place sanctified unto prayer. And by us not only such inconveniences being remedied, but also whatsoever was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraideth with error, or somewhat worse, them whom in all parts it doth not satisfy.

As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance than that we should make either Gregory or Mamercus the author of them; so they are of more permanent use than that now the Church should think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We find by daily experience that those calamities may be nearest at hand, readiest to break in suddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumstances may imagine to be farthest off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet such miseries as being present, all men are apt to bewail with tears, the wise by their prayers should rather prevent. Finally, if we for ourselves had a privilege of immunity, doth not true Christian charity require, that whatsoever any part of the world, yea, any one of all our brethren elsewhere, doth either suffer or fear, the same we account as our own burden? What one petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we shall ever be able at any time to say that no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to express how much it doth grieve me, that things of principal excellency should

be thus bitten at by men whom God hath endued with graces, both of wit and learning, for better purposes.

Of Athanasius' Creed, and Gloria Patri.

XLII. We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received that brief confession of faith, which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian men from infidels and Jews: "This faith, received from the Apostles and their disciples, (saith Irenæus,) the Church, though dispersed throughout the world, doth notwithstanding keep as safe, as if it dwelt within the walls of some one house, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and soul; this as consonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did speak for all. As one sun shineth to the whole world; so there is no faith but this one published, the brightness whereof must enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth." "This rule (saith Tertullian) Christ did institute; the stream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long, as the very promulgation of the Gospel.

Iren. lib. i. cap. 3. [al. c. 10.]

Tertul. de Præscr. advers. Hæret. [c. 14.] et advers. Prax. [c. 2.]

Under [a]Constantine the emperor, about three hundred years and upward after Christ, Arius, a priest in the Church of Alexandria, a subtle-witted and a marvellous fair-spoken man, but discontented that one should be placed before him in honour, whose superior he thought himself in desert, became, through envy and stomach, prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that heresy, wherein the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained, but not opened, in the former creed, the co-equality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father, was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the bishop of the same church, the punishment which should have reformed him, did but increase his obstinacy, and give him occasion of labouring with greater earnestness elsewhere, to entangle unwary minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. Arius in a short time had won to himself

[a] "The like may be said of the *Gloria Patri*, and the Athanasian Creed. It was first brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby should make an open profession in the Church of the divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his disciples, wherewith at that time marvellously swarmed almost the whole Christendom. Now that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why these things should be used in the Church, at the least why that *Gloria Patri* should be so often repeated." T. C. lib. i. p. 137.

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a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much disquietness on all sides ensued. The emperor, to reduce the Church of Christ unto the unity of sound belief, when other means, whereof trial was first made, took no effect, gathered that famous assembly of three hundred and eighteen bishops in the council of Nice; where, besides order taken for many other things which seemed to need redress, there was with common consent, for the settling of all men's minds, that other confession of faith set down, which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themselves which were present subscribed also; not that they meant sincerely and in deed to forsake their error, but only to escape deprivation and exile, which they saw they could not avoid, openly persisting in their former opinions, when the greater part had concluded against them, and that with the emperor's royal assent. Reserving therefore themselves unto future opportunities, and knowing it would not boot them to stir again in a matter so composed, unless they could draw the emperor first, and by his means the chiefest bishops unto their part; till Constantine's death, and somewhat after, they always professed love and zeal to the Nicene faith, yet ceased not in the meanwhile to strengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infest by all means, under colour of other quarrels, their greatest adversaries in this cause. Amongst them Athanasius especially, whom by the space of forty-six years, from the time of his consecration to succeed Alexander, archbishop in the Church of Alexandria, till the last hour of his life in this world, they never suffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of Constantine stolen from him; Constantius, Constantine's successor, his scourge and torment, by all the ways which malice armed with sovereign authority could devise and use: under Julian no rest given him; and in the days of Valentinian, as little: crimes there were laid to his charge many; the least whereof, being just, had bereaved him of estimation and credit with men, while the world standeth; his judges evermore the self-same men, by whom his accusers were suborned; yet the issue always on their part shame, on his triumph. Those bishops and prelates, who should have accounted his cause theirs, and could not many of them, but with bleeding hearts and with watered cheeks, behold a person of so great place and worth

constrained to endure so foul indignities, were sure, by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themselves those molestations, whereby, if they would not be drawn to seem his adversaries, yet others should be taught how unsafe it was to continue his friends.

Whereupon it came to pass in the end, that (very few excepted) all became subject to the sway of time; other odds there was none amongst them, saving only that some fell sooner away, some later, from the soundness of belief; some were leaders in the host of impiety, and the rest as common soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery ensnared, or else beguiled through simplicity, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea, (that which all men did wonder at,) Osius, the ancientest bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the catholic cause, and of the contrary part most feared; that very Osius, with whose hand the Nicene Creed itself was set down, and framed for the whole Christian world to subscribe unto, so far yielded in the end, as even with the same hand to ratify the Arians' confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they saw it done. Both were persuaded, that although there had been for Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have been the same that Eleazar's was, "It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Osius, a hundred years old and upward, were now gone to another religion; and so, through mine hypocrisy (for a little time of transitory life) they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead." But such was the stream of those times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own oversight: for at the first the emperor was theirs, the determination of the council of Nice was for them; they had the Arians' hands to that council. So great advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error.

2 Mac vi. 24—26.

Major centenario. Sulpit. Sever. Hist. l. ii. [p. 108. ed. Amstel. 1656.]

It plainly appeareth, that the first thing which weakened them was their security. Such as they knew were in heart

still affected towards Arianism, they suffered by continual nearness to possess the minds of the greatest about the emperor, which themselves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In Constantine's lifetime, to have settled Constantius the same way, had been a duty of good service towards God, a mean of peace, and great quietness to the Church of Christ; a labour easy, and how likely we may conjecture, when after that so much pains was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himself to the furtherance of heresy, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him, than the memory of former proceedings in the cause of religion; and that which he now foresaw in Julian, the next physician into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall.

Howbeit, this we may somewhat excuse, inasmuch as every man's particular care to his own charge was such, as gave them no leisure to heed what others practised in princes' courts. But of the two synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what should we think? Constantius, by the Arians' suggestion, had devised to assemble all the bishops of the whole world about this controversy, but in two several places; the bishops of the west at Arimine in Italy, the eastern at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the east there was no stop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their sentence against heresy, excommunicated some chief maintainers thereof, and sent the emperor word what was done. They had at Arimine about four hundred which held the truth; scarce of the adverse part fourscore, but these obstinate, and the other weary of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the emperor such as might inform him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen for the catholic side, such [a] men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldness, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wisdom. The Arians, for the credit of their faction, take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary, and the longest practised veterans they had amongst them. The em-

[a] "Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parum docti, et parum cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi et ingenio valentes, veterno perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud regem facile superiores exstiterunt." Sulpit. lib. ii. [p. 109.]

peror, conjecturing of the rest on either part, by the quality of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certain confession of faith, ambiguously[a] and subtilly drawn by the Arians, whereunto unless they all subscribed, they should in no case be suffered to depart from the place where they were. At length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholics, either at Arimine or at Seleucia, so much foresight, as to provide that true intelligence might pass between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which error, their adversaries abusing each with persuasion that the other had yielded, surprised both. The emperor the more desirous and glad of such events, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindered themselves, the gall and bitterness of certain men's writings, who spared him little for honour's sake, made him for their sakes the less inclinable to that truth which he himself should have honoured and loved. Only in Athanasius there was nothing observed, throughout the course of that long tragedy, other than such as very well became a wise man to do, and a righteous to suffer. So that this was the plain condition of those times: the whole world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it; half a hundred of years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail, the side which had all, or else the part which had no friend but God and death; the one a defender of his innocency, the other a finisher of all his troubles.

Now although these contentions were cause of much evil, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explain such things as heresy went about to deprave. And in this respect, the Creed of Athanasius, first exhibited unto Julius, bishop of Rome, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) sent to the emperor Jovinian, for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianism so mightily did impugn, was, both in the east and the west churches, accepted as a treasure of inestimable price, by as many as had not given up even the very ghost of belief.[b] Then was the Creed of Athanasius

[a] "Eisdemque conscriptam ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ catholicam disciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur." Ibid. [p. 111.]

[b] Ταύτην μοι δοκοῦσιν αἰδούμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν οὔτε τῆς ἑσπερίας καὶ τῆς ἑώας, ὅσαν βιώσιμον. Greg. Nazian. de Athan. [Orat. 21. p. 394.]

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written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publicly used as now in the Church of God; because, while the heat of division lasteth, truth itself enduring opposition doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all men's hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in itself, but also by the conquest which God hath given it over heresy. That which heresy did by sinister interpretations go about to pervert in the first and most ancient Apostolical Creed, the same being by singular dexterity and plainness cleared from those heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of Athanasius, written about the year three hundred and forty, and partly by that other, set down in the synod of Constantinople forty years after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creed an addition of other articles which the Nicene Creed omitted, because the controversy then in hand needed no mention to be made of them: these catholic declarations of our belief delivered by them, which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, these confessions, as testimonies of our continuance in the same faith to this present day, we rather use than any other gloss or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which though it were to the same effect notwithstanding, could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary unto St. Augustine, hath been ever, and is likely to be always true: "Your most religious wisdom knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held."

That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer followeth immediately after the reading of the Gospel.

Hilar. Arelat. Ep. ad Aug.

Touching the Hymn of Glory, our usual conclusion to Psalms: the glory of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist; and the glory of God that divine excellency whereby he is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which angels and glorified saints do intuitively behold; which we on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part also by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatness whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in heaven and earth. God is glorified, when such his

1 Cor. xv. 40; Exod. xxxiii. 18; Heb. i. 3; Matt. xviii. 13.

Josh. vii. 19; Psal. xxii. 23.

excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency, by occasion of special effects, being the very proper subject, and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all psalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any use in the Church of God, whose name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to psalms?

Neither is the form thereof newly or unnecessarily invented. "We must, (saith St. Basil,) as we have received, even so baptize; and as we baptize, even so believe; and as we believe, even so give glory." Baptizing, we use the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; confessing the Christian faith, we declare our belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost; ascribing glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. It is ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος, "the token of a true and sound understanding," for matter of doctrine about the Trinity, when in ministering baptism, and making confession, and giving glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two. Basil. Epist. 78.

Against the Arians, affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in honour, excellency, dignity, majesty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alleged at that time as an argument for the truth. "If (saith Phœbadius) there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaspheme God, when, in thanksgivings and offerings of sacrifice, we acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Son." The Arians, therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cause, altered the Hymn of Glory; whereupon ensued in the Church of Antioch, about the year three hundred forty-nine, that jar which Theodoret and Sozomen mention. "In their quires, while they praised God together, as the manner was, at the end of the psalms which they sung, it appeared what opinion every man held: forasmuch as they glorified, some the Father, *and* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghost; some the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselves to embrace the Son's equality with the Father, as the council of Nice had defined; the other sort, against the council of Nice, his inequality. Phœbad. lib. contra Arian. [p. 95. ed. Par. 1586.] Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24. Sozom. lib. iv. cap. 19.

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Leontius, their bishop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtile, as in a manner all the heads of the Arians' faction were, could at no time be heard to use either form, perhaps lest his open contradiction of them whom he favoured not, might make them the more eager, and by that means the less apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joined in opinion with that sort of Arians who denied the Son to be equal with the Father, yet from them he dissented which thought the Father and the Son not only unequal but unlike, as Aëtius did upon a frivolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath said, "One God of whom, one Lord by whom, one Spirit in whom," his different manner of speech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he speaketh. Out of which blind collection it seemeth, that this their new-devised form did first spring.

1 Cor. viii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 3, 12.

But in truth, even that very form which the Arians did then use (saving that they chose it to serve as their special mark of recognizance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the show of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we respect God's glory within itself, it be the equal right and possession of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifestation thereof unto us by continual effects and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewise by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confess, that the brightness of his glory hath spread itself throughout the world *by* the ministry of his only-begotten Son, and is *in* the manifold graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, that whatsoever we do to his glory, it is done *in* the power of the Holy Ghost, and made acceptable *by* the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ? So that glory to the Father, *and* the Son, or glory to the Father, *by* the Son, saving only where evil minds do abuse and pervert holy things, are not else the voices of error and schism, but of sound and sincere religion.

It hath been the custom of the Church of Christ, to end sometimes prayers, and sermons always, with words of glory; wherein, as long as the blessed Trinity had due honour, and till Arianism had made it a matter of great sharpness and subtilty of wit to be a sound believing Christian, men were not curious what syllables or particles of speech they used.

Upon which confidence and trust notwithstanding, when St. Basil began to practise the like indifferency, and to conclude public prayers, glorifying sometime the Father, *with* the Son, and the Holy Ghost; sometime the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Spirit; whereas long custom had inured them unto the former kind alone, by means whereof the latter was new and strange in their ears: this needless experiment brought afterwards upon him a necessary labour of excusing himself to his friends, and maintaining his own act against them; who, because the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him, as an author of suspicious innovation. How hath the world forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the judgments, hearts, and affections of men altered? May we not wonder, that a man of St. Basil's authority and quality, and arch-prelate in the house of God, should have his name far and wide called in question, and be driven to his painful apologies, to write in his own defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavour a pardon; the crime laid against him being but only a change of some one or two syllables in their usual church liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable that we suffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of St. Athanasius, and that sacred Hymn of Glory, than which nothing doth sound more heavenly in the ears of faithful men, are now reckoned as superfluities which we must in any case pare away, lest we cloy God with too much service. Is there in that confession of faith any thing which doth not at all times edify and instruct the attentive hearer? Or is our faith in the blessed Trinity a matter needless to be so oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our public prayer? Hath the Church of Christ, from the first beginning, by a secret universal instruction of God's good Spirit, always tied itself to end neither sermon, nor almost any speech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without some special words of honour and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like conclusion of psalms become now at length an eye-sore, or a galling to their ears that hear it?

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Those flames of Arianism, they say, are quenched, which were the cause why the Church devised in such sort to confess and praise the glorious deity of the Son of God. Seeing, therefore, the sore is whole, why retain we as yet the plaister? When the cause why any thing was ordained doth once cease, the thing itself should cease with it; that the church being eased of unprofitable labours, needful offences may the better be attended. For the doing of things unnecessary, is many times the cause why the most necessary are not done. But in this case so to reason, will not serve their turns. For, first, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own, but with special limitations. Few things are so restrained to any one end or purpose, that the same being extinct, they should forthwith utterly become frustrate. Wisdom may have framed one and the same thing to serve commodiously for divers ends, and of those ends any one be sufficient cause for continuance, though the rest have ceased; even as the tongue, which nature hath given us for an instrument of speech, is not idle in dumb persons, because it also serveth for taste. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away, what was first intended; uses not thought upon before, may afterwards spring up, and be reasonable causes of retaining that which other considerations did formerly procure to be instituted. And it cometh sometime to pass, that a thing unnecessary in itself, as touching the whole direct purpose whereunto it was meant, or can be applied, doth notwithstanding appear convenient to be still held, even without use, lest by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessary, the removal of the one should endamage the other. And, therefore, men which have clean lost the possibility of sight, keep still their eyes nevertheless in the place where nature set them. As for these two branches whereof our question groweth, Arianism was indeed some occasion of the one, but a cause of neither, much less the only entire cause of both. For albeit conflict with Arians brought forth the occasion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the church liturgy, as hymns and sentences of glory were a part thereof before; yet cause sufficient there is, why both should remain in use, the one as a most divine explication of the chiefest articles of our Christian belief, the other

as a heavenly acclamation of joyful applause to his praises in whom we believe; neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard sounding as they are in the Church of Christ, whether Arianism live or die.

Against which poison likewise, if we think that the Church at this day needeth not those ancient preservatives, which ages before us were so glad to use, we deceive ourselves greatly. The weeds of heresy being grown unto such ripeness as that was, do even in the very cutting down scatter oftentimes those seeds, which for a while lie unseen and buried in the earth, but afterward freshly spring up again no less pernicious than at the first. Which thing they very well know, and, I doubt not, will easily confess, who live to their great both toil and grief, where the blasphemies of Arians, Samosatenians, Tritheites, Eutychians, and Macedonians are renewed; renewed by them who to hatch their heresy have chosen those churches as fittest nests, where Athenasius's Creed is not heard; by them, I say, renewed, who following the course of extreme reformation, were wont, in the pride of their own proceedings, to glory that whereas Luther did but blow away the roof, and Zuinglius batter but the walls of popish superstition, the last and hardest work of all remained, which was to raze up the very ground and foundation of popery, that doctrine concerning the deity of Christ, which *Satanasius* (for so it pleased those impious forsaken miscreants to speak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifestly true is that which one of the ancients hath concerning Arianism, "Mortuis auctoribus hujus veneni, scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur: The authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithstanding continueth." Phœbad. contra Arian. [p. 89.]

Our want of particular thanksgiving.

XLIII. Amongst the heaps of these excesses and superfluities there is espied the want of a principal part of duty, "There are no thanksgivings for the benefits for which there are petitions in our book of prayer."[a] This they have thought

[a] "As such prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary prayers of thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hand which we asked." T. C. l. i. p. 138. "I do not simply require a solemn and express thanksgiving for such benefits; but only upon a supposition, which is, that if it be expedient that there should be express prayers against so many of their earthly miseries, that then also it is meet

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a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admonished, what special duties of thankfulness we owe to that merciful God, for whose unspeakable graces the only requital which we are able to make, is a true, hearty, and sincere acknowledgment, how precious we esteem such benefits received, and how infinite in goodness the Author from whom they come. But that to every petition we make for things needful, there should be some answerable sentences of thanks provided particularly to follow such requests obtained; either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend, or if it be, wherefore have they not then in such order framed their own Book of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a form of prayer containing so many petitions of those things which we want, and not delivered in like sort as many several forms of thanksgiving to serve when any thing we pray for is granted? What answer soever they can reasonably make unto these demands, the same shall discover unto them how causeless a censure it is, that there are not, in our book, thanksgivings for all the benefits for which there are petitions.[a]

For concerning the blessings of God, whether they tend unto this life or the life to come, there is great cause why we should delight more in giving thanks, than in making requests for them; inasmuch as the one hath pensiveness and fear, the other always joy, annexed; the one belongeth unto them that seek, the other unto them that have found, happiness; they that pray, do but yet sow; they that give thanks, declare they have reaped. Howbeit, because there are so many graces whereof we stand in continual need, graces for which we may not cease daily and hourly to sue, graces which are in bestowing always, but never come to be fully had in this present life; and therefore, when all things here have an end, endless thanks must have their beginning in a state which bringeth the full and final satisfaction of all such perpetual desires. Again, because our common necessities, and the lack which we all have as well of ghostly as of

that upon the deliverance there should be an express thanksgiving." T. C. l. iii. p. 209.

[a] "The default of the Book, for that there are no forms of thanksgivings for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered." T. C. l. iii. p. 208.

earthly favours, is in each kind so easily known; but the gifts of God, according to those degrees and times which he in his secret wisdom seeth meet, are so diversely bestowed, that it seldom appeareth what all receive; what all stand in need of, it seldom lieth hid: we are not to marvel, though the Church do oftener concur in suits, than in thanks, unto God, for particular benefits.

Nevertheless, lest God should be any way unglorified, the greatest part of our daily service, they know, consisteth, according to the blessed Apostle's own precise rule, in much variety of psalms and hymns, for no other purpose but only that out of so plentiful a treasure there might be for every man's heart to choose out his own sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular secret instinct what fitteth best the often occasions which any several either party or congregation may seem to have. They that would clean take from us, therefore, the daily use of the very best means we have to magnify and praise the name of Almighty God for his rich blessings, they that complain of our reading and singing so many psalms for so good an end; they, I say, that find fault with our store, should of all men be least willing to reprove our scarcity of thanksgiving.

Ephes. v. 9; Colos. iii. 16.

But because peradventure they see it is not either generally fit or possible that churches should frame thanksgivings answerable to each petition, they shorten somewhat the reins of their censure; there are no forms of thanksgiving, they say, for release of those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered. "There are prayers set forth to be said in the common calamities and universal scourges of the realm, as plague, famine, &c. And indeed so it ought to be by the word of God. But as such prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessary prayers of thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lord's hands which we asked in our prayers." As oft, therefore, as any public or universal scourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from these, either imminent or present calamities, against the storm and tempest whereof we all instantly craved favour from above, let it be a question what we should render unto God for his blessings universally, sensibly, and extraordinarily bestowed. A prayer

T. C. l. i. p. 138.

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of three or four lines inserted into some part of our church liturgy? No, we are not persuaded that when God doth in trouble enjoin us the duty of invocation, and promise us the benefit of deliverance, and profess that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to gratify him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can discharge, in manner convenient, a work of so great importance, by fore-ordaining some short collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our custom, therefore, whensoever so great occasions are incident, is by public authority to appoint throughout all churches, set and solemn forms as well of supplication as of thanksgiving, the preparations and intended complements whereof may stir up the minds of men in much more effectual sort, than if only there should be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require.

But we err in thinking that they require any such matter. For albeit their words to our understanding be very plain, that in our book "there are prayers set forth" to be said when "common calamities" are felt, as "plague, famine," and such like; again, that "indeed so it ought to be by the word of God;" that likewise "there ought to be as necessary prayers of thanksgiving, when we have received those things;" finally, that the want of such forms of thanksgiving, for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered, is the "default of the Book of Common Prayer:" yet all this they mean, but only by way of "supposition, if express prayers" against so many earthly miseries were convenient, that then indeed as many express and particular thanksgivings should be likewise necessary. Seeing, therefore, we know that they hold the one superfluous, they would not have it so understood, as though their minds were that any such addition to the book is needful, whatsoever they say for argument's sake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way sufficiently grounded, no way resolved what to think, speak, or write, more than only that because they have taken it upon them, they must (no remedy now) be opposite.

In some things the matter of our prayer,

XLIV. The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiss. In a song of praise to our Lord Jesus Christ we have these words,

as they affirm, unsound.

"When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." Which maketh some show of giving countenance to their error, who think that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Christ, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the "Lake of the Fathers." In our liturgy request is made, that we may be preserved "from sudden death." This seemeth frivolous, because the godly should always be prepared to die. Request is made, that God would give those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask. "This (they say) carrieth with it the note of popish servile fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and reverend familiarity that the children of God have, through Christ, with their heavenly Father." Request is made, that we may evermore be defended from all adversity. For this "there is no promise in Scripture;" and therefore "it is no prayer of faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it." Finally, request is made, that God "would have mercy upon all men." This is impossible, because some are vessels of wrath, to whom God will never extend his mercy.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven unto all believers.

XLV. As Christ hath purchased that heavenly kingdom, the last perfection whereof is "glory in the life to come," grace in this life a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath opened to the world in such sort, that whereas none can possibly without him attain salvation, by him all that believe are saved. Now, whatsoever he did or suffered, the end thereof was to open the doors of the kingdom of heaven, which our iniquities had shut up. But because by ascending *after* that the sharpness of death was overcome, he took the very local possession of glory, and that to the use of all that are his, even as himself before had witnessed, "I go to prepare a place for you;" and again, "Whom thou hast given me, O Father, I will that, where I am, they be also with me, that my glory, which thou hast given me, they may behold:" it appeareth, that when Christ did ascend, he then most liberally opened the kingdom of heaven, to the end, that with him, and by him, all believers might reign.

John xiv. 2; xii. 2.

In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that

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we can rightly gather is, that as touching their souls, what degree of joy or happiness soever it pleased God to bestow upon them, his ascension which succeeded procured theirs, and theirs concerning the body must needs be not only of, but after, his. As, therefore, Helvidius, against whom St. Jerome writeth, abused greatly those words of Matthew concerning Joseph and the mother of our Saviour Christ, "He knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born," thereby gathering against the honour of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired: after the self-same manner it should be a weak collection, if whereas we say, that when Christ had "overcome the sharpness of death, he then opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers;" a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance, were taken as insinuating an opposite denial before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently, that, because when the sharpness of death was overcome, he then opened heaven as well to believing Gentiles as Jews, heaven till then was no receptacle to the souls of either. Wherefore, be the spirits of the just and righteous before Christ truly or falsely thought excluded out of heavenly joy; by that which we in the words alleged before do attribute to Christ's ascension, there is to no such opinion, nor to the favourers thereof, any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of these words, than Pope Leo himself expoundeth them, whose speech concerning our Lord's ascension may serve instead of a marginal gloss: "Christ's exaltation is our promotion; and whither the glory of the head is already gone before, thither the hope of the body also is to follow. For at this day, we have not only the possession of paradise assured unto us; but in Christ we have entered the highest of the heavens." His "opening the kingdom of heaven," and his entrance thereinto, was not only to his own use, but for the benefit of "all believers."

Hieron. contra Helvid. in init. August. Her. lxxxiv.

Leo. Ser. 1. de Ascens. [c. 4.]

Lyr. super Gen. xxix. Th. p. 3. q. 52.

Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.

XLVI. Our good or evil estate after death dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is, why a virtuous mind should rather wish to depart this world with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken, than snatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men suffer, but

not all men with one mind, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is through the manifold persuasions, dispositions, and occasions of men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve, either willingness to live or forwardness to die. And, concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands, who alone hath the power over all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit ourselves, (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction is against both God and nature;) yet there is no doubt, but in so great variety our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and virtue, although not instructed in the school of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life as Cyrus in Xenophon, or in Plato Socrates are described, than to sink down with them of whom Elihu hath said, *Momento moriuntur*, There is scarce an instant between their flourishing and their not being? But let us, which know what it is to die as Absalom, or Ananias and Sapphira died; let us beg of God, that when the hour of our rest is come, the patterns of our dissolution may be Jacob, Moses, Joshua, David; who, leisurably ending their lives in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come upon their posterity, replenished the hearts of the nearest unto them with words of memorable consolation, strengthened men in the fear of God, gave them wholesome instructions of life, and confirmed them in true religion; in sum, taught the world no less virtuously how to die, than they had done before how to live.

Job xxxiv. 20.

Heb. xi. 21; Deut. xxxiii; Josh. xxiv; 1 Kings ii.

To such as judge things according to the sense of natural men and ascend no higher, suddenness, because it shorteneth their grief, should in reason be most acceptable. That which causeth bitterness in death, is the languishing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And, therefore, tyrants use what art they can to increase the slowness of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requested and bestowed as a benefit. Commonly, therefore, it is, for virtuous considerations, that wisdom so far prevaileth with men, as to make them desirous of slow and deliberate death, against the stream of their

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sensual inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the soul may have time to call itself to a just account of all things past, by means whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exercise patience, the joys of the kingdom of heaven have leisure to present themselves, the pleasures of sin and this world's vanities are censured with uncorrupt judgment, charity is free to make advised choice of the soil wherein her last seed may most fruitfully be bestowed, the mind is at liberty to have due regard of that disposition of worldly things, which it can never afterwards alter; and because the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightened with the shining beams of his glorious presence, as being then even almost in sight, leisurable departure may in that case bring forth for the good of such as are present, that which shall cause them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, "O let us die the death of the righteous, and let our last end be like theirs." All which benefits and opportunities are by sudden death prevented.

Cypr. de Mortal.

And, besides, forasmuch as death howsoever is a general effect of the wrath of God against sin, and the suddenness thereof a thing which happeneth but to few; the world in this respect feareth it the more, as being subject to doubtful constructions, which as no man willingly would incur, so they whose happy estate after this life is of all men's the most certain, should especially wish that no such accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occasion of rash, sinister, and suspicious verdicts whereunto they are over prone. So that, whether evil men or good be respected, whether we regard ourselves or others, to be preserved "from sudden death" is a blessing of God. And our prayer against it importeth a twofold desire: first, that death when it cometh may give us some convenient respite; or, secondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wisdom to provide always beforehand; that those evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth use to bring upon careless men; and that, although it be sudden in itself, nevertheless, in regard of our prepared minds, it may not be sudden.

Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not

XLVII. But is it credible that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthiness to obtain, and in that respect our professed fearfulness to ask, any thing, otherwise than only

for his sake to whom God can deny nothing, that this should be noted for a popish error, that this should be termed baseness, abjection of mind, or servility, is it credible? That which we for our unworthiness are afraid to crave, our prayer is, that God for the worthiness of his Son would notwithstanding vouchsafe to grant. May it please them to shew us which of these words it is that carrieth the note of popish and servile fear?[a]

ask, God, for the worthiness of his Son, would vouchsafe to grant.

In reference to other creatures of this inferior world, man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the truest inscription wherewith we can circle so base a coin is that of David, "Universa vanitas est omnis homo: Whosoever hath the name of a mortal man, there is in him whatsoever the name of vanity doth comprehend." And therefore, what we say of our own unworthiness, there is no doubt but truth will ratify; alleged in prayer, it both becometh and behoveth saints. For as humility is in suitors a decent virtue; so the testification thereof by such effectual acknowledgments, not only argueth a sound apprehension of his supereminent glory and majesty before whom we stand,[b] but putteth also into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for security against our unthankfulness, the very natural root whereof is always either ignorance, dissimulation, or pride: ignorance, when we know not the author from whom our good cometh; dissimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we receive; pride, when we think ourselves worthy of that which mere grace and undeserved mercy bestoweth. In prayer, therefore, to abate so vain imaginations with the true conceit of unworthiness, is rather to prevent than commit a fault.

Ps. xxxix. 5.

It being no error thus to think, no fault thus to speak of ourselves when we pray; is it a fault, that the consideration of our unworthiness maketh us fearful to open our mouths by way of suit? While Job had prosperity and lived in honour, men feared him for his authority's sake, and in token of their fear, when they saw him, they hid themselves.

Job xxix. 8.

[a] "This request carrieth with it still the note of the popish servile fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and reverend familiarity that the children of God have, through Christ, with their heavenly Father." T. C. l. i. p. 136.

[b] Μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας, μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. Phil. de Sacrif. Abel. et Cain. [p. 172.]

Book V. Ch. xlviii. Job xxxii. 6.

Between Elihu and the rest of Job's familiars, the greatest disparity was but in years: and he, though riper than they in judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, stood long[a] doubtful and very loth to adventure upon speech in his elders' hearing. If so small inequality between man and man make their modesty a commendable virtue, who respecting superiors, as superiors, can neither speak nor stand before them without fear; that the publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercy draweth near to Peter, he in humility and fear craveth distance: that being to stand, to speak, to sue, in the presence of so great majesty, we are afraid, let no man blame us. [b]In which consideration, notwithstanding, because to fly altogether from God, to despair that creatures unworthy shall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to surcease from prayers as bootless or fruitless offices, were to him no less injurious than pernicious to our own souls; even that which we tremble to do, we do, we ask those things which we dare not ask. The knowledge of our own unworthiness is not without belief in the merits of Christ. With that true fear which the one causeth, there is coupled true boldness, and encouragement drawn from the other. The very silence which our unworthiness putteth us unto, doth itself make request for us, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward, we are stricken dumb; looking upward, we speak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do so qualify and correct the one the danger of the other's excess, that neither boldness can make us presume, as long as we are kept under with the sense of our wretchedness; nor, while we trust in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, fear be able to tyranRom. v. 2; viii. 15; Heb. x. 19. nize over us! As, therefore, our fear excludeth not that boldness which becometh saints; so if our familiarity with God do not savour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence wherewith true humility can never stand.

Prayer to be ever-

XLVIII. Touching continual deliverance in the world from

[a] Amongst the parts of honour Aristotle reckoneth προσκυνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. Rhet. l. i. c. 5.

[b] "The publican did indeed not lift up his eyes. So that if by his example we should say, we dare ask nothing, we ought also to ask nothing; otherwise, instead of teaching true humility, we open a school to hypocrisy, which the Lord detesteth." T. C. l. iii. p. 203.

more delivered from all adversity.

all adversity, their conceit is, that we ought not to ask it of God by prayer, forasmuch as in Scripture there is no promise that we shall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles.

[a] Minds religiously affected are wont in every thing of weight and moment, which they do or see, to examine according unto rules of piety, what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themselves, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the world should lead, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their minds, sometime to admire God, sometime to bless him and give him thanks, sometime to exult in his love, sometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of spirit unto God are contained in the name of prayer. Every good and holy desire, though it lack the form, hath notwithstanding in itself the substance, and with him the force, of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans, and sighs of the heart of man. Petitionary prayer belongeth only to such as are in themselves impotent, and stand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God what our own desire is, that he by his power should effect. It presupposeth, therefore, in us, first the want of that which we pray for: secondly, a feeling of that want: thirdly, an earnest willingness of mind to be eased therein: fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God; not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities, but because we this way shew that we honour him as our God, and are verily persuaded that no good thing can come to pass which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not.

Now, because there is no man's prayer acceptable whose person is odious, neither any man's person gracious without faith; it is of necessity required that they which pray do believe. The prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his own worthiness accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they[b] be joined with belief in Christ.

[a] "Forasmuch as there is no promise in the Scripture, that we should be free from all adversity, and that evermore; it seemeth that this prayer might have been better conceived, being no prayer of faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it." T. C. l. i. p. 136.

[b] "Oratio, quæ non fit per Christum, non solum non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum." Aug. Enar. in Psal. cviii. [§. 9.]

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The prayers of the just are accepted always, but not always those things granted for which they pray. For in prayer, if faith and assurance to obtain were both one and the same thing, seeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plain testimony that they which pray were not sure they should obtain, it would follow, that their prayer, being without certainty of the event, was also made unto God without faith, and, consequently, that God abhorred it. Which to think of so many prayers of saints as we find have failed in particular requests, how absurd were it! His faithful people have this comfort, that whatsoever they rightly ask, the same no doubt but they shall receive, so far as may stand with the glory of God and their own everlasting good; unto either of which two, it is no virtuous man's purpose to seek, or desire to obtain any thing prejudicial; and, therefore, that clause which our Lord and Saviour in the prayer of his agony did express, we in petitions of like nature do always imply; "Pater, si possibile est, If it may stand with thy will and pleasure:" or if not, but that there be secret impediments and causes, in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us; yet the prayer itself which we make is a pleasing sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners, in very truth, are denied when they seem to prevail in their supplications, because it is not for their sakes or to their good that their suit takes place; the faithful contrariwise, because it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they most seem denied. "Our Lord God in anger hath granted some impenitent men's requests; as on the other side the Apostle's suit he hath of favour and mercy not granted," saith St. Augustine.

Numb. xi. 33; 1 Sam. viii. 7; Job i. 12; ii. 6; Luke viii. 32; 2 Cor. xii. 7—9. Aug. Epist. ad Probam viduam, ep. 121. [al. 130. c. 14.]

To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what he hath promised in holy Scripture we shall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two uses. It serveth as a mean to procure those things which God hath promised to grant when we ask; and it serveth as a mean to express our lawful desires also towards that, which whether we shall have or no we know not, till we see the event. Things in themselves unholy or unseemly, we may not ask; we may whatsoever being not forbidden, either nature or grace shall reasonably move us to wish, as importing the good of men; albeit God

himself have nowhere by promise assured us of that particular which our prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in itself, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impossible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though men do, without offence, wish daily that the affairs which with evil success are past, might have fallen out much better; yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifest impossibility in itself, the rules of religion do not permit. Whereas, contrariwise, when things, of their own nature contingent and mutable, are by the secret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our prayers, and consequently ask those things of God which are by this supposition impossible, we notwithstanding do not hereby in prayer transgress our lawful bounds.

That Christ, as the only begotten Son of God, having no superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither standing in any need, should either give thanks, or make petition unto God, were most absurd. As man, what could beseem him better, whether we respect his affection to Godward, or his own necessity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew should come to pass, and notwithstanding prayed for them, because he also knew that the necessary means to effect them were his prayers. As in the Psalm it is said, "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession." Wherefore, that which here God promiseth his Son, the same in the seventeenth of John, he prayeth for: "Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee, according as thou hast given him power over all flesh." But had Christ the like promise concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected, could not be promised. And we know in what sort he prayed for removal of that bitter cup, which cup he tasted, notwithstanding his prayer.

Psal. ii. 8.

John xvii. 1, 2.

Matt. xxvi. 39; Mark xiv. 36; Luke xxii. 42.

To shift off this example, they answer, first,[a] "That as other children of God, so Christ had a promise of deliverance

[a] "Neither did our Saviour Christ pray without promise; for as other the children of God, to whose condition he had humbled himself, have, so had he a promise of deliverance so far as the glory of God in that accomplishment of his vocation would suffer." T. C. l. iii. p. 200.

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as far as the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer." And if we ourselves have not also in that sort the promise of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity, what meaneth the sacred Scripture to speak in so large terms, "Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of the land for thy wealth." Again, "Keep his laws, and thou shalt be blest above all people, the Lord shall take from thee all infirmities." "The man whose delight is in the law of God, whatsoever he doeth it shall prosper." "For the ungodly there are great plagues remaining; but whosoever putteth his trust in the Lord, mercy embraceth him on every side." Not only that mercy which keepeth from being overlaid or oppressed, but mercy which saveth from being touched with grievous miseries, mercy which turneth away the course of "the great waterfloods," and permitteth them not to "come near."

Deut. xxx. 9.

Deut. vii. 15.

Psal. i. 3.

Psal. xxxii. 90.

ver. 6.

Nevertheless, because the prayer of Christ did concern but one calamity, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the same exception that he did, "If such deliverance may stand with the pleasure of Almighty God, and not otherwise." For they have, secondly, found out a rule, that prayer ought only to be made for deliverance "from this or that particular adversity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleasure of God is."[a] Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require, unto every prayer which is of faith, an assurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all adversity was unlawful, because we cannot assure ourselves that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray against any particular adversity, and the reason given, because we know not but upon the event what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth that, for any assurance we have, he may do otherwise than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot assuredly presume that God will grant.

T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

Seeing, therefore, neither of these two answers will serve the turn, they have a third; which is, that to pray in such

[a] "We ought not to desire to be free from all adversity, if it be his will, considering that he hath already declared his will therein." T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

sort, is but mispent labour, because God hath already revealed his will touching this request; and we know that the suit we make is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himself should suffer? To say, "He knew not what weight of sufferances his heavenly Father had measured unto him," is somewhat hard; harder, that although "he knew them," notwithstanding for the present time "they were forgotten through the force of those unspeakable pangs, which he then was in." The one against the plain express words of the holy Evangelist, "he knew all things that should come upon him;" the other less credible, if any thing may be of less credit than what the Scripture itself gainsayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings, make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any sign of defect that way? Did not himself declare before whatsoever was to happen in the course of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his own mouth, either in the place of public judgment, or upon the altar of the cross, that through the bruising of his body some part of the treasures of his soul were scattered and slipped from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did fail at this only middle instant, there must appear some manifest cause how it came to pass. True it is, that the pangs of his heaviness and grief were unspeakable; and as true, that because the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the weight or measure of their own woe, they use their affection as a whetstone both to wit and memory; these as nurses do feed grief, so that the weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deep apprehension, even to the last drop of the gall which that cup contained, and of every circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heaviness; but above all things, the resolute determination of God and his own unchangeable purpose, which he at that time could not forget.

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T. C. l. iii. p. 201.

John xviii. 4.

To what intent then was his prayer, which plainly testifieth

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so great willingness to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the essence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers wills, although the Godhead be in divers persons, because the power of willing is a natural, not a personal propriety. Contrariwise, the Person of our Saviour Christ being but one, there are in him two wills; because two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Christ there is a divine, and there is a human will, otherwise he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as heretics, for holding that Christ had but one will. The works and operations of our Saviour's human will were all subject to the will of God, and framed according to his law, "I desire to do thy will, O God, and thy law is within mine heart." Now as man's will so the will of Christ hath two several kinds of operation, the one natural or necessary, whereby it desireth simply whatsoever is good in itself, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, because the eye of understanding judgeth them good to that end which we simply desire. Thus in itself we desire health, physic only for health's sake. And in this sort special reason oftentimes causeth the will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for another's sake, to forego meaner for the attainment of higher desires, which our Saviour likewise did. These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easy, how in Christ there might grow desires seeming, but not being indeed opposite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his speech be weighed, "My soul is now troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me out of this hour. But yet for this very cause am I come unto this hour." His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never presented in that manner to any, but only to the soul of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one side, God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet unappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet never mastered by any that came

Psal. xl. 8.

John xii. 27.

within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more than is either possible or needful for the wit of man to find out; finally, himself flesh and blood left[a] alone to enter into conflict with all these: on the other side, a world to be saved by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest over death through the power of that deity which would not suffer the tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an utter disappointment of all the forces of infernal powers through the purity of that soul which they should have in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel that in this case the soul of Christ was much troubled. For what could such apprehensions breed, but (as their nature is) inexplicable passions of mind, desires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor? In which agony, "how should the tongue go about to express what the soul endureth?" When the griefs of Job were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, still unto his seeming they were undiscovered: "Though my talk (saith Job) be this day in bitterness, yet my plague is greater than my groaning." But here to what purpose should words serve, when nature hath more to declare than groans and strong cries, more than streams of bloody sweats, more than his doubled and tripled prayers can express, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive the cup, besides which there was no other cause of his coming into the world, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often even with tears of blood craveth, "If it be possible, O Father, or if not, even what thine own good pleasure is;" for whose sake the passion, that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict even with wrath, and death, and hell, is most welcome.

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Matt. xxvii. 46.

Job xxiii. 2.

[a] "Non potuit divinitas humanitatem et secundum aliquid deseruisse, et secundum aliquid non deseruisse? Subtraxit protectionem, sed non superavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, sed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas a divinitate in passione derelicta est. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro sua iniquitate, sed pro nostra redemptione sustinuit, quare sit derelicta requiret, non quasi adversus Deum de pœna murmurans, sed nobis innocentiam suam in pœna demonstrans." Hug. de Sacram. lib. ii. part. 1. cap. 10. "*Deus meus, utquid dereliquisti me?* vox est nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, sed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis investigandæ causæ ardorem et diligentiam acuat."

Whereas, therefore, we find in God a will resolved that Christ shall suffer; and in the human will of Christ two actual desires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; is that desire which first declareth itself by prayer, against that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them against his mind to whom prayer in this case seeketh? We may judge of these diversities in the will, by the like in the understanding. For as the intellectual part doth not cross itself, by conceiving man to be just and unjust, when it meaneth not the same man, nor by imagining the same man learned and unlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskilful, because the parts of every true opposition do always both concern the same subject, and have reference to the same thing, sith otherwise they are but in show opposite, and not in truth: so the will about one and the same thing may in contrary respects have contrary inclinations, and that without contrariety. The minister of justice may, for public example to others, virtuously will the execution of that party whose pardon another for consanguinity's sake as virtuously may desire. Consider death in itself, and nature teacheth Christ to shun it. Consider death as a mean to procure the salvation of the world, and mercy worketh in Christ all willingness of mind towards it. Therefore, in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Again, compare them with the will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be only between his appointment of Christ's death and the former desire which wisheth deliverance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the will of God. The will of God was, that Christ should suffer the pains of death. Not so his will as if the torment of innocency did in itself please and delight God; but such was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was necessary, that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in itself, therefore, God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of man endureth willingly to that purpose those grievous pains, which simply not to have shunned had been against nature, and by consequent against God.

Isa. liii. 10; John x. 15.

I take it therefore to be an error, that Christ either knew not what himself was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error was an over-restrained

consideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawful use but only to serve for a chosen mean, whereby the will resolveth to seek that which the understanding certainly knoweth it shall obtain: whereas prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well sometime a presentation of mere desires, as a mean of procuring desired effects at the hands of God. We are, therefore, taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds most perfect, may, as clouds, overcast all sensible joy; that no assurance touching future victories can make present conflicts so sweet and easy, but nature will shun and shrink from them; nature will desire ease and deliverance from oppressive burdens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection itself, because it is naturally in us; that in such case our prayers cannot serve us as means to obtain the thing we desire; that notwithstanding they are unto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testify we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be overruled by his will; and in general they are not repugnant unto the natural will of God, which wisheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happiness, although perhaps for some special cause in our own particular, a contrary determination have seemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effects as we specify, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure us his heavenly grace, even as this very prayer of Christ obtained Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agony. And, according to this example, we are not afraid to present unto God our prayers for those things, which that he will perform unto us we have no sure nor certain knowledge.

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Luke xxii. 43.

St. Paul's prayer for the Church of Corinth was, that they might not do any evil, although he knew that no man liveth which sinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always must pray, "Forgive us our sins."[a] It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiss; but a virtue, that we would do amiss in nothing; and a testimony of that virtue, when we

2 Cor. xiii. 7.

[a] "We may not pray in this life, to be free from all sin, because we must always pray, Forgive us our sins." T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

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pray that what occasion of sin soever do offer itself, we may be strengthened from above to withstand it. They pray in vain to have sin pardoned, which seek not also to prevent sin by prayer, even every particular sin, by prayer against all sin; except men can name some transgression wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed, although we cannot be free from all sin collectively, in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively, at the least, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this sense, to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible.

Finally, concerning deliverance itself from all adversity, we use not to say men are in adversity whensoever they feel any small hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when some notable affliction or cross, some great calamity or trouble, befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumstances, the mind sundry faculties to apprehend them: it offereth sometime itself to the lower powers of the soul, as a most unpleasant spectacle; to the higher sometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences; sometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of sundry evils, as God's instrument of revenge and fury sometime; sometime as a rod of his just, yet moderate ire and displeasure; sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate us to exercise their poisoned malice; sometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to shew itself, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adversity do work for the most part their answerable effects. Adversity either apprehended by sense as a thing offensive and grievous to nature, or by reason conceived as a snare, an occasion of many men's falling from God, a sequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan desireth and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus considered being present causeth sorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear. For moderation of which two affections, growing from the very natural bitterness and gall of adversity, the Scripture much allegeth contrary fruits, which affliction likewise hath whensoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of God's Holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apostle St. Paul teacheth, "That every one which will live godly in

Psal. cxix. 71.

2 Tim. iii. 12.

Christ Jesus must suffer persecution,"[a] and, "by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven;" because in a forest of many wolves sheep cannot choose but feed in continual danger of life; or when St. James exhorteth to "account it a matter of exceeding joy, when we fall into divers temptations," because, "by the trial of faith, patience is brought forth;" was it, suppose we, their meaning to frustrate our Lord's admonition, "Pray that ye enter not into temptation?" When himself pronounceth them blessed that should for his name's sake be subject to all kinds of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that no man should ever pray with David, "Lord, remove from me shame and contempt?" "In those tribulations (saith St. Augustine) which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should ask as we ought we know not; yet because they are tough, because they are grievous, because the sense of our weakness flieth them, we pray according to the general desire of the will of man, that God would turn them away from us: owing in the meanwhile this devotion to the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine ourselves in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of evils expect greater good at his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in weakness perfected." To the flesh (as the Apostle himself granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous. Therefore nature, which causeth to fear, teacheth to pray against all adversity. Prosperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almighty God, doth prove for the most part a thing dangerous to the souls of men. Very ease itself is death to the wicked, "and the prosperity of fools slayeth them:" their table is a snare, and their felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sin not. Howbeit, even as these ill effects, although they be very usual and common, are no bar to the hearty prayers whereby most virtuous minds wish peace and prosperity always where they love, because they consider that this in itself is a thing naturally desired: so because all adversity is in itself against nature, what should

Book V. Ch. xlviii.

Jam. i. 2, 3.

Ps. cxix. 22. Aug. Epist. cxxi [al. cxxx.] c. 14.

Prov. i. 32.

[a] "To pray against persecution, is contrary to that word which saith, that every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution." T. C. lib. iii. p. 200.

Book V. Ch. xlix.

hinder to pray against it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be delivered from all adversity are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of men's minds towards death, much less to that blessed patience and meek contentment which saints by heavenly inspiration have to endure, (what cross or calamity soever it pleaseth God to lay upon them,) than our Lord and Saviour's own Prayer before his passion was repugnant unto his most gracious resolution to die for the sins of the whole world.

Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God, that all men might be saved. 1 Tim. ii. 3.

XLIX. In praying for deliverance from all adversity, we seek that which nature doth wish to itself; but by entreating for mercy towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian charity thirsteth after the good of the whole world; we discharge that duty which the Apostle himself doth impose on the Church of Christ, as a commendable office, a sacrifice acceptable in God's sight, a service according to his heart, whose desire is to have all men saved: a work most suitable with his purpose, who gave himself to be the price of redemption for all, and a forcible mean to procure the conversion of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must save their souls. Against it, there is but the bare show of this one impediment, that all men's salvation, and many men's eternal condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other; that both cannot be brought to pass; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impossible thing to be had.

The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath, are matters of mere understanding or knowledge, all men's salvation, and some men's endless perdition, are things so opposite, that whatsoever doth affirm the one, must necessarily deny the other; God himself cannot effect both, or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death divided between them the whole body of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himself knoweth; for us he hath left no sufficient means to comprehend, and for that cause neither given any leave to search in particular who are infallibly the heirs of the kingdom of God, who cast-aways. Howbeit, concerning the

state of all men with whom we live (for only of them our prayers are meant) we may till the world's end, for the present, always presume, that as far as in us there is power to discern what others are; and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest axioms for charity to rest itself upon, are these: "He which believeth already is;" and, "he which believeth not as yet may be the child of God." It becometh not us, "during life, altogether to condemn any man, seeing that (for any thing we know) there is hope of every man's forgiveness; the possibility of whose repentance is not cut off by death." And therefore charity, which "hopeth all things," prayeth also for all men.

Sidon. Apol. lib. vi. Epist.

1 Cor. xiv. 7.

Wherefore, to let go personal knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not; for us there is cause sufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our prayers unto God in their behalf. For whatsoever the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charity and love is to have it enlarged in the very uttermost extent, that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Because, therefore, the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it; our prayers for all men's good, no less than for our own, the Apostle with very fit terms commendeth as being καλὸν, a work commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth; even as theirs which have requested at God's hands the salvation of many with the loss of their own souls; drowning, as it were, and overwhelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections ὑπέρκαλον, "more than excellent." But this extraordinary height of desire after other men's salvation, is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaileth with God daily. For as it is in itself good, so God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithful men. Our prayers for all men do include both them that shall find mercy, and them also that shall find none. For them that shall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did misinstruct

Rom. ix. 3, 8; x. 1.

Matt. x. 11, 12.

Book V. Ch. xlix.

his disciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of such as should be incapable of so great a blessing; or that the prayers of the Prophet Jeremy offended God, because the answer of God was a resolute denial of favour to them for whom supplication was made. And if any man doubt how God should accept such prayers in case they be opposite to his will, or not grant them if they be according unto that which himself willeth, our answer is, that such suits God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his *general inclination*, which is, that all men might be saved; yet always he granteth them not, forasmuch as there is in God sometimes a more private *occasioned will* which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions, and not this; our requests for things opposite to this will of God are not therefore the less gracious in his sight.

Jer. xv. 1.

There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do we sin. For of ourselves, being so apt to err, the only way which we have to straighten our path is, by following the rule of his will, whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot, do that which the will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commander's fault and not theirs; because nature hath absolutely, and without exception, made them subjects to the will of man, which is lord over them. As the body is subject to the will of man, so man's will to the will of God; for so it behoveth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subjection of the body to the will is by natural necessity, the subjection of the will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wills and desires may be rightly conformed to his: which is not done, by willing always the self-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them, whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnatural.

When the object or matter, therefore, of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of itself, and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is virtuous and apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is charity; piety that which we do in

declaring our desire by prayer; yea, over and besides all this, sith we know, that to pray for all men living is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Jesus Christ hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his,[a] did as man taste death for the good of all men: surely, to that will of God which ought to be, and is, the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose ourselves, although his secret determination haply be against us; which if we did understand, as we do not; yet to rest contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning ourselves, what we earnestly crave in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, we meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure.

Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, so neither is ours the first which hath been of that mind. For, to end with the words of Prosper, "This law of supplication for all men (saith he) the devout zeal of all priests, and of all faithful men, doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world, where Christian people do not use to pray in the same manner. The Church every where maketh prayers unto God, not only for saints, and such as already in Christ are regenerate; but for all infidels and enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, for all idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Jews to whose blindness the light of the Gospel doth not yet shine, for heretics and schismatics who from the unity of faith and charity are estranged. And for such, what doth the Church ask of God but this, that leaving their errors, they may be converted unto him, that faith and charity may be given them, and that out of the darkness of ignorance, they may come to the knowledge of his truth? which because they cannot themselves do in their own behalf, as long as the sway of evil custom overbeareth

Prosp. de Vocat. Gen. l. i. c. 12. inter opera Ambros.

[a] "Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam in qua cum Patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse præsciebat; quia et hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur; et hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut a sua dispositione non moveretur." Hug. de Quat. Christi Volunt.

them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound, neither are they able to break through those errors wherein they are so determinately settled, that they pay unto falsity the whole sum of whatsoever love is owing unto God's truth. Our Lord merciful and just requireth to have all men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of so bottomless evils, we may not doubt, but (in part) God hath done the thing we requested; nor despair but that being thankful for them, towards whom already he hath shewed mercy, the rest which are not as yet enlightened, shall, before they pass out of life, be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which saveth (for so we see it falleth out) overpass some, so that the prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden judgments of God's righteousness, and acknowledge that in this secret there is a gulf, which while we live we shall never sound."

Of the name, the author, and the force of sacraments: which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.

L. Instruction and prayer, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts, or principles, to the rest that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very mother of our new birth,* in whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we receive nourishment. As many, therefore, as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church, which useth to that end and purpose not only the word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue.

* Gal. iv. 26; Isai. liv. 3.

As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly understood, (for in the writings of the ancient Fathers, all articles which are peculiar to Christian faith, all duties of religion containing that which sense or natural reason cannot of itself discern, are most commonly named Sacraments,) our restraint of the word to some few principal divine ceremonies, importeth in every such ceremony two things, the substance of the ceremony itself which is visible, and besides that somewhat else more secret, in reference whereunto we conceive that ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments, therefore, consist altogether in relation to some

such gift or grace supernatural, as only God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church?

There is in Sacraments to be observed their force and their form of administration. Upon their force, their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern till we see how effectual they are. When Sacraments are said to be visible signs of invisible grace, we thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which these heavenly mysteries were instituted; and besides sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The use of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet so, that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cause accompanied with grace which worketh salvation. Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul, so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man,[a] without that mean between both, which is both; it seemeth requisite, that we must first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

That God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

LI. "The Lord our God is but one God." In which individisible unity, notwithstanding, we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorify that consubstantial Word which is the Son; we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing, therefore, the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their

[a] "Oportebat Deum carnem fieri, ut in semetipso concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque cælestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, et Deum pariter homini et hominem Deo copularet." Tertull. [Novatian.] de Trinit. [c. 18.]

Book V. Ch. ii.

several properties really distinguishable each from other. For the substance of God with this property *to be of none*, doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same Substance in number with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the Person of the Son; the same Substance having added unto it the property of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the Substance of God, which is one; and also that property which causeth the same Person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every person hath his own subsistence which no other *Person* hath,[a] although there be others besides that are of the same substance. As no man but Peter can be the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the self-same nature which Peter hath. Again, angels have every of them the nature of pure and invisible spirits, but every angel is not that angel which appeared in a dream to Joseph.

Isa. ix. 6; Jer. xxiii. 6; Rom. ix. 5; John xvi. 15; v. 21; Col. ii. 9; 1 John x. 20.

Now when God became man, lest we should err in applying this to the Person of the Father, or of the Spirit, St. Peter's confession unto Christ was, "Thou art the Son of the living God;" and St. John's exposition thereof was plain, that it is the Word[b] which was made Flesh. [c] "The Father and the Holy Ghost (saith Damascen) have no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwise than only by approbation and assent." Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Word and Deity are one subject, we must beware we exclude not the nature of God from incarnation, and so make the Son of God incarnate not to be very God. For, undoubtedly,[d] even the nature of God itself in the only Person of the Son is incarnate, and hath taken to itself Flesh. Wherefore, incarna-

Matt xvi. 16; John i. 14.

[a] Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασίς ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας, τὸ ἴδικον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἴδιαι δέ εἰσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. [sub. voc. 'Υπόστασις.] 'Η οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξαι. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, lib. iii. cap. 6.

[b] "Ος ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γεννητή. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. [§. 8.]

[c] Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ Λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damasc. [de Orthod. Fid. l. iii. c. 11. fin.]

[d] "In illo Divinitas est Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis nostræ, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis essemus." Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. §. 20.]

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tion may neither be granted to any person but only one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common unto all three.

Concerning the cause of which incomprehensible mystery, forasmuch as it seemeth a thing unconsonant that the world should honour any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the world, and in the wisdom of God it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of saving man but by man himself, though nothing should be spoken of the love and mercy of God towards man, which this way are become such a spectacle as neither men nor angels can behold without a kind of heavenly astonishment, we may hereby perceive there is cause sufficient why 2 Cor. v. 19. divine nature should assume human, that so God might be in Christ reconciling to himself the world. And if some cause be likewise required, why rather to this end and purpose the Son, than either the Father or the Holy Ghost, should be made man, could we which are born the children of wrath, be Heb. ii. 10. adopted the sons of God, through grace, any other than the natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It became therefore him, by whom all things are, to be the way of salvation to all, that the institution and restitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The world's salvation was without the incarnation of the Son of God a thing impossible; not simply impossible, but impossible it being presupposed that the will of God was no otherwise to have it saved than by the death of his own Son. Wherefore, taking to himself our flesh, and by his incarnation making it his own flesh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Christ took manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himself; so, because manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the sceptre of Christ's regency even in the kingdom of heaven be amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth suffer for the sins of the world, doth now also, by means thereof, both make intercession to God for sinners, and exercise dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy.

LII. It is not in man's ability either to express perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to pass. But the strength of our faith is tried by those things wherein our wits

The misinterpretations which Heresy hath made

Book V. Ch. lii.

of the manner how God and Man are united in one Christ.

and capacities are not strong. Howbeit, because this divine mystery is more true than plain, divers, having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true: insomuch, that by the space of five hundred years after Christ, the Church was almost troubled with nothing else, saving only with care and travail to preserve this article from the sinister construction of heretics: whose first mists when the light of the Nicene council had dispelled, it was not long ere Macedonius transferred unto God's most Holy Spirit the same blasphemy wherewith Arius had already dishonoured his co-eternally begotten Son; not long ere Apollinarius[a] began to pare away from Christ's humanity. In refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, had by their painful travails sufficiently cleared the truth, no less for the Deity of the Holy Ghost, than for the complete humanity of Christ, there followed hereupon a final conclusion, whereby those controversies, as also the rest which Paulus Samosatenus, Sabellius, Photinus, Ætius, Eunomius, together with the whole swarm of pestilent Demi-Arians had from time to time stirred up sithence the council of Nice, were both privately, first at Rome in a smaller synod, and then at Constantinople in a general famous assembly, brought to a peaceable and quiet end; seven-score bishops and ten agreeing in that confession, which by them set down, remaineth at this present hour a part of our church liturgy, a memorial of their fidelity and zeal, a sovereign preservative of God's people from the venomous infection of heresy.

An. Dom. 325.

An. Dom. 381.

Thus in Christ the verity of God, and the complete substance of man, were with full agreement established throughout the world, till such time as the heresy of Nestorius broached itself,[b] "dividing Christ into two persons, the Son of God and

[a] Μηδὲ γὰρ δεηθῆναι φησὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνην ἀνθρωπίνου νοὸς, ἡγεμονευομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὴν ἐνδεδυκότος θεοῦ. Suid. [sub voc. Ἀπολλινάριος.]

[b] Οὐκ ἔτι τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Cyril. Epist. ad Eulog. [p. 133. ed. Par. 1638.]

Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν . . . Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ Θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ οἰδειώσει. . . κατὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect. [Act. 4. p. 508. t. i. Biblioth. Patr. Gr. ed. Par. 1624.]

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the Son of man; the one a person begotten of God before all worlds, the other also a person born of the Virgin Mary, and in special favour chosen to be made entire to the Son of God above all men, so that whosoever will honour God, must together honour Christ, with whose person God hath vouchsafed to join himself in so high a degree of gracious respect and favour." But that the self-same person which verily is man, should properly be God also, and that by reason not of two persons linked in amity, but of two natures, human and divine, conjoined in one and the same person, the God of glory may be said as well to have suffered death, as to have raised the dead from their graves; the Son of man as well to have made as redeemed the world, Nestorius in no case would admit.

That which deceived him was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. "The Word (saith St. John) was made flesh, and dwelt in us." The Evangelist useth the plural number, men for manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle, denying the assumption of angelical nature, saith likewise in the plural number, "He took not Angels, but the seed of Abraham." It pleased not the Word, or wisdom of God, to take to itself some one person amongst men, for then should that one have been advanced, which was assumed, and no more; but wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that nature which is common unto all, she made not this or that man her habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The seeds of herbs and plants at the first, are not in act, but in possibility, that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himself a man now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow, that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming, and the other assumed; whereas the Son of God did not assume a man's person into his own, but a man's nature to his own person; and therefore took *semen*, the seed of Abraham, the very first original element of our nature, before it was come to have any personal human subsistence. The flesh and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant;[a] his making and taking to

John i. 14.

Heb. ii. 16.

[a] Ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προϋπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως. Theod. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος. [Dial. ii. p. 67. t. iv. ed. Par. 1642.]

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himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man, he still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. Forasmuch therefore as Christ hath no personal subsistence but one, whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we must of necessity apply to the person of the Son of God, even that which is spoken of Christ according to his human nature. For example, according to the flesh he was born of the Virgin Mary, baptized of John in the river Jordan, by Pilate adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot say properly, that the Virgin bore, or John did baptize, or Pilate condemn, or the Jews crucify, the nature of man, because these all are personal attributes; his person is the subject which receiveth them, his nature that which maketh his person capable or apt to receive. If we should say, that the person of a man in our Saviour Christ was the subject of these things, this were plainly to entrap ourselves in the very snare of the Nestorians' heresy, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, saving only that Nestorius imagined in Christ as well a personal human subsistence, as a divine; the Church acknowledging a substance both divine and human, but no other personal subsistence than divine, because the Son of God took not to himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man. Christ is a person both divine and human, howbeit not therefore two persons in one; neither both these in one sense, but a person divine, because he is personally the Son of God; human, because he hath really the nature of the children of men. In Christ, therefore, God and man, "There is (saith Paschasius) a twofold substance, not a twofold person, because one person extinguisheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct." For the personal being which the Son of God already had, suffered not the substance to be personal which he took, although, together with the nature which he had, the nature also which he took continueth. Whereupon it followeth against Nestorius, that no person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no person but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the

Pasch. de Spir. Sanct. [l. ii. c. 4.]

Son of God and no other person crucified; which one only point of Christian belief, "The infinite worth of the Son of God," is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as man in our behalf.

An. Dom. 431. But forasmuch as St. Cyril, the chiefest of those two hundred bishops assembled in the council of Ephesus, where the heresy of Nestorius was condemned, had in his writings against the Arians avouched, that the Word or Wisdom of God hath but one nature, which is eternal, and whereunto he assumed flesh, (for the Arians were of opinion, that besides God's own eternal wisdom, there is a wisdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things else; and that this created wisdom was the Word which took flesh:) again, forasmuch as the same Cyril had given instance in the body and the soul of man, no further than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and an invisible, a mortal and an immortal, substance, may united make one person; the words of Cyril were in process of time so taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the soul, so in Christ God and man make but *one nature*. Of which error, six hundred and thirty fathers in the council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Nestorius, teaching rightly that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon misinfer, that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one person; so Eutyches, of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation, became unsound, by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other nature. We must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons, wherein Nestorius went awry; and also this latter confusion of natures, which deceived Eutyches.[a] These natures, from the moment of their first combination, have been and are for ever inseparable. For even when his soul forsook the tabernacle of his body, his Deity forsook neither body nor soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise up himself from the dead. For

An. Dom. 451.

[a] Ἀχώριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, κἂν τῷ σταυρῷ κἂν τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπαθής. [Dial. iii. p. 152.]

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the body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the person of Christ; nor is it true to say, that the Son of God in raising up that body, did raise up himself, if the body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very person of Christ, therefore, for ever one and the self-same, was only, touching bodily substance, concluded within the grave, his soul only from thence severed; but by personal union his Deity still inseparably joined with both.

That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.

LIII. The sequel of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ, is no abolishment of natural properties appertaining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutual infusion, as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever natural to manhood, his Deity thereof is incapable. The true properties and operations of his Deity are, to know that which is not possible for created natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest cause of all things, the well-spring of immortality and life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where present, and enclosed nowhere; to be subject to no alteration nor passion; to produce of itself those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite majesty and power. The true properties and operations of his manhood are such as Irenæus reckoneth up:[a] "If Christ (saith he) had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not have coveted those earthly nourishments, wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after travel, testified compassion and love by tears, groaned in heaviness, and with extremity of grief even melted away itself into bloody sweats." To Christ we ascribe both working of wonders and suffering

[a] Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. Iren. l. iii. advers. Hæres. [c. 32.] Christ did all these ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Filio. Τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι Λόγῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτος. [p. 98.]

of pains; we use concerning him speeches as well of humility, as of divine glory; but the one we apply unto that nature which he took of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning.

We may not, therefore, imagine, that the properties of the weaker nature have vanished with the presence of the more glorious, and have been therein swallowed up as in a gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them who over boldly affirm, "That the nature which Christ took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity, became the same which Deity is; that the assumption of our substance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which severed it hath; because sithence the instant of their conjunction all distinction of the one from the other is extinct, and whatsoever we can now conceive of the Son of God is nothing else but mere Deity:" which words are so plain and direct for Eutyches, that I stand in doubt, they are not his whose name they carry. Sure I am, they are far from truth, and must of necessity give place to the better-advised sentences of other men. "He which in himself was appointed (saith Hilary) a Mediator to save his Church, and, for performance of that mystery of mediation between God and man, is become God and man, doth now, being but one, consist of both those natures united, neither hath he, through the union of both, incurred the damage or loss of either; lest, by being born a man, we should think he hath given over to be God; or, that because he continued God, therefore he cannot be man also; whereas the true belief which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth jointly God and man, confesseth the Word and flesh together." Cyril more plainly: "His two natures have knit themselves the one to the other, and are in that nearness as incapable of confusion as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them; flesh is not become God, but doth still continue flesh, although it be now the flesh of God." "Yea, of each substance (saith Leo)[a] the properties are all preserved and kept safe."

Greg. Nyss. Epist. ad Theophil. Alexandr. [contra Apollin. p. 265. vol. iii. ed. Par. 1638.]

Hilar. de Trin. lib. ix. [§. 3.]

Cyr. Epist. ad Nest.

[a] "Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, suscepta est a majestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas." Leo Epist. ad Flav. [c. 3.]

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These two natures are as causes and original grounds of all things which Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as God, because his Deity alone is the well-spring from which they flow; some things as man, because they issue from his mere human nature; some things jointly as both God and man, because both natures concur as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each nature do cleave only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot naturally be as God the same which he naturally is as man; yet both natures may very well concur unto one effect, and Christ in that respect be truly said to work both as God and as man one and the self-same thing. Let us, therefore, set it down for a rule or principle so necessary, as nothing more, to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the union of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a cooperation often, an association always, but never any mutual participation, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other.

Which rule must serve for the better understanding of that which Damascene[a] hath touching cross and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to manhood, and to man such as properly concern the Deity of Christ Jesus, the cause whereof is the association of natures in one subject. A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby these concrete names, *God* and *man*, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room, so that, for truth of speech, it skilleth not whether we say, that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of Man by his death hath saved it; or else, that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man what his Deity hath right unto, we understand by the name of *God*, and the name of *man*,

[a] Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damasc. de Orthod. Fid. l. iii. c. 4. "Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc est ratio, quia, cum suppositum prædicationis sit ejusmodi, ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sive ab una sive ab altera denominetur, nihil refert."

neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are. When the Apostle saith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man, being on earth, affirmeth, that the Son of Man was in heaven at the same instant; there is in these two speeches that mutual circulation before mentioned. In the one, there is attributed to God, or the Lord of Glory, death, whereof divine nature is not capable; in the other, ubiquity unto man, which human nature admitteth not. Therefore, 1 Cor. ii. 8. by the Lord of Glory, we must needs understand the whole person of Christ, who, being Lord of Glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by the Son of Man, the whole John iii. 13. person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who, being man upon earth, filled heaven with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of Man is given him.

Without this caution, the Fathers, whose belief was sincere, and their meaning most sound, shall seem in their writings, one to deny what another constantly doth affirm. Theodoret disputeth, with great earnestness, that God cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christ's divine nature against Apollinar. Epist. ad Flav. [a]Apollinarius, which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny very God to have suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which, notwithstanding, to hold, were heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import, as it doth, the person of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is given him.

LIV. If then both natures do remain with their properties in Christ thus distinct, as hath been shewed, we are, for our better understanding what either nature receiveth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receiver: first, in that he is the Son of God; secondly, in that his human nature hath had the honour of union with Deity bestowed upon it; thirdly, in that by means thereof sundry eminent graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that nature which is coupled with it. On Christ, therefore, is

What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.

[a] Θνητὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν Θεότητα. Greg. Nyss. de Sectator.

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bestowed the gift of eternal generation, the gift of union, and the gift of unction.

By the gift of eternal generation, Christ hath received of the Father one, and in number the self-same substance,[a] which the Father hath of himself unreceived from any other. For every beginning[b] is a father unto that which cometh of it, and every offspring is a son unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing, therefore, the Father alone is originally[c] that Deity which Christ originally[d] is not, (for Christ is God by being of God; light[e] by issuing out of light;)[f] it followeth hereupon, that whatsoever Christ hath common unto him with his heavenly Father,[g] the same of necessity must be given him, but naturally and eternally given; [h]not bestowed by way of benevolence and favour, as the other gifts both are. And, therefore, where the Fathers gave it out for a rule,[i] that whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to have received,

a "Nativitas Dei non potest non eam, ex qua profectus est, tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quam Deus subsistit, qui non aliunde quam ex Deo Deus subsistit." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. [§. 37.] Cum sit gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, regno, potestate, hoc quod Pater est, omnia tamen hæc non sine auctore sicut Pater, sed ex Patre tanquam Filius sine initio et æqualis habet." Ruffin. in Symb. Apost. cap. 9. "Filium aliunde non deduco, sed de substantia Patris omnem a Patre consecutum potestatem." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 4.]

b Ephes. iii. 15. *πᾶσα πατριὰ*, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat esse.

c Jac. i. 17. Pater luminum, *Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος δηλονότι.* Pachym. in Dionys. de cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. "Pater est principium totius divinitatis, quia ipse a nullo est. Non enim habet de quo procedat, sed ab eo et Filius est genitus et Spiritus Sanctus procedit." Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. cap. 40. "Hinc Christus deitatis loco nomen ubique Patris usurpat, quia Pater nimirum est *πηγαῖα θεότης.*"

d "Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et propagatio." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 9.]

e "Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. [§. 39.] "Nihil nisi natum habet Filius." Hilar. de Trin. lib. iv. [§. 10.]

f Ἀπαύγασμα *τῆς δόξης.* Heb. i. 3. *Ἔστιν ἀπόῤῥεια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής—ἀπαύγασμα—φωτὸς ἀϊδίου.* Sap. vii. 25, 26.

g "Nihil in se diversum ac dissimile habent natus et generans." Hilar. de Synod. advers. Aria. [§. 22.] "In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud." Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19.

h "Ubi auctor æternus est, ibi et nativitatis æternitas est: quia sicut nativitas ab auctore est, ita et ab æterno auctore æterna nativitas est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. [§. 21.] "Sicut naturam præstat Filio sine initio Generatio: ita Spiritus Sancti præstat essentiam sine initio Processio." Aug. de Trin. lib. v. cap. 15.

i "*Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα.* Theod. fol. 42. et ex Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Fil. ibid. 44.

the same we ought to apply only to the manhood of Christ: their assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received by grace; but to that which he hath received of the Father by eternal nativity or birth it reacheth not.

Touching union of Deity with manhood, it is by grace, because there can be no greater grace shewed towards men, than that God should vouchsafe to unite unto man's nature the person of his only-begotten Son. Because "the Father loveth the Son" as man, he hath by uniting Deity with manhood "given all things into his hands." It hath pleased the Father, that in him "all fulness should dwell." The "name" which he hath "above all names" is given him. "As the Father hath life in himself," the "Son in himself hath life also" by the gift of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Christ a fountain of life, is that "conjunction of the nature of God with the nature of man" in the person of Christ, which gift (saith Christ to the woman of Samaria) if thou didst know, and in that respect understand who it is which asketh water of thee, thou wouldest ask of him, that he might give thee living water. The union therefore of the flesh with Deity, is to that flesh a gift of principal grace and favour. For, by virtue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted above the dignity of all creatures, and hath all creatures else under it.

John iii. 35. Ephes. i. 5. Col. i. 19; Phil. ii. 9; John v. 26. 1 John v. 20. Hic est verus Deus et vita æterna. John iv. 10.

This admirable union of God with man can enforce in that higher nature no alteration, because unto God there is nothing more natural, than not to be subject to any change.[a] Neither is it a thing impossible, that the Word being made flesh, should be that which it was not before as touching the manner of subsistence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the same it was, because the incarnation of the Son of God consisteth merely in the union of natures, which union doth add perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all.[b] If, therefore, it be demanded what the

[a] "Ωσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστι τὸ θνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. Theodor. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος. [Dial. i. p. 6.]

[b] "Periculum status sui Deo nullum est." Tertull. de Carn. Chr. [c. 3.] "Majestati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abstulit." Leo de Nativit. Ser. vii. [c. 2.] Μένει ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· Θεὸς μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὕπαρξιν. Theophil. [ap. Theodor. Dial. ii. p. 101.] "In formam servi transisse non est naturam perdidisse Dei." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. [§. 6.]

person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming manhood; surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his person could have admitted; the only gain he thereby purchased for himself, was to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others.

But may it rightly be said concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our nature, was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he took; nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As, therefore, we have shewed, how the Son of God by his incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; so neither are the properties of man's nature in the person of Christ, by force and virtue of the same conjunction so much altered as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withal; nor the state and quality of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing, we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the kingdom of heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is man, differeth from other men's, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath; his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supreme Head whereunto all

power, both in heaven and in earth, is given: these are not honours common unto Christ with other men; they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive how God should, without man, either exercise divine power,[a] or receive the glory of divine praise. For man is in both an associate of Deity.[b]

But to come to the grace of unction: did the parts of our nature, the soul and body of Christ, receive, by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matched, no ability of operations, no virtue, or quality above nature? Surely, as the sword which is made fiery doth not only cut by reason of the sharpness which simply it hath, but also burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire; so there is no doubt but the Deity of Christ hath enabled that nature which it took of man, to do more than man in this world hath power to comprehend; forasmuch as (the bare essential properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath replenished it with all such perfections, as the same is any way apt to receive, at the least, according to the exigence of that economy or service for which it pleased him in love and mercy to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require, which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain or enlarge themselves.[c] Matt. xxvii. 46.

From hence we may somewhat conjecture how the powers

[a] Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. Theod.

[b] Ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὕτη τὸν ἐνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ὕδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyss. apud Theod. [Dial. ii. p. 152.] Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. Chrys. in Psal. xli. [t. i. p. 614. ed. Eton. 1612.]

[c] Ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾷν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theod. et Iren. lib. iii. advers. Hæres. [ap. Theodor. Dial. iii. p. 155.]

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of that soul are illuminated, which being so inward unto God, cannot choose but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessity be endued with knowledge so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself. The soul of Christ, that saw in this life the face of God, was here, through so visible presence of Deity, filled with all manner of graces and virtues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we read it written, "That God with the oil of gladness anointed him above his fellows."

Col. ii. 3.

Isa. xi. 2; lxii. 1; Luke iv. 18; Acts iv. 27; Heb. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 21; 1 John ii. 20, 27.

And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. Where also that must again be remembered which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents, and counsels. For in this respect his body, which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, which gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness' sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality.

John xx. 27.

But shall we say, that in heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt, but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that body wherewith he hath saved the world, that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the angels of heaven adore it.[a] Notwithstanding, a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth.

[a] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφήν. Theod. fol. 80.

To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are, which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians, by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians, by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient general councils: the council of Nice, to define against Arians; against Apollinarians, the council of Constantinople; the council of Ephesus, against Nestorians; against Eutychians, the Chalcedon council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly*, *perfectly*, *indivisibly*, *distinctly*: the first, applied to his being God; and the second, to his being man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his still contriving in that one Both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch but the person of Jesus Christ (whether they have risen in these latter days, or in any age heretofore) may be with great facility brought to confine themselves.

We conclude, therefore, that to save the world it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ, as hath been declared.

Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted, he is every where present according to the flesh.

LV. Having thus far proceeded in speech concerning the person of Jesus Christ, his two natures, their conjunction, that which he either is or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; sith God in Christ is, generally, the medicine which doth cure the world, and Christ in us is that receipt of the same medicine whereby we are every one particularly cured: inasmuch as Christ's incarnation and passion can be available to no man's good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can we participate him without

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his presence; we are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end it may thereby better appear how we are made partakers of Christ, both otherwise, and in the Sacraments themselves.

All things are in such sort divided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or quality, can be possibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are stinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they work; whatsoever they do, whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preservation thereof. Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because every thing is for some end; neither can that thing be available to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well excesses as defects are opposite. Again, forasmuch as nothing doth perish, but only through excess or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth, that measure is likewise the preservation of all things. Out of which premises we may conclude, not only that nothing created can possibly be unlimited, or can receive any such accident, quality, or property as may really make it infinite, (for then should it cease to be a creature,) but also that every creature's limitation is according to his own kind; and, therefore, as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth, that the same is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause more powerful than they are.

Such as the substance of each thing is, such is also the presence thereof. Impossible it is, that God should withdraw his presence from any thing, because the very substance of God is infinite. He filleth heaven and earth, although he take up no room in either, because his substance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this world so incomprehensible, that albeit no part of us be ever absent from him who is present[a] whole unto every particular thing, yet his presence with us we no way discern further than only that God is present; which partly by

Ps. cxxxix. 7, 8; Jer. xxiii. 24.

[a] "Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem sui præsentem præbet, et alteri parti alteram partem,..... sed non solum universitati creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter." Aug. Epist. lvii. [al. 187. c. 5.]

reason, and more perfectly by faith, we know to be firm and certain.

Seeing, therefore, that presence every where is the sequel of an infinite and incomprehensible substance, (for what can be every where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire, whether Christ be every where, is to inquire of a natural property, a property that cleaveth to the Deity of Christ. Which Deity being common unto him with none but only the Father and Holy Ghost, it followeth, that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and, consequently, not Christ as man, or Christ according to his human nature, can possibly be every where present, because those phrases of limitation and restraint do either point out the principal subject whereunto every such attribute adhereth, or else they intimate the radical cause out of which it groweth. For example, when we say that Christ as man, or according to his human nature, suffered death, we shew what nature was the proper subject of mortality; when we say, that as God, or according to his Deity, he conquered death, we declare his Deity to have been the cause by force and virtue whereof he raised himself from the grave. But neither is the manhood of Christ that subject whereunto universal presence agreeth, neither is it the cause original by force whereof his Person is enabled to be every where present. Wherefore, Christ is essentially present with all things, in that he is very God, but not present with all things as man, because manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cause nor the true subject of such presence.

Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason wherefore the manhood of Christ can neither be every where present, nor cause the person of Christ so to be; we acknowledge that of St. Augustine concerning Christ most true, "In that he is personally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally man, he himself is created of God;"[a] and it doth not appear that any one creature hath

[a] "Quod ad Verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem, creatura est." Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. c. 3.] "Deus qui semper est, et semper erat, fit creatura." Leo de Nativ. "Multi timore trepidant ne Christum esse creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non esse periculum dicere Christum esse creaturam." Hier. in Epist. ad Eph. c. ii. [§. 6.]

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power to be present with all creatures. Whereupon, nevertheless, it will not follow, that Christ cannot therefore be thus present because he is himself a creature; forasmuch as only infinite presence is that which cannot possibly stand with the essence or being of any creature: as for presence with all things that are, sith the whole race, mass, and body of them is finite, Christ by being a creature is not in that respect excluded from possibility of presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as man, from so great largeness of presence, is only his being man, a creature of this particular kind whereunto the God of nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than a creature of that sort can admit, were to give it another nature, to make it a creature of some other kind than in truth it is.

Furthermore, if Christ, in that he is man, be every where present, seeing this cometh not by the nature of manhood itself, there is no other way how it should grow, but either by the grace of union with Deity, or by the grace of unction received from Deity. It hath been already sufficiently proved, that by force of union the properties of both natures are imparted to the person only in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conveyed or translated into the other; it hath been likewise proved, that natures united in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not united. And concerning the grace of unction, wherein are contained the gifts and virtues which Christ as man hath above men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent than we are, they take not from him the nature and substance that we have, they cause not his soul nor body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernatural endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguishment of that nature whereto they are given. The substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have, but only local. It was not therefore every where seen, nor did it every where suffer death, every where it could not be entombed, it is not every where now, being exalted into heaven. There is no proof in the world strong enough to enforce that Christ had a true body, but by the true and natural properties of his body. Amongst which properties, definite or local presence is chief. "How

is it true of Christ (saith Tertullian) that he died, was buried, and rose again, if Christ had not that very flesh, the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with blood, supported with bones, woven with sinews, embroidered with veins?" If his majestical body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really even in substance present itself, or may at once be in many places; then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his nature. "Make thou no doubt or question of it (saith St. Augustine) but that the man Christ Jesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same form and substance of flesh which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but given thereunto immortality. According to this form he spreadeth not out himself into all places. For it behoveth us to take great heed, lest while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him which is man, we leave him not the true bodily substance of a man." According to St. Augustine's opinion, therefore, that majestical body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the substance of a true body.

Tertul. de Car. Chr. [c. 5.]

Aug. Epist. 187. [al. 57. c. 3.]

To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alleged proofs, a most infallible truth, that Christ, as man, is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is every where present as man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth; his soul and body not on earth, but in heaven only: yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal word, which by his very divine essence is present with all things; the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence, hath it after a sort, by being nowhere severed from that which every where is present. For inasmuch as that infinite word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly, incarnate; and, consequently, wheresoever the Word is, it hath with it manhood, else should the Word be in part, or somewhere God only and not Man, which is impossible. For the Person of Christ is whole, perfect God and perfect Man, wheresoever; although the parts of his manhood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the whole of Christ is simply every where, as we may say that his Deity is,

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and that his Person is by force of Deity. For, somewhat of the Person of Christ is not every where in that sort; namely, his manhood, the only conjunction whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual position restrained and tied to a certain place; yet presence by way of conjunction is in some sort presence.

Again, as the manhood of Christ may after a sort be every where said to be present, because that Person is every where present from whose divine substance manhood is nowhere severed; so the same universality of presence may likewise seem in another respect appliable thereunto, namely, by co-operation with Deity, and that in all things. The light, created of God in the beginning, did first by itself illuminate the world; but after the sun and moon were created, the world sithence hath by them always enjoyed the same. And that Deity of Christ, which before our Lord's incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ, as Man, hath all power both in heaven and earth given him. He hath as Man, not as God only, supreme dominion over quick and dead; for so much his ascension into heaven and his session at the right hand of God do import. The Son of God which did first humble himself by taking our flesh upon him, descended afterwards much lower, and became according to the flesh obedient so far as to suffer death, even the death of the cross, for all men, because such was his Father's will. The former was an humiliation of Deity, the latter an humiliation of manhood; for which cause there followed upon the latter an exaltation of that which was humbled: for with power he created the world, but restored it by obedience. In which obedience, as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth; so God hath glorified in heaven that nature which yielded him obedience; and hath given unto Christ, even in that he is man, such fulness of power over the whole world, that he which before fulfilled in the state of humility and patience whatsoever God did require, doth now reign in glory till the time that all things be restored. He which came down from heaven, and descended into the lowest parts of the earth, is ascended far above all heavens; that sitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with

Matt. xxviii. 18. Rom. xiv. 9.

Phil. ii. 8, 9; Heb. ii. 9; Rev. v. 12.

Luke xxi. 27.

Acts iii. 21.

the gracious and happy fruits of his saving presence. Ascension into heaven is a plain local translation of Christ, according to his manhood, from the lower to the higher parts of the world. Session at the right hand of God is the actual exercise of that regency and dominion wherein the manhood of Christ is joined, and matched with the Deity of the Son of God. Not that his manhood was before without the possession of the same power, but because the full use thereof was suspended, till that humility, which had been before as a veil to hide and conceal majesty, were laid aside. After his rising again from the dead, then did God set him at his right hand in heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and domination, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all the Head to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. The sceptre of which spiritual regiment over us in this present world is at length to be yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it; that is to say, the use and exercise thereof shall cease, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to govern. This government, therefore, he exerciseth both as God and as Man: as God, by essential presence with all things; as Man, by cooperation with that which essentially is present. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things; the principal powers of the soul of man are the will and understanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid; so that by knowledge and assent the soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh.

Book V. Ch. lv. Ephes. iv. 9.

Ephes. i. 20—23.

Psal. viii. 6; Heb. ii. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 24.

And even the body of Christ itself, although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kind of infinite and unlimited presence likewise. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is presently joined unto Deity; wheresoever Deity is, it followeth, that his bodily substance hath every where a presence of true conjunction with Deity. And forasmuch as it is, by virtue of that conjunction, made the body of the Son of God, by whom also it was made a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, this giveth it a presence of force

and efficacy throughout all generations of men. Albeit therefore nothing be actually infinite in substance but God only, in that he is God; nevertheless, as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself infinite in possibility of application. Which things indifferently every way considered, that gracious promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very end of the world, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by essential presence of Deity, and as Man, in that order, sense, and meaning, which hath been shewed.

The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ, in this present world.

LVI. We have hitherto spoken of the Person and of the presence of Christ. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may, from that which hath been before sufficiently proved, assume to our purpose these two principles, "That every original cause imparteth itself unto those things which come of it: and, whatsoever taketh being from any other, the same is after a sort in that which giveth it being."

It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being light of light, must needs be also light in light.[a] The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two; only of three, one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation. For how should that subsist solitarily by itself, which hath no substance, but

[a] "In the bosom of the Father." John i. 18. "Ecce dico alium esse Patrem, et alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 9.] "Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur." Ruffin. in Symbol. [c. 6.]

individually the very same whereby others subsist with it; seeing that the multiplication of substances in particular is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart, which have the self-same general nature, and the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular substances to whom one general nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance which itself is particular; yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Father's offspring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided by reason of the sole and single unity of their substance. The Son in the Father, as light in that light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son, as light in that light which it causeth and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal being is of the Father, which eternal being is his life, therefore he by the Father liveth.

Again, sith all things do accordingly love their offspring as themselves are more or less contained in it, he which is thus the only-begotten must needs be in this degree the only-beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternal derivation of being and life from him, must needs be in him through an eternal affection of love.

His Incarnation causeth him also as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiveth life from the Father as from the fountain of that ever-living Deity, which in the Person of the Word hath combined itself with manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as to no other creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration, likewise, the love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of love which he beareth towards his heavenly Father. Wherefore, God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ; whether we consider him as the personal Word of God, or as the natural Son of man.

Luke iii. 22; John iii. 34, 35; v. 20; x. 17; xiv. 31; xv. 10.

All other things that are of God, have God in them, and he them in himself likewise. Yet because their substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either

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with him or amongst themselves, is in no sort like unto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things have both received their first being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offspring, his influence is in them, and the personal wisdom of God is for that very cause said to excel in nimbleness or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure, and subtile spirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwise, how can the same wisdom be that which supporteth, beareth up, and sustaineth all? Whatsoever God doth work, the hands of all three Persons are jointly and equally in it, according to the order of that connexion whereby they each depend upon other. And, therefore, albeit in that respect the Father be first, the Son next, the Spirit last, and consequently nearest unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheless, they all being of one essence, are likewise all of one efficacy. Dare any man, unless he be ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinity are, persuade himself that every of them may have their sole and several possessions, or that we, being not partakers of all, can have fellowship with any one? The Father as Goodness, the Son as Wisdom, the Holy Ghost as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly issuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work is Goodness; and that which ordereth his work is Wisdom; and that which perfecteth his work is Power. All things which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the artificer which afterwards bringeth it unto effect. Therefore, whatsoever we do behold now in this present world, it was enwrapped within the bowels of divine Mercy, written in the book of eternal Wisdom, and held in the hands of omnipotent Power, the first foundations of the world being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made, are in that respect the offspring of God, they are in him as effects in their highest cause; he likewise actually is in them, the assistance and influence of his Deity is their life.

Wisd. vii. 23.

Heb. i. 3.

John xiv. 33.

Acts xvii. 28; John i. 4, 10; Isai. xl. 26.

Let hereunto saving efficacy be added, and it bringeth forth a special offspring amongst men, containing them to whom God hath himself given the gracious and amiable name of sons. We are by nature the sons of Adam. When God created Adam he created us; and as many as are descended from Adam, have in themselves the root out of which they spring. The sons of God we neither are all nor any one of us otherwise than only by grace and favour. The sons of God have God's own natural Son as a second Adam from heaven, whose race and progeny they are by spiritual and heavenly birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he must needs eternally in him have loved and preferred before all others, them which are spiritually sithence descended and sprung out of him. These were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpose of his saving Goodness, his saving Wisdom, and his saving Power, which inclined itself towards them.

1 John iii. 1.

1 Cor. xv. 47.

Ephes. i. 3, 4.

They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the work which his hand doth presently frame. Life, as all other gifts and benefits, groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost." Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, "The participation of divine nature." We are therefore in God through Christ eternally, according to that intent and purpose whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present world, before the world itself was made: we are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlasting. But in God we actually are no longer than only from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowship of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; so that they which are in the Church, are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Christ by eternal fore-knowledge saveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowship of his saints in this present world. For in him we actually are by

1 John v. 11.

Rom. viii. 10.

2 Cor. xiii. 13.

2 Pet. i. 4.

Col. ii. 10.

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our actual incorporation into that society which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one Body, (he and they in that respect having one name;) for which cause, by virtue of this mystical conjunction, we are of him, and in him, even as though our very flesh and bones should be made continuate with his. We are in Christ, because he knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himself. No man actually is in him, but they in whom he actually is. For "he which hath not the Son of God, hath not life:" "I am the vine, and ye are the branches: he which abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit:" but the branch severed from the vine withereth. We are, therefore, adopted sons of God to eternal life by participation of the only-begotten Son of God, whose life is the well-spring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation whereby some men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but only that the self-same nature which maketh us to be men, is in him, and maketh him man as we are. For what man in the world is there, which hath not so far forth communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as speak of the mystery of our coherence with Jesus Christ. The Church is in Christ, as Eve was in Adam. Yea, by grace we are every of us in Christ and in his Church, as by nature we are in those our first parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam; and his Church he frameth out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of man. His body crucified, and his blood shed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heavenly being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come. For which cause the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, "flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bones;" a true nature extract out of my own body. So that in him, even according to his manhood, we, according to our heavenly being, are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To all things he is life, and to men light, as the Son of God; to the Church, both life and light eternal, by being made the Son of man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we respect him as God or as Man. Adam is in us as an original cause of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which causeth death; Christ as the cause original

1 Cor. xii. 12; Ephes. v. 30; John xv. 9; 1 John v. 12; John xv. 5, 6.

John xiv. 19; Ephes. v. 23.

John xiv. 20; xv. 4.

1 Cor. xv. 48.

John i. 4—9; vi. 57.

Heb. v. 9.

of restoration to life. The person of Adam is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by propagation; Christ having Adam's nature, as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his own person, into all that belong unto him. As, therefore, we are really partakers of the body of sin and death received from Adam; so except we be truly partakers of Christ, and as really possessed of his Spirit, all we speak of eternal life is but a dream.

That which quickeneth us is the Spirit of the second Adam, and his flesh that wherewith he quickeneth. That which in him made our nature uncorrupt, was the union of his Deity with our nature. And in that respect the sentence of death and condemnation, which only taketh hold upon sinful flesh, could no way possibly extend unto him. This caused his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an expiatory sacrifice. The blood of Christ, as the Apostle witnesseth, doth therefore take away sin, because "through the eternal Spirit he offered himself unto God without spot." That which sanctified our nature in Christ, that which made it a sacrifice available to take away sin, is the same which quickeneth it, raised it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing, therefore, that Christ is in us as a quickening Spirit, the first degree of communion with Christ must needs consist in the participation of his Spirit, which Cyprian in that respect well termeth *germanissimam societatem*, the highest and truest society that can be between man and him, which is both God and man in one.

1 Cor. xv. 22. 45.

Heb. ix. 14.

Cypr. de Cœna Dom. cap. 6. Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13.

These things St. Cyril duly considering, reproveth their speeches which taught, that only the deity of Christ is the vine whereupon we by faith do depend as branches, and that neither his flesh nor our bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For, doth any man doubt, but that even from the flesh of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accounted parts of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, a cause by removing through the death and merit of his own

flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore, both as God and as man, that true vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim.[a] Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what our very bodies, through mystical conjunction,[b] receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner of coherence between his sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints.[c]

Thus much no Christian man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his own flesh, giving as God and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himself only, but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life, which was first received in him, might pass from him to his whole race, as malediction came from Adam unto all mankind. Howbeit, because the work of his Spirit to those effects is in us prevented by sin and death, possessing us before; it is of necessity, that as well our present sanctification unto newness of life, as the future restoration of our bodies, should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit, or virtue of his body and blood; without which foundation first laid, there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himself by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercy to account himself incomplete and maimed without us.[d] But most assured we are, that we all receive of his fulness, because he is in us as a moving and working cause; from which many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in sundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal happiness. It must be confessed, that of Christ, working as a Creator and a Governor of the world by

[a] Nostra quippe et ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat et confœderat voluntates." Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. [c. 6.]

[b] "Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et sanguine alitur?" Iren. lib. iv. advers. Hæres. cap. 34.

[c] "Unde considerandum est non solum *σχέσει* seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis esse, verum etiam participatione naturali (id est, reali et vera): quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit ut unum quid ex utrisque factum videatur; sic communicatione Corporis et Sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est, et nos in ipso." Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13.

[d] Ephes. i. 23. Ecclesia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. *Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.*

providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whom he saveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. "Whence is it (saith St. Augustine) that some be holier than others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully than in others?" And because the divine substance of Christ is equally in all, his human substance equally distant from all; it appeareth that the participation of Christ, wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects, as, being derived from both natures of Christ really into us, are made our own; and we, by having them in us, are truly said to have him from whom they come; Christ also more or less, to inhabit and impart himself, as the graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really flow into us from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his person, which can no way divide itself, or be possessed by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christ's person, and besides the mystical copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of grace whereby the life which we live according to godliness is his; and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth.

Aug. Epist. [57. al. 187. c. 5.]

Gal. ii. 20.

Thus we participate Christ, partly by imputation, as when those things which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness; partly by habitual and real infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our souls and bodies made like unto his in glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ; whereupon, because the rest of what kind soever do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue; therefore the Apostles term it, sometime the seed of God, sometime the pledge of our heavenly inheritance, sometime the handsel or earnest of that which is to come. From whence it is, that they which belong to the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the stars of heaven, divided successively, by reason of their mortal condition, into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their Head, and all unto every particular

Isai. liii. 5; Ephes. i. 7.

Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6.

1 John iii. 9; Ephes. i. 14; Rom. viii. 23.

1 Cor. xii. 27.

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Ephes. iv. 15; Rom. xii. 5; Ephes. iv. 25.

person amongst themselves, inasmuch as the same Spirit which anointed the blessed soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limbs compacted into one body, by being quickened all with one and the same soul.

That wherein we are partakers of Jesus Christ by imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it consisteth in such acts and deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they came; and therefore, how men, either then, or before, or sithence, should be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Again, a deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is; or, if at all it be imputed, they which have it by imputation, must have it such as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the personal presence of Christ, nor in the participation of those effects which are ours by imputation only; it resteth, that we wholly apply them to the participation of Christ's infused grace; although, even in this kind also, the first beginning of life, the seed of God, the first-fruits of Christ's Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far soever one may seem to excel another, yet touching this that all are sons, they are all equals, some haply better sons than the rest are, but none any more a son than another.

Thus, therefore, we see, how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what communion Christ hath with his Church, how his Church and every member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he personally in them by way of mystical association, wrought through the gift of the Holy Ghost, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the same what benefit soever the vital force of his body and blood may yield; yea, by steps and degrees they receive the complete measure of all such divine grace as doth sanctify and save throughout, till the day of their final exaltation, to a state of fellowship in glory with him, whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we have of Christ included no such kind of gross surmise.

The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.

LVII. It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the use of the holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end, but only to teach the mind by other senses that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heavenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by sacraments be instruction, they which at all times have opportunity of using the better mean to that purpose will surely hold the worse in less estimation. And unto infants, which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a mere superfluity that any sacrament is administered, if to administer the sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, some other more excellent and heavenly use.

Sacraments, by reason of their mixed nature, are more diversely interpreted and disputed of than any other parts of religion besides; for that in so great store of properties belonging to the self-same thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest, so they have accordingly seemed one to cross another, as touching their several opinions about the necessity of sacraments; whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For, let respect be had to the duty which every communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the use of sacraments, that they serve as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian charity, provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the principal benefits of Christ: respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth, that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Testament, as other rites were before with the Old: regard the weakness which is in us, and they are warrants for the more security of our belief: compare the receivers of them with such as receive them not, and sacraments are marks of distinction to separate God's own from strangers: so that in all these respects, they are found to be most necessary.

But their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein, so

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much as in that they are heavenly ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church: first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. For, sith God in himself is invisible, and cannot by us be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wisdom that men for some special intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious presence, he giveth them some plain and sensible

Exod. iii. 2.

token whereby to know what they cannot see. For Moses to see God and live was impossible; yet Moses by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present. The

John v. 4.

angel by whom God endued the waters of the pool, called Bethesda, with supernatural virtue to heal, was not seen of any; yet the time of the angel's presence known by the troubled

Acts ii. 3.

motions of the waters themselves. The Apostles, by fiery tongues which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them. In like manner it is with us. Christ and his Holy Spirit, with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man, we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible.

Seeing, therefore, that grace is a consequent of sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which they have received from God himself, the author of sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural quality in them; it may be hereby both understood, that sacraments are necessary, and that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life, because they contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy; they are not physical, but moral instruments of salvation, duties of service and worship; which unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable: for, all receive not the grace of God, which receive the sacraments of his grace. Neither is it ordinarily his will to bestow the grace of sacraments on any but by the sacraments; which grace also, they that receive by sacraments or with sacraments, receive it

from him, and not from them. For of sacraments, the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom observeth in the brazen serpent,[a] "He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Saviour of all." Wisd. xvi. 7.

This is therefore the necessity of sacraments. That saving grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the instruments of God, to that end and purpose; moral instruments, the use whereof is in our own hands, the effect in his; for the use we have his express commandment, for the effect his conditional promise: so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance; as contrariwise, where the signs and sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt, but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify. For we take not baptism, nor the eucharist, for bare resemblances or memorials of things absent, neither for naked signs and testimonies assuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify.[b]

There have grown in the doctrine concerning sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication, what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that the true immediate cause why baptism and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth baptism challenge to itself but the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on

[a] "Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterii." Ambros. in Luc. cap. iii. [l. ii. §. 79.] "Sanctificatis elementis effectum non propria ipsorum natura præbet, sed virtus divina potentius operatur." Cypr. de Chrism. [c. 2.]

[b] "Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris ei ejusdem significatio per species visibiles adhibetur, ut foris excitetur et intus reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3. "Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ Sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina." Idem, lib. i. cap. 4.

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mysteries ensuing. We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once, as the first beginner; in the eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. By baptism, therefore, we receive Christ Jesus, and from him that saving grace which is proper unto baptism; by the other sacrament we receive him also imparting therein himself and that grace which the eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that also which is peculiar unto itself, we may hereby gather, that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained, but by the sacrament whereunto it is proper.

The substance of Baptism; the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

LVIII. Now even as the soul doth organize the body, and give unto every member thereof that substance, quantity, and shape, which nature seeth most expedient; so the inward grace of sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward form: a thing in no part of Christian religion, much less here, to be neglected. Grace intended by sacraments, was a cause of the choice, and is a reason of the fitness of the elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity, that words of express declaration, taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself, should be added unto visible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to pass.

In writing and speaking of the blessed sacraments, we use[a] for the most part under the name of their substance, not only to comprise that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signify and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in definitions,[b] whether they

[a] "Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena et cœlesti." Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 34. "Arcanarum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant." Helvet. Confes. Prior. Art. 20.

[b] "Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longe aliud invisibile intus operatur." Isid. Etym. lib. i. [l. vi. c. 19.] "Sacramentum est, per quod, sub tegumento rerum visibilium, divina virtus salutem secretius operatur." Greg. Mag. "Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum." Occa. Sent. iv. d. 1. "Sacramentum proprie non est signum cujuslibet rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines." Tho. xii. q. 101, 4. et q. 102, 5. "Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi, gratiæ et gloriæ: ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, et

be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge, the number of sacraments, we find grace expressly mentioned as their true essential form, elements as the matter whereunto that form doth adjoin itself. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seen, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of sacraments from sacramental grace, the name of a sacrament in such speeches can imply no more than what the outward substance thereof doth comprehend. And, to make complete the outward substance of a sacrament, there is required an outward form, which form sacramental elements receive from sacramental words. Hereupon it groweth, [a] that many times there are three things said to make up the substance of a sacrament; namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the word which expresseth what is done by the element. So that, whether we consider the outward by itself, or both the outward and inward substance of any sacraments, there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but three, that concur to give sacraments their full being.

Furthermore, because definitions are to express but the most immediate and nearest parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note, that inasmuch as sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning, (and what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine,) therefore always in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice; and where the contrary is not manifest, [b] we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God.

prognosticon futuri." Tho. iii. q. 60, 3. "Sacramenta sunt signa et symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, ceu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis agit." Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

[a] "Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, et rebus significatis." Confes. Helvet. Post. c. 19.

[b] "Si aliud ministri agere intendant, puto sacris illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesiæ non consentiat, nihil agitur: sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Ecclesiæ intentione non potest." Lancel. Inst. Jur. Can. lib. ii. Tit. ii. 5. Hoc tamen.

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Concerning all other orders, rites, prayers, lessons, sermons, actions, and their circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward substance of baptism but things accessory, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, considering that such ordinances have been made to adorn the sacrament,[a] not the sacrament to depend upon them; seeing also, that they are not of the substance of baptism, and that baptism is far more necessary than any such incident rite or solemnity ordained for the better administration thereof:[b] if the case be such as permitteth not baptism to have the decent complements of baptism, better it were to enjoy the body without his furniture, than to wait for this till the opportunity of that for which we desire it be lost. Which premises standing, it seemeth to have been no absurd collection, that in cases of necessity, which will not suffer delay till baptism be administered with usual solemnities, it may (to speak the least) be tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

The grounds in Scripture whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.

LIX. They which deny that any such case of necessity can fall, in regard whereof the Church should tolerate baptism without the decent rites and solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that such tolerations have risen from a false interpretation which certain men have made of the Scripture, grounding a necessity of external baptism upon the words of our Saviour Christ: "Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."[c] For by water and the Spirit, we are in that place to understand

[a] "Accessorium non regulat principale, sed ab eo regulatur." 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. iii. ff. quod jussu.

[b] "Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, subveñiendum est." Lib. clxxxiii. de Reg. Jur.

[c] "Private Baptism first rose upon a false interpretation of the place in St. John, ch. iii. 5. 'Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit,' &c. where certain do interpret the word water, for the material and elemental water, when as our Saviour Christ taketh water there, by a borrowed speech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For even as in another place, Matt. iii. 11. by 'fire and the Spirit,' he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth; so in this place, by water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing else but the Spirit of God, which cleanseth the filth of sin, and cooleth the boiling heat of an unquiet conscience, as water washeth the thing that is foul, and quencheth the heat of the fire." T. C. lib. i. p. 143.

(as they imagine) no more, than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and water not spoken of. Which they think is plain, because elsewhere it is not improbable that "the Holy Ghost and fire," do but signify the Holy Ghost in operation resembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing fire in one place may be, therefore water in another place is but a metaphor; Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and so the words do only mean, "That unless a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise; yet in places which usually serve, as this doth, concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alleged for grounds and principles, less is permitted.

To hide the general consent of antiquity, agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that certain have taken those words as meant of material water, when they know that of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise either expound or allege the place, than as implying external baptism. Shall that which hath always [a]received this and no other construction be now disguised with the toy of novelty? Must we needs, at the only show of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of error, which will not admit that fire in the words of John is quenched with the name of the Holy Ghost; or, with the name of the Spirit, water dried up in the words of Christ?

When the letter of the law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, water and the Spirit; water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves were more than needeth. We

[a] "Minime sunt mutanda, quæ interpretationem certam semper habuerunt." D. lib. i. tit. 3. lib. xxiii.

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may, by such rare expositions, attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice.

Finally, if at [a]the time when that baptism which was meant by John came to be really and truly performed by Christ himself, we find the Apostles that had been, as we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghost, and in this their later baptism as well a visible descent of fire, as a secret miraculous infusion of the Spirit; if on us he accomplish likewise the heavenly work of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with water thereunto adjoined, sith the faithfullest expounders of his words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath manifestly wrought, declare what his speech did doubtfully utter.

Acts ii. 3.

What kind of necessity in outward baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is. John iii. 3.

LX. To this they add, that as we err by following a wrong construction of the place before alleged; so our second oversight is, that we hereupon infer a necessity over rigorous and extreme.[b]

The true necessity of baptism, a few propositions considered will soon decide. All things which either are known causes or set means,[c] whereby any great good is usually procured, or men delivered from grievous evil, the same we must needs confess necessary. And, if regeneration were not in this very sense a thing necessary to eternal life, would Christ himself have taught Nicodemus, that to see the kingdom of God is impossible, saving only for those men which are born from above?

a "John baptized with water, but you shall within few days be baptized with the Holy Ghost." Acts i. 5.

b "Secondly, this error (of private baptism) came by a false and unnecessary conclusion drawn from that place. For, although the Scripture should say, that none can be saved, but those which have the Spirit of God, and are baptized with material and elemental water, yet it ought to be understood of those which can conveniently and orderly be brought to baptism; as the Scripture, saying, that whoso doth not believe the Gospel is condemned already, John iii. 18, meaneth this sentence of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion to understand it when they hear it; and cannot here shut under this condemnation, either those that are born deaf and so remain, or little infants, or natural fools that have not wit to conceive what is preached." T. C. lib. i. p. 143.

c Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναιτίου· καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι, ἤ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ στερηθῆναι. "Necessarium id dicitur, sine quo ut concausa fieri non potest ut vivatur: et ea sine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adsit." Arist. Metaph. v. cap. 5.

His words following in the next sentence are a proof sufficient, that to our regeneration his Spirit is no less necessary, than regeneration itself necessary unto life. John iii. 5.

Thirdly, unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so water were a necessary outward mean to our regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new-born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of water? Why are we taught, that with water God doth purify and cleanse his Church? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term baptism a bath of regeneration? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward baptism, and in persuading them, it did avail to remission of sins? Ephes. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5.

If outward baptism were a cause in itself possessed of that power, either natural or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow; it must then follow, that seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no man could ever receive grace before baptism: which being apparently both known, and also confessed to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make not baptism a cause of grace; yet the grace which is given them with their baptism,[a] doth so far forth depend on the very outward sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a sign or token what we receive, but also as an instrument or mean whereby we receive grace, because baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ;[b] and so through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness,[c] Acts ii. 38.

[a] "Fideles salutem *ex* istis elementis non quærunt, etiamsi *in* istis quærunt. Non enim ista tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3.

[b] "Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi." Leo Serm. xiv. de Pas. Dom. [c. 5.]

[c] "Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur." Tertull. de Carn. Resur. [c. 8.] "Homo per aquam baptismi licet a foris idem esse videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus, sine peccato renascitur; prioribus perit, succedentibus proficit; deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innovatur; persona tingitur, et natura mutatur." Euseb. Emis. de Epiphan. Homil. iii. [in Biblioth. Patr. Lat. t. v. par. i. p. 549.] Τρισσὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ

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as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost,[a] which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life.

There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's election, if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of Jesus Christ, after the Gospel of God embraced and the sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect saints; he then accounteth them delivered from death and clean purged from all sin. Till then, notwithstanding their pre-ordination unto life, which none could know of, saving God; what were they in the Apostle's own account, but children of wrath, as well as others, plain aliens, altogether without hope, strangers, utterly without God in this present world? So that by sacraments, and other sensible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather, that he whose mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means, hath also long sithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last end by bare conjectural collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life without the grace of external vocation, wherein our baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new-born, but

Eph. i. 1.

Eph. v. 8.

Eph. ii. 3. 12.

Rom. viii. 30.

ἀναστάσεως. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις, οὐ κόσμου κατακλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν, ἔχουσα. Greg. Naz. de Sanct. Bapt. [Grat. 40. ad init.]

[a] "Undæ genitalis auxilio superioris ævi labe detersa in expiatum pectus ac purum desupur se lumen infundit." Cypr. ad Donat. [de Grat. Dei, c. 3.] Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνοὺς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epit. Divin. Dogmat. "Baptizari est purgari a sordibus peccatorum, et donari vari Dei gratia ad vitam novam et innocentem." Confess. Helvet. cap. 20.

by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life,[a] a seal perhaps to the grace of election before received;[b] but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it.

There were of the old Valentinian heretics some which had knowledge in such admiration, that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the sacraments of Christ, pretending that as ignorance had made us subject to all misery, so the full redemption of the inward man, and the work of our restoration, must needs belong unto knowledge only. They draw very near unto this error, who fixing wholly their minds on the known necessity of faith,[c] imagine that nothing but faith is necessary for the attainment of all grace. Yet is it a branch of belief, that sacraments are in their place no less required than belief itself. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth eternal life, is it any otherwise than as he promised restitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely, with this condition, "Wash, and be clean?" or, as to them which were stung of serpents, health, by beholding the brazen serpent? If Christ himself which giveth salvation do require baptism; it is not for us that look for salvation to sound and examine him, whether unbaptized men may be saved; but seriously to do that which is required,[d] and religiously to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Christ only declared his will to have all men baptized, and not acquainted us with any cause why baptism is necessary, our ignorance in the reason of that he enjoineth might perhaps have hindered somewhat the forwardness of our obedience thereunto; whereas

Iren. contra Hæres. l. i. c. 18.

2 Kings v. 14; Numb. xxi. 8; Mark xvi. 16.

[a] "Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 10.

[b] "He which is not a Christian before he come to receive baptism, cannot be made a Christian by baptism; which is only the seal of the grace of God before received." T. C. lib. iii. p. 134.

[c] "Hic scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones. Adeo dicunt, baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est." Tertull. de Baptis. [c. 13.] "Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum possit, non percipit sacramentum." Bern. Epist. lxx. ad Hugon.

[d] "Institutio sacramentorum quantum ad Deum auctorem, dispensationis est; quantum vero ad hominem obedientem, necessitatis. Quoniam in potestate Dei est præter ista hominem salvare, sed in potestate hominis non est sine istis ad salutem pervenire." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 5.

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now being taught that baptism is necessary to take away sin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if care of delivering men's souls from sin do not move us to use all means for their baptism? Pelagius,[a] which denied utterly the guilt of original sin, and in that respect the necessity of baptism, did notwithstanding both baptize infants, and acknowledge their baptism necessary for entrance into the kingdom of God.

Now the law of Christ, which in these considerations maketh baptism necessary, must be construed and understood according to rules of natural equity.[b] Which rules if they themselves did not follow in expounding the law of God, would they ever be able to prove, that the Scripture, in saying, "Whoso believeth not the Gospel of Christ, is condemned already," "meaneth this sentence of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion when they hear, to understand it; neither ought it to be applied unto infants, deaf men, and fools?" That which teacheth them thus to interpret the law of Christ, is natural equity. And (because equity so teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confessed, that there may be in divers cases life by virtue of inward baptism, even where outward is not found. So that if any question be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this possibility.

T. C. l. i. p. 143.

For example, to think that a man whose baptism the crown of martyrdom preventeth, doth lose in that case the happiness which so many thousands enjoy, that only have had the grace to believe, and not the honour to seal the testimony thereof with death, were almost barbarous.

Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugonem.

Again, when some certain opinionative men in St. Bernard's time, began privately to hold that, because our Lord hath said, "Unless a man be born again of water," therefore life, without either actual baptism, or martyrdom instead of baptism, cannot possibly be obtained at the hands of God; Bernard, considering that the same equity which had moved them to think the necessity of baptism no bar against the happy estate of unbaptized martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant

[a] "Pelagius asserere arrepta impietate præsumit non propter vitam, sed propter regnum cœlorum baptismum parvulis conferendum." Euseb. Emis. Hom. v. de Pasch. [t. v. par. 1. p. 560.]

[b] "Benignius leges interpretandæ sunt, quo voluntas earum conservetur." L. Benign. D. de Legib. et Sena. Tusc.

of their salvation, in whom, although there be not the sufferings of holy martyrs, there are the virtues which sanctified those sufferings, and made them precious in God's sight, professed himself an enemy to that severity and strictness which admitteth no exception but of martyrs only. For, saith he, if a man desirous of baptism be suddenly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither sound faith, devout hope, nor sincere charity, (God be merciful unto me, and pardon me, if I err,) but verily of such a one's salvation, in whom there is no other defect besides his faultless lack of baptism, despair I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his faith void, his hope confounded, and his charity fallen to nothing, only because he hath not that which not contempt but impossibility withholdeth. "Tell me, I beseech you, (saith Ambrose,) what there is in any of us more than to will, and to seek for our own good. Thy servant Valentinian, O Lord, did both. (For Valentinian the emperor died before his purpose to receive baptism could take effect.) And is it possible, that he which had purposely thy Spirit given him to desire grace, should not receive thy grace which that Spirit did desire? Doth it move you that the outward accustomed solemnities were not done? As though converts that suffer martyrdom before baptism did thereby forfeit their right to the crown of eternal glory in the kingdom of heaven. If the blood of martyrs in that case be their baptism, surely his religious desire of baptism standeth him in the same stead." [a]It hath been therefore constantly held, as well touching other believers, as martyrs, that baptism, taken away by necessity, is supplied by desire of baptism, because with equity this opinion doth best stand.

Touching infants which die unbaptized, sith they neither have this sacrament itself, nor any sense or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing grace is not absolutely tied unto sacraments; and besides, such is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether

[a] "Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam semel dicavit animum in martyrium, mihi videtur implevisse. Summi ergo meriti est semel fixisse sententiam; atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet passionis; et si sors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati." Joseph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

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impossible he bindeth no man; but, where we cannot do what is enjoined us, accepteth our will to do instead of the deed itself; again, forasmuch as there is in their Christian parents, and in the Church of God, a presumed desire, that the sacrament of baptism might be given them, yea, a purpose also that it shall be given: remorse of equity hath moved divers of the school-divines[a] in these considerations ingenuously to grant, that God, all merciful to such as are not in themselves able to desire baptism, imputeth the secret desire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the same as theirs, rather than casteth away their souls for that which no man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his grace unto infants without baptism in that case, the very circumstance of their natural birth may serve as a just argument; whereupon it is not to be misliked, that men in charitable presumption do gather a great likelihood of their salvation, to whom the benefit of Christian parentage being given, the rest that should follow is prevented by some such casualty, as man hath himself no power to avoid. For we are plainly taught of God, that the seed of faithful parentage is holy from the very birth. Which albeit we may not so understand, as if the children of believing parents were without sin; or grace from baptized parents derived by propagation; or God, by covenant and promise, tied to save any in mere regard of their parents' belief: yet seeing, that to all professors of the name of Christ this pre-eminence above infidels is freely given, that fruit of their bodies bringeth into the world with it a present interest and right to those means wherewith the ordinance of Christ is that his Church shall be sanctified, it is not to be thought that he which, as it were, from heaven, hath nominated and designed them unto holiness by special privilege of their very birth, will himself deprive them of regeneration and inward grace, only because necessity depriveth them of outward sacraments. In which case, it were the part of charity to hope, and to make men rather partial than cruel judges, if we had not those fair appearances which here we have.

1 Cor. vii. 14.

Wherefore a necessity there is of receiving, and a necessity

[a] Gers. Serm. in Nativ. Beatæ Mar. [consid. 2.] Cajetan. in 3 Tho. ix. 68. Art. 1 et 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Elisius Neapol. in Clyp. advers. Hæres. cap. de Baptis.

of administering, the sacrament of baptism; the one peradventure not so absolute as some have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more strait and narrow than that the Church, which is by office a mother unto such as crave at her hands the sacred mystery of their new birth, should repel them, and see them die unsatisfied of these their ghostly desires, rather than give them their souls' rights with omission of those things which serve but only for the more convenient and orderly administration thereof. For as on the one side we grant, that those sentences of holy Scripture which make sacraments most necessary to eternal life, are no prejudice to their salvation, that want them by some inevitable necessity, and without any fault of their own; so it ought,[a] in reason, to be likewise acknowledged, that forasmuch as our Lord himself maketh baptism necessary, necessary whether we respect the good received by baptism, or the testimony thereby yielded unto God of that humility and meek obedience, which, reposing wholly itself on the absolute authority of his commandment, and on the truth of his heavenly promise, doubteth not but from creatures despicable in their own condition and substance to obtain grace of inestimable value; or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them, as by his appointed means. Howsoever he, by the secret ways of his own incomprehensible mercy, may be thought to save without baptism, this cleareth not the Church from guiltiness of blood, if, through her superfluous scrupulosity, lets and impediments of less regard should cause a grace of so great moment to be withheld, wherein our merciless strictness may be our own harm, though not theirs towards whom we shew it; and we for the hardness of our hearts may perish, albeit they through God's unspeakable mercy do live. God, which did not afflict that innocent whose circumcision Moses had over long deferred, took revenge upon Moses himself for the injury which was done through so great neglect; giving us thereby to understand, that they, whom God's own mercy saveth without us, are on our parts notwithstanding, and as much as in us lieth, even destroyed, when under insufficient pretences we defraud them of such ordinary

Exod. iv. 24.

[a] "It is in question, whether there be any such necessity of baptism, as that, for the ministering thereof, the common decent orders should be broken." T. C. lib. iii. p. 218.

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outward helps as we should exhibit. We have for baptism no day set, as the Jews had for circumcision; neither have we by the law of God, but only by the Church's discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism, therefore, even in the meaning of the law of Christ, belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the very instant of their birth.[a] Which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by being put off because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their souls.

What things in baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers respecting necessity.

LXI. The ancients, it may be, were too severe, and made the necessity of baptism more absolute than reason would, as touching infants. But will any man say, [b]that they, notwithstanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that respect sustain and tolerate defects of local, or of personal solemnities belonging to the sacrament of baptism? The Apostles themselves did neither use nor appoint for baptism any certain time. The Church for general baptism heretofore made choice of two chief days in the year; the feast of Easter, and the feast of Pentecost. Which custom when certain churches in Sicily began to violate without cause, they were by Leo bishop of Rome advised, rather to conform themselves to the rest of the world in things so reasonable, than to offend men's minds through needless singularity; howbeit, always providing, that nevertheless in apparent peril of death, danger of siege, straits

Leo Epist. iv. ad Episc. Sicil.

[a] "In omnibus obligationibus, in quibus dies non ponitur, præsenti die debetur." Lib. xiv. D. de Reg. Jur.

[b] "The authors themselves of that error, that they cannot be saved which are not baptized, did never seek a remedy of the mischief in women's or private baptism." T. C. lib. i. p. 146. "What plainer testimony can there be than that of Augustine, which noteth the use of the Church to have been, to come to the church with their children in danger of death, and that when some had opinion that their children could not be saved if they were not baptized? (Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13.) I would also know of him what he will answer to that which is noted of a Christian Jew desperately sick of the palsy, that was with his bed carried to the place of baptism? (Socr. lib. vii. cap. 4.) What will he answer to this? That those which were baptized in their beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongst the clergy, (as they call them,) doth it not leave a note of infamy in those which had procured that baptism should be administered in private houses? (Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.) What unto the emperor's decree, which, upon authority of the ancient laws, and of the Apostles, forbiddeth, that the holy things should be administered in any man's house? (Just. Novel. 57.)" T. C. lib. iii. 219.

of persecution, fear of shipwreck, and the like exigents, no respects of time should cause this singular defence of true safety to be denied unto any. This of Leo did but confirm that sentence which Victor had many years before given, extending the same exception as well unto places as times. Vict. Ep. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damasc.

That which St. Augustine speaketh of women hasting to bring their children to the church when they saw danger, is a weak proof, that when necessity did not leave them so much time, it was not then permitted them neither to make a church of their own home.

Which answer dischargeth likewise their example of a sick Jew carried in a bed to the place of baptism, and not baptized at home in private.

The cause why such kind of baptism barred men afterwards from entering into holy orders, the reason wherefore it was objected against Novatian, in what respect, and how far forth it did disable, may be gathered by the twelfth canon set down in the council of Neocæsarea after this manner: "A man which hath been baptized in sickness, is not after to be ordained priest." For it may be thought, "that such do rather at that time, because they see no other remedy, than of a voluntary mind, lay hold on the Christian faith, unless their true and sincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifest, or else the scarcity of others enforce the Church to admit them."

They bring in Justinian's imperial constitution, but to what purpose? Seeing it only forbiddeth men to have the mysteries of God administered in their private chapels, lest under that pretence heretics should do secretly those things which were unlawful. In which consideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would use those private oratories otherwise than only for their private prayers, the bishop should appoint them a clerk whom they might entertain for that purpose. This is plain by later constitutions made in the time of Leo: "It was thought good, (saith the emperor,) in their judgment which have gone before, that in private chapels none should celebrate the holy communion but priests belonging unto greater churches. Which order they took as it seemeth for the custody of religion, lest men should secretly receive from heretics, instead of the food the bane of their souls, pollution in the Leo Const. iv.

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place of expiation." Again, "Whereas a sacred canon of the sixth reverend synod requireth baptism, as others have likewise the holy sacrifices and mysteries, to be celebrated only in temples hallowed for public use, and not in private oratories; which strict decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of heretics which entered closely into such men's houses as favoured their opinions, whom, under colour of performing with them such religious offices, they drew from the soundness of true religion: now that perverse opinions, through the grace of Almighty God, are extinct and gone, the cause of former restraints being taken away, we see no reason but that private oratories may henceforward enjoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore had not been safe." In sum, all these things alleged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in cases of extreme necessity hath made for private baptism always more than against it.

Yea, "baptism by any man, in the case of necessity," was the voice[a] of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Augustine,[b] or any other of the ancients, against it. The boldness of such, as, pretending Tecla's example, took openly upon them both baptism and all other public functions of priesthood, Tertullian severely controlleth, saying, "To give baptism is, in truth, the bishop's right. After him it belongeth unto priests and deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For so the honour of the Church requireth, which being kept preserveth peace. Were it not in this respect, the laity might do the same; all sorts might give, even as all sorts receive." But because emulation is the mother of schisms, "let it content thee (which art of the order of laymen) to do it in necessity, when the state of time, or place, or person, thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldness privileged that help, when the circumstance of other men's dangers craveth it." What he

Tertull. de Baptis. [c. 17.].

Tertull. [Ibid.]

[a] "To allow of women's baptizing, is not only contrary to the learned writers now, but also contrary to all learned antiquity, and contrary to the practice of the Church, whilst there was any tolerable estate." T. C. lib. i. p. 145.

[b] St. Augustine, although he seem to allow of a layman's baptism in time of necessity, (Cont. Epist. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13.) yet there he mentioneth not women's baptism; and in the fourth council of Carthage, cap. 100, it is simply, without exception, decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.

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granteth generally to lay-persons of the house of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contained under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech; especially seeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is elsewhere,[a] "Specialties are signified under that which is general, because they are therein comprehended." All which Tertullian doth deny is,[b] that women may be called to bear, or publicly take upon them to execute offices of ecclesiastical order, whereof none but men are capable.

As for Epiphanius, he striketh on the very self-same anvil with Tertullian. Epiphan. c. Hæres. l. i. l. ii. [l. iii. t. i. Hær. 79. §. 2, 3, 7.]

And in necessity, if St. Augustine alloweth as much unto laymen as Tertullian doth, his not mentioning of women is but a slender proof that his meaning was to exclude women.

Finally, the council of Carthage, likewise, although it make no express submission, may be very well presumed willing to stoop, as other positive ordinances do, to the countermands of necessity.

Judge therefore what the ancients would have thought, if in their days it had been heard, which is published in ours,[c] that because "the substance of the sacrament doth chiefly depend on the institution of God, which is the form, and as it were the life, of the sacrament;" therefore, first, "if the whole institution be not kept, it is no sacrament;" and, secondly, if baptism be private, his institution is broken, inasmuch as, "according to the orders which he hath sent for baptism, it

[a] "Subjectum est generali speciale. In ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur." Tertull. de veland. Virg. [c. 4.] "Posito genere, supponitur species." Azoar. in lib. ii. cap. de Transact.

[b] "Non permittur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii, sortem sibi vindicare." Tertull. de veland. Virg. [c. 9.]

[c] "The substance of the sacrament dependeth chiefly of the institution and word of God, which is the form, and, as it were, the life of the sacrament." T. C. lib. i. p. 144. "Although part of the institution be observed, yet if the whole institution be not, it is no sacrament." T. C. lib. i. p. 144. "The orders which God hath set, are, that it should be done in the congregation, and by the minister." T. C. lib. i. p. 146. "And I will further say, that although the infants which die without baptism, should be assuredly damned, (which is most false,) yet ought not the orders which God hath set in his Church to be broken after this sort." T. C. lib. i. p. 146.

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should be done in the congregation," from whose ordinance in this point "we ought not to swerve, although we know that infants should be assuredly damned without baptism." O Sir, you that would spurn thus at such, as in case of so dreadful extremity should lie prostrate before your feet; you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their most need; you that would dam up your ears, and harden your hearts as iron against the irresistible cries of supplicants, calling upon you for mercy with terms of such invocation, as that most dreadful perplexity might minister, if God by miracle did open the mouths of infants to express their supposed necessity; should first imagine yourself in their case, and them in yours. This done, let their supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, "My son, the rites and solemnities of baptism must be kept; we may not do ill that good may come of it;[a] neither are souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Christ hath set;" would you in their case yourself be shaken off with these answers, and not rather embrace, enclosed with both your arms, a sentence, which now is no gospel unto you, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice?"

Matt. ix. 13.

To acknowledge Christ's institution the ground of both sacraments, I suppose no Christian man will refuse: for it giveth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they consist, the form of their administration it teacheth, and it blesseth them with that grace whereby to us they are both pledges and instruments of life. Nevertheless, seeing Christ's institution containeth, besides that which maketh complete the essence of nature, other things that only are parts, as it were, of the furniture of sacraments; the difference between these two must unfold that which the general terms of indefinite speech would confound. If the place appointed for baptism be a part of Christ's institution, it is but his institution as sacrifice, baptism his institution as mercy, in this case: he which requireth both mercy and sacrifice, rejecteth his own institution of sacrifice, where the offering of sacrifice would hinder mercy from being shewed. External circumstances,

[a] "Nostro peccato alterius saluti consulere non debemus." Aug. lib. cont. Mend. cap. 17.

even in the holiest and highest actions, are but the "lesser things of the law," whereunto those actions themselves being compared, are the greater; and, therefore, as the greater are of such importance, that they must be done; so in that extremity before supposed, if our account of the lesser, which are not to be omitted, should cause omission of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our strict obedience to Christ's institution touching mint and cummin, a disobedience to his institution concerning love? But sith no institution of Christ hath so strictly tied baptism to public assemblies, as it hath done all men unto baptism, away with these merciless and bloody sentences, let them never be found standing in the books and writings of a Christian man; they savour not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meek Spirit, but, under colour of exact obedience, they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart.

Matt. xxiii. 23.

Whether baptism by women be true baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

LXII. To leave private baptism, therefore, and to come unto baptism by women, which they say[a] is no more a sacrament than any other ordinary washing or bathing of a man's body: the reason whereupon they ground their opinion herein is such, as, making baptism by women void because women are no ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sex, of quality, of insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of calling do frustrate baptism, they that baptize without calling do nothing, be they women or men.

1 Tim. ii. 12; 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

To make women teachers in the house of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, "I permit not a woman to teach." And again, "Let your women in churches be silent." Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with tongues and prophesying, which God at that time did not only bestow upon men, but on women also, made it the harder to hold them confined within private bounds: whereupon the Apostle's ordinance was necessary against women's public admission to teach. And because, when law hath begun some

[a] "On this point, whether he be a minister or no, dependeth not only the dignity, but also the being, of the sacrament. So that I take the baptism of women to be no more the holy sacrament of baptism, than any other daily or ordinary washing of the child." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

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one thing or other well, it giveth good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very law itself, or to annex to the law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this apostolic constitution to baptism. "For (saith he) if we have denied them leave to teach, how should any man dispense with nature, and make them ministers of holy things; seeing this unskilfulness is a part of the Grecians' impiety, which for the service of women-goddesses have women-priests?"

[a] Clem. Const. Apostol lib. iii. cap. 9.

I somewhat marvel, that men which would not willingly be thought to speak or write but with good conscience, dare hereupon openly avouch Clement for a witness, "That as, when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the sincerity of religion, it borrowed a number of other profanations of the heathens; so it borrowed this, and would needs have women-priests, as the heathens had; and that this was one occasion of bringing baptism by women into the Church of God." Is it not plain in their own eyes, that first by an evidence which forbiddeth women to be ministers of baptism, they endeavour to shew how women were admitted unto that function in the wane and declination of Christian piety? secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the heathens, and condemning them of impiety, they would prove such affection towards heathens, as ordereth the affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example: and, thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the heathens as being in some part a reason why the Church had no women-priests, they gather the heathens to have been one of the first occasions why it had. So that, throughout every branch of this testimony, their issue is yea; and their evidence directly no.

T. C. l. i. p. 144.

But to women's baptism in private by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that only concern ordinary baptism in public are no just prejudice; neither can we by force thereof disprove the practice of those churches, which (necessity requiring) allow baptism in private to be administered by women. We may not, from laws that prohibit any thing with restraint, conclude absolute and unlimited prohibitions: although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid such baptism, may have perhaps wherewith to justify their orders against it.

For, even things lawful [a] are well prohibited, when there is fear lest they make the way to unlawful more easy. And it may be, the liberty of baptism by women at such times doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it where no such necessity is.

But whether of permission besides law, or in presumption against law, they do it, is it thereby altogether frustrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the first their right baptism, must of necessity be rebaptized, because the law of Christ tieth all men to receive baptism. Iteration of baptism once given hath been always thought a manifest contempt of that ancient apostolic aphorism, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism:" baptism not only one, inasmuch as it hath every where the same substance, and offereth unto all men the same grace, but one also, for that it ought not to be received by any one man above once. We serve that Lord which is but one, because no other can be joined with him: we embrace that faith which is but one, because it admitteth no innovation: that baptism we receive which is but one, because it cannot be received often. For how should we practise iteration of baptism, and yet teach, that we are by baptism born anew; that by baptism we are admitted unto the heavenly society of saints; that those things be really and effectually done by baptism, which are no more possible to be often done, than a man can naturally be often born,[b] or civilly be often adopted into any one stock and family? This also is the cause, why they that present us unto baptism are entitled for ever after our parents in God, and the reason why there we receive new names, in token that by baptism we are made new creatures. As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so that sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin, and beginneth in us a new condition of

Ephes. iv. 5.

[a] "Licita prohibentur, ne si permitterentur, eorum occasione perveniatur ad illicita." L. neque tamen. Just. de Asuth. Tut. lib. Officium. D. de rei Vind.

[b] "Una est nativitas de terra, alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de masculo et fœmina, alia de Deo et Ecclesia. Sed ipsæ duæ singulares sunt. Quo modo enim uterus non potest repeti, sic nec baptismus iterari." Prosp. Senten. 331. "Eja, fratres, lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem convolate, ut semper vobis aqua sufficiat, hoc ante omnia scientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rursus haurire." Zeno. Invit. ad Font. [i. p. 117. t. iii. Biblioth. Patr. Lat.]

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life, is by one only actual administration for ever available; according to that in the Nicene Creed, "I believe one baptism for remission of sins."

August. de Bapt. cont. Don. l. ii. cap. 14.

And because second baptism was ever abhorred in the Church of God, as a kind of incestuous birth, they that iterate baptism are driven, under some pretence or other, to make the former baptism void. Tertullian the first that proposed to the Church, Agrippinus the first in the Church that accepted, and against the use of the Church Novatianus the first that publicly began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds: a true persuasion that baptism is necessary; and a false, that the baptism which others administered was no baptism. Novatianus's conceit was, that none can administer true baptism but the true Church of Jesus Christ; that he and his followers alone were the Church; and for the rest, he accounted them wicked and profane persons, such as by baptism could cleanse no man, unless they first did purify themselves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. Cyprian, with the greatest part of African bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly persuaded than that heretics are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby, that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reverse that baptism which is given by heretics. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loved a whit the less, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital of which ingenuous moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in a peaceable sort, with very good regard had of them, as of men in error, but not in heresy.

Tert. de Bapt. [c. 15.] Cypr. Epist. 71.

Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 1—3. Cypr. Epist. 70—76.

The bishop of Rome against their novelties upheld, as beseemed him, the ancient and true apostolic customs, till they which unadvisedly before had erred, became in a manner all reconciled friends unto truth,[a] and saw that heresy in the ministers of baptism could no way evacuate the force thereof:

[a] "Illi ipsi episcopi, qui rebaptizandos hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti, novum emisere decretum." Hieron. cont. Lucifer. [ad fin.] Vide et August. contr. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 2, 3. et Epist. 48.

such heresy alone excepted,[a] as, by reason of unsoundness in the highest articles of Christian faith, presumed to change, and by changing to maim, the substance, the form of baptism. In which respect, the Church did neither simply disannul, nor absolutely ratify, baptism by heretics. For the baptism which Novatianists gave stood firm; whereas they whom Samosatenians had baptized were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the council of Arles, that if any Arian did reconcile himself to the Church, they should admit him without new baptism, unless by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinity. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, maketh report, how there lived under him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that church, who, being present at the rites of baptism, and observing with better consideration than ever before, what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craved of his bishop not to deny him baptism, the due of all which profess Christ, seeing it had been so long sithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of heretics, and at their hands (which till now he never thoroughly and duly weighed) to take a baptism full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a baptism in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Christ useth. The bishop was greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to rebaptize, but did the best he could to put him in good comfort, using much persuasion with him not to trouble himself with things that were past and gone, nor after a long continuance in the fellowship of God's people to call now in question his first entrance. The poor man that saw himself in this sort answered, but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the bishop remained fearful to give release; perhaps too fearful, if the baptism were such as his own declaration importeth. For that, the substance whereof was rotten at the very first, is never by tract of time able to

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Synod. Nicæ. cap. 19. Synod. i. Arelat. cap. 8.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 8.

[a] "Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos hæreticos pertinere, qui falsaverunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in Persona Filii cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: et cæteri hujusmodi, qui a sacramentis catholicis alieni noscuntur." Optat. lib. i. [c. 10.]

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recover soundness. And where true baptism was not before given, the case of rebaptization is clear.

But by this it appeareth, that baptism is not void in regard of heresy; and therefore much less through any other moral defect in the minister thereof. Under which second pretence, Donatists notwithstanding took upon them to make frustrate the Church's baptism, and themselves to rebaptize their own fry. For whereas some forty years after the martyrdom of blessed Cyprian, the emperor Dioclesian began to persecute the Church of Christ, and for the speedier abolishment of their religion to burn up their sacred books; there were in the Church itself traditors, content to deliver up the books of God by composition, to the end their own lives might be spared. Which men growing thereby odious to the rest, whose constancy was greater; it fortuned that after, when one Cecilian was ordained bishop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endeavoured in vain to defeat by excepting against him as a traditor, they whose accusations could not prevail, desperately joined themselves in one, and made a bishop of their own crew, accounting, from that day forward, their faction the only true and sincere church. The first bishop on that part was Majorinus, whose successor Donatus being the first who wrote in defence of their schism, the birds that were hatched before by others have their names from him.

Circa An. 300.

Arians and Donatists began both about one time. Which heresies, according to the different strength of their own sinews, wrought as hope of success led them: the one with the choicest wits, the other with the multitude, so far that, after long and troublesome experience, the perfectest view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certain determinate resolution, whether error may do more by the curious subtilty of sharp discourse, or else by the mere appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids gave Donatists beyond all men's expectation, as great a sway as ever any schism or heresy had within that reach of the Christian world, where it bred and grew: the rather, perhaps, because the Church, which neither greatly feared them, and besides had necessary cause to bend itself against others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Christ, was contented to let Donatists have their

course by the space of threescore years and above; even from ten years before Constantine till the time that Optatus, bishop of Milevis, published his books against Parmenian. During which term, and the space of that schism's continuance afterwards, they had, besides many other secular and worldly means to help them forward, these special advantages: first, the very occasion of their breach with the Church of God, a just hatred and dislike of traditors, seemed plausible; they easily persuaded their hearers, that such men could not be holy, as held communion and fellowship with them that betrayed religion: again, when, to dazzle the eyes of the simple, and to prove that it can be no church which is not holy, they had in show and sound of words the glorious pretence of the creed apostolic, "I believe the Holy Catholic Church," we need not think it any strange thing that with the multitude they gained credit; and avouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true baptism, they had for this point whole volumes of St. Cyprian's own writing, together with the judgments of divers African synods, whose sentence was the same with his. Whereupon the Fathers were likewise, in defence of their just cause, very greatly prejudiced; both for that they could not enforce the duty of men's communion with a church confessed to be in many things blameworthy, unless they should oftentimes seem to speak as half-defenders of the faults themselves, or at the least not so vehement accusers thereof as their adversaries; and to withstand iteration of baptism, the other branch of the Donatists' heresy, was impossible, without manifest and professed rejection of Cyprian, whom the world universally did in his lifetime admire as the greatest among prelates, and now honour as not the lowest in the kingdom of heaven. So true we find it, by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the teacher's error is the people's trial, harder and heavier by so much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater that mispersuadeth them. Although there was odds between Cyprian's cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder understanding in that point, but not dividing himself from the body of the Church by schism, as did the Donatists. For which cause saith Vincentius, "Of one and the same opinion we judge (which may seem strange) the authors catholic and

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Circa An. 370.

Vincent. Lirin. adver. Hæres. cap. II.

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the followers heretical; we acquit ths masters, and condemn the scholars; they are heirs of heaven which have written those books the defenders whereof are trodden down to the pit of hell."

Vide C. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 6. lib. Adversarius, et lib. Nullus, circa An. 405.

The invectives of catholic writers, therefore, against them are sharp; the words of imperial edicts by Honorius and Theodosius, made to bridle them, very bitter; the punishments severe, in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear (as we may conjecture) lest much should be derogated from the baptism of the Church, and baptism by Donatists be more esteemed of than was meet; if, on the one side, that which heretics had done ill should stand as good; on the other side, that be reversed which the catholic Church had well and religiously done; divers better minded than advised men, thought it fittest to meet with this inconvenience, by rebaptizing Donatists, as well as they rebaptized catholics. For stay whereof, the same emperors saw it meet to give their law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both sides cut off not only heretics, which rebaptized whom they could pervert; but also catholic and Christian priests, which did the like unto such as had before taken baptism at the hands of heretics, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatists were therefore, in process of time, though with much ado, wearied, and at length worn out, by the constancy of that truth which teacheth, that evil ministers of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waste to none but themselves only; and that the foulness of their hands can neither any whit impair the virtue, nor stain the glory, of the mysteries of Christ.

Siquis. C. Ne Sanct. Baptis. circa An. 413.

Now that which was done amiss by virtuous and good men, (as Cyprian, carried aside with hatred against heresy,) and was secondly followed by Donatists, whom envy and rancour, covered with show of godliness, made obstinate to cancel whatsoever the Church did in the sacrament of baptism, hath of later days, in another respect far different from both the former, been brought freshly again into practice: for the Anabaptist rebaptizeth, because in his estimation the baptism of the Church is frustrate, for that we give it unto infants which have not faith; whereas, according unto Christ's institution, as they conceive it, true baptism should always presuppose actual belief in receivers, and is otherwise no baptism.

Of these three errors, there is not any but hath been able at the least to allege in defence of itself many fair probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto always constantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are known to have received true baptism is unlawful; that if baptism seriously be administered in the same element, and with the same form of words which Christ's institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the world that can make it frustrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true sacrament; and lastly, that baptism is only then to be readministered, when the first delivery thereof is void, in regard of the foresalleged imperfections, and no other: shall we now in the case of baptism, which, having both for matter and form the substance of Christ's institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided for the only defect of ecclesiastical authority in the minister, think it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath, by saying, "We take such baptism to be no more the sacrament of baptism, than any other ordinary bathing to be a sacrament?"

It behoveth generally all sorts of men to keep themselves within the limits of their own vocation: and seeing God, from whom men's several degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receive both baptism and all other public medicinable helps of soul, perhaps thereby the more to settle our hearts in the love of our ghostly superiors; they have small cause to hope, that with him their voluntary services will be accepted, who thrust themselves into functions, either above their capacity, or besides their place, and overboldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compass of their own order, do as much as in them lieth to dissolve that order which is the harmony of God's Church. Suppose, therefore, that in these and the like considerations, the law did utterly prohibit baptism to be administered by any other than persons thereunto solemnly consecrated, what necessity soever happen; are not many things firm,[a] being done, al-

Numb. xvi. 10; Levit. x. 1; 1 Sam. xiii. 11; 2 Sam. vi. 6; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16; Heb. v. 4.

[a] Seq. 306. Lugdunensis ex literis decret. de Matrim. contract. Damas. Burch. Reg. 109. "Prohibita fieri, si fiant, non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrarium obtinet."

though in part done otherwise than positive rigour and strictness did require? Nature, as much as is possible, inclineth, unto validities and preservations. Dissolutions and nullities of things done, are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cause, or extended beyond their reach. If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in teaching publicly or privately, in delivering this blessed sacrament of regeneration, some unsanctified hand, contrary to Christ's supposed ordinance, do intrude itself to execute that whereunto the laws of God and his Church have deputed others; which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the word and sacraments, much less their nature and very substance, to depend on the minister's authority and calling, or else theirs,[a] which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal defect, there being not any law of God which saith, that if the minister be incompetent, his word shall be no word, his baptism no baptism? He which teacheth and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher: his usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although they yield not him the same comfort. And if these two cases be peers, the case of doctrine and the case of baptism both alike; sith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that baptize make baptism to be vain?[b]

They grant, that the matter and the form in sacraments are the only parts of substance, and that if these two be retained, albeit other things besides be used which are inconvenient, the sacrament notwithstanding is administered, but not sin-

[a] "As St. Paul saith, that a man cannot preach, which is not sent; (Rom. x. 15.) no, not although he speak the words of the Scripture, and interpret them: so I cannot see how a man can baptize, unless he be sent to that end; although he pour water, and rehearse the words which are to be rehearsed in the ministry of baptism." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

[b] "If either the matter of the sacrament, or the form of it, which is the institution, (which things are only substantial parts,) were wanting, there should then have been no sacrament at all ministered. But they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the sacrament is ministered, but not sincerely." T. C. lib. i. p. 165.

cerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? When by these fair speeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they up their words again, interlacing such frivolous interpretations and glosses as disgrace their sentence? What should move them, having named the matter and the form of the sacrament, to give us presently warning, that they mean by the form of the sacrament the institution? Which exposition darkeneth whatsoever was before plain. For whereas, in common understanding, that form, which added to the element doth make a sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth only the words of usual application, they set it down, (lest common dictionaries should deceive us,) that the form doth signify, in their language, the institution; which institution in truth comprehendeth both form and matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to enclose the minister's vocation within the compass of some essential part of the sacrament. A thing that can never stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the minister be "no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause in the work of baptism?" What if the minister's vocation be a matter[a] "of perpetual necessity, and not a ceremony variable as times and occasions require? What if his calling be a principal part of the institution of Christ?" Doth it therefore follow, that the minister's authority is[b] "of the substance of the sacrament," and as incident unto the nature thereof, as the matter and the form itself, yea, more incident? For whereas, in case of necessity, the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the element of water lawful, and others, which like not so well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the words of Christ's institution were altered, and men baptized in the

T. C. lib. iii. p. 117.

T. C. lib. iii. p. 121.

[a] "The minister is of the substance of the sacrament, considering that it is a principal part of Christ's institution." T. C. lib. iii. 135. "Desit aqua, et tamen baptismus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non possit, nec debeat; ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite, quam aqua, baptizarim." Beza, Epist. 2.

[b] "Shew me why the breach of the institution in the form should make the sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part (which concerneth the minister)?" T. C. lib. iii. p. 138. "Howsoever some learned and godly give some liberty in the change of the elements of the holy sacrament; yet I do not see how that can stand." Idem, ibid. "I would rather judge him baptized, who is baptized into the name of Christ, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost, when the element of water is added, than when the other words being duly kept some other liquor is used." Idem, p. 137.

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name of Christ, without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghost; nevertheless, in denying that baptism administered by private persons ought to be reckoned of as a sacrament, they both agree.

It may therefore please them both to consider, that baptism is an action, in part moral, in part ecclesiastical, and in part mystical: moral, as being a duty which men perform towards God; ecclesiastical, in that it belongeth unto God's Church as a public duty; finally, mystical, if we respect what God doth thereby intend to work. The greatest moral perfection of baptism consisteth in men's devout obedience to the law of God, which law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and also that religious affection which God doth so much regard, that without it whatsoever we do is hateful in his sight; who therefore is said to respect adverbs more than verbs, because the end of his law in appointing what we shall do is our own perfection; which perfection consisteth chiefly in the virtuous disposition of the mind, and approveth itself to him not by doing, but by doing well. Wherein appeareth also the difference between human and divine laws; the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis;* the one do but claim the deed, the other especially the mind. So that, according to laws which principally respect the heart of men, works of religion being not religiously performed cannot morally be perfect. Baptism, as an ecclesiastical work, is for the manner of performance ordered by divers ecclesiastical laws, providing that as the sacrament itself is a gift of no mean worth, so the ministry thereof might in all circumstances appear to be a function of no small regard. All that belongeth to the mystical perfection of baptism outwardly, is the element, the word, and the serious application of both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto, if we add that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sins, by virtue of Christ's own compact solemnly made with his Church, to accomplish fully the sacrament of baptism there is not any thing more required. Now put the question, whether baptism administered to infants, without any spiritual calling, be unto them both a true sacrament, and an effectual instrument of grace, or else an act of no more account than the ordinary washings

are? The sum of all that can be said to defeat such baptism is, that those things which have no being can work nothing; and that baptism, without the power of ordination, is as a judgment without sufficient jurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect. But to this we answer, that the fruit of baptism dependeth only upon the covenant which God hath made; that God by covenant requireth in the elder sort, faith and baptism; in children, the sacrament of baptism alone, whereunto he hath also given them right by special privilege of birth within the bosom of the holy Church: that infants, therefore, which have received baptism complete, as touching the mystical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own covenant and promise cleansed from all sin; forasmuch as all other laws, concerning that which in baptism is either moral or ecclesiastical, do bind the Church which giveth baptism, and not the infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that, if any thing be therein amiss, the harm which groweth by violation of holy ordinances, must altogether rest where the bonds of such ordinances hold.

For, that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in jurisdictions, may somewhat appear by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a judge doth by way of authority without authority is known to all men, and agreed upon with full consent of the whole world; every man receiveth it as a general edict of nature; whereas the nullity of baptism, in regard of the like defect, is only a few men's new, ungrounded, and as yet unapproved, imagination. Which difference of generality in men's persuasions on the one side, and their paucity whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easy to observe in the things themselves. The exercise of unauthorized jurisdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority presume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the ministers thereof as parents, or as nurses; at whose hands, when there is necessity, but no possibility, of receiving it, if that which they are not present to do in right of their office, be of pity and compassion done by others; shall this be thought to turn celestial bread into gravel, or the medicine of souls into poison? Jurisdiction is a yoke which law

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hath imposed on the neck of men in such sort, that they must endure it for the good of others, how contrary soever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations. Jurisdiction bridleth men against their wills; that which a judge doth prevails by virtue of his very power; and therefore, not without great reason, except the law hath given him authority, whatsoever he doth vanisheth. Baptism, on the other side, being a favour which it pleaseth God to bestow, a benefit of soul to us that receive it, and a grace which they that deliver are but as mere vessels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this service; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honour; their own offence, to be the other: can it possibly stand with equity and right,[a] that the faultiness of their presumption in giving baptism, should be able to prejudice us, who by taking baptism have no way offended?

I know there are many sentences found in the books and writings of the ancient Fathers, to prove both ecclesiastical and also moral defects in the minister of baptism a bar to the heavenly benefit thereof. Which sentences we always so understand, as Augustine understood in a case of like nature the words of St. Cyprian. When infants baptized were, after their parents' revolt, carried by them in arms to the stews of idols, those wretched creatures, as St. Cyprian thought, were not only their own ruin, but their children's also: "Their children (whom this their apostacy profaned) did lose what Christian baptism had given them being newly born." "They lost (saith St. Augustine) the grace of baptism, if we consider to what their parents' impiety did tend;" although the mercy of God preserved them, and will also in that dreadful day of account give them favourable audience, pleading in their own behalf, "The harm of other men's perfidiousness it lay not in us to avoid." After the same manner, whatsoever we read written, if it sound to the prejudice of baptism, through any either moral or ecclesiastical defect therein, we construe it as equity and reason teacheth, with restraint to the offender only; which doth, as far as concerneth

August. Epist. 23. [al. 28. §. 3.]

[a] "Factum alterius alii nocere non debet." Ulp. lib. de pupillo, sect. Si plurimum. Item, Alphen. lib. Paterfamilias. De Hære. Instit. "Maleficia teneant auctores suos, non alios." Lib. Sancimus, 22. C. de Pœn.

himself and them which wittingly concur with him, make the sacrament of God fruitless.

St. Augustine's doubtfulness,[a] whether baptism by a layman may stand, or ought to be readministered, should not be mentioned by them which presume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was content to profess himself unresolved. Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough; but the manner of delivering his judgment being modest, they make of a virtue an imbecility, and impute his calmness of speech to an irresolution of mind. His disputation in that place is against Parmenian, which held that a bishop or a priest, if they fall into any heresy, do thereby lose the power which they had before to baptize; and that therefore baptism by heretics is merely void. For answer whereof, he first denieth that heresy can more deprive men of power to baptize others, than it is of force to take from them their own baptism: and in the second place, he further addeth, that if heretics did lose the power which before was given them by ordination, and did therefore unlawfully usurp, as often they took upon them to give the sacrament of baptism, it followeth not, that baptism by them administered without authority is no baptism. For then, what should we think of baptism by laymen, to whom authority was never given? I doubt (saith St. Augustine) whether any man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, that the baptism which laymen do in case of necessity administer should be iterated: "For to do it unnecessarily, is to execute another man's office; necessity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all, (much less so grievous a crime that it should deserve to be termed by the name of sacrilege,)[b] or, if any, a very pardonable fault. But suppose it even of very purpose usurped, and given unto any man, by every man that listeth; yet that which is given cannot possibly be denied to have been given, how truly soever we may say it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful usurpation, a penitent affection must

[a] "Augustine standeth in doubt whether baptism by a layman be available, or no. (Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.) Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministered by a woman, whose unaptness herein is double to that of a layman, was of no effect." T. C. lib. iii. p. 136.

[b] "The sacrilege of private persons, women especially, in administering the holy sacrament of baptism." T. C. lib. i. p. 116.

redress. If not, the thing that was given shall remain to the hurt and detriment of him which unlawfully either administered or received the same; yet so, that in this respect it ought not to be reputed as if it had not at all been given." Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. Augustine was not himself uncertain what to think, but doubtful whether any well-minded men in the whole world could think otherwise than he did.

Their argument, taken from a stolen seal,[a] may return to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which men give or grant to others, must appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifest, their gifts and grants are thereby made effectual, both to bar themselves from revocation, and to assecure the right they have given. Wherein, for further prevention of mischiefs that otherwise might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equal and meet, that the strength of men's deeds and the instruments which declare the same, should strictly depend upon divers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that pass between God and us; because, sith we need not doubt, lest the treasures of his heavenly grace should without his consent be passed by forged conveyances, nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before; as there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falsehood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of men's persons that weight in baptism, which for good and just considerations in the custody of seals of office it ought to have. The grace of baptism cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministry of baptism unto special men, it is for order's sake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or add more force, to the sacrament itself. That infants have right to the sacrament in baptism we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful possessors of that, whereunto they have right by

[a] "As by the seal which the prince hath set apart to seal his grants with, when it is stolen and set to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no assurance to the party that hath it: so, if it were possible to be the seal of God, which a woman should set to, yet for that she hath stolen it, and put it to, not only without, but contrary to, the commandment of God, I see not how any can take any assurance by reason thereof." T. C. lib. iii. p. 139.

the manifest will of the donor, and are not parties unto any defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared, that "dilectum cum capite semper ambulat, men's own faults are their own harms."

Wherefore, to countervail this and the like mischosen resemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the ordinance of God, concerning their vocation that minister baptism, wherein the mystery of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same analogy which laws of wedlock have to our first nativity and birth: so that if nature do effect procreation, notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of nature's law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this present world might be without blemish; may we not justly presume that grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church?

Some light may be borrowed from circumcision, for explication of what is true in this question of baptism. Seeing then, that even they who condemn Zipporah the wife of Moses, for taking upon her to circumcise her son,[a] a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, considering how Moses, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the office; whereupon, for the stay of God's indignation, there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein, whether we interpret as some have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not so thoroughly acquainted with the Jewish rites, it

Exod. iv. 24.

[a] "I say, that the unlawfulness of that fact doth appear sufficiently, in that she did it before her husband Moses, which was a prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumcision did appertain. Besides, that she did cut off the foreskin of the infant, not of mind to obey the commandment of God, or for the salvation of the child, but in a choler only, to the end that her husband might be eased and have release: which mind appeareth in her, both by her words, and by casting away in anger the foreskin which she had cut off. And if it be said, that the event declared that the act pleased God, because that Moses forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his sickness; I have shewed before, that if we measure things by the event, we shall oftentimes justify the wicked, and take the righteousness of the righteous from them." T. C. lib. i. p. 144.

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much discontented her to see herself, through her husband's oversight, in a matter of his own religion, brought unto these perplexities and straits, that either she must now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own child; which she could not do but with some indignation, shewed in that she fumingly both threw down the foreskin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his religion. Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious exposition, which are not inclinable to think that Moses was matched like Socrates, nor that circumcision could now in Eleazar be strange unto her, having had Gersom, her elder son, before circumcised; nor that any occasion of choler could arise from a spectacle of such misery, as doth [a] naturally move compassion and not wrath; nor that Zipporah was so impious, as in the visible presence of God's deserved anger to storm at the ordinance and law of God; nor that the words of the history itself can enforce any such affection: but do only declare how after the act performed she touched the feet of Moses, saying,[b] "Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum, Thou art unto me a husband of blood;" which might be very well, the one done and the other spoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love to signify, with hands laid under his feet, that her tender affection towards him had caused her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeem her husband out of the hands of death with effusion of blood: the sequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument that God was satisfied with that she did; as may appear by his own testimony, declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of his grievous punishment, upon her speedy discharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God; even, as after execution of justice by the hands of Phineas, the plague was immediately taken

Psal. cvi. 30.

[a] "Mala passis non irascimur, sed compatimur." Boet. de Consol.

[b] Where the usual translation hath, Exod. iv. 25. "She cut away the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a bloody husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then she said, O bloody husband, because of the circumcision." The words, as they lie in the original, are rather thus to be interpreted: "And she cut off the foreskin of her son. Which being done, she touched his feet, (the feet of Moses,) and said, Thou art to me a husband of blood, (in the plural number, thereby signifying effusion of blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when she said, A husband of blood, in regard of circumcision."

away, which former impunity of sin had caused. In which so manifest and plain cases, not to make that a reason of the event which God himself hath set down as a reason, were falsely to accuse whom he doth justify, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow; yet seeing they which will have it a breach of the law of God for her to circumcise in that necessity, are not able to deny but circumcision being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true circumcision; why should that defect, whereby circumcision was so little weakened, be to baptism a deadly wound?

Those premises therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, because the commandment of our Saviour Christ, which committeth jointly to public ministers both doctrine and baptism,[a] doth no more, by linking them together, import that the nature of the sacrament dependeth on the minister's authority and power to preach the word, than the force and virtue of the word doth on licence to give the sacrament; and considering that the work of external ministry in baptism is only a pre-eminence of honour, which they that take to themselves, and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themselves in their own persons, by means of such usurpation, incur the just blame of disobedience to the law of God; further also, inasmuch as it standeth in no reason, that errors, grounded on a wrong interpretation of other men's deeds, should make frustrate whatsoever is misconceived, and that baptism by women should cease to be baptism as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die unbaptized are damned; which opinion, if the act of baptism administered

[a] "Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to administer the sacraments, which are bidden to preach the word, and that the public ministers have only this charge of the word; and seeing that the administration of both these are so linked together, that the denial of licence to do one, is a denial to do the other; as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other; considering also that to minister the sacraments, is an honour in the Church which none can take upon him, but he which is called unto it, as was Aaron: and further, forasmuch as the baptizing of private persons, and by women especially, confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children which die without baptism: last of all, seeing we have the consent of the godly learned of all times against the baptism by women, and of the reformed churches now, against the baptism by private men; we conclude, that the administration of this sacrament by private persons, and especially by women, is merely both unlawful and void." T. C. lib. iii. p. 142.

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in such manner, did enforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: last of all, whereas general and full consent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for validity of baptism, yea, albeit administered in private, and even by women; which kind of baptism, in case of necessity, divers reformed churches do both allow and defend; some others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in comparison, and they without any just cause, do utterly disannul and annihilate: surely, howsoever, through defects on either side, the sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it; yet no disability of either part can so far make it frustrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very nature of true baptism, having all things else which the ordinance of Christ requireth. Whereupon we may consequently infer, that the administration of this sacrament by private persons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be merely void.

Interrogatories in baptism touching faith and the purpose of a Christian life.

LXIII. All that are of the race of Christ the Scripture nameth them, "children of the promise" which God hath made. The promise of eternal life is the seed of the Church of God. And because there is no attainment of life but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwise than being such as the Creed apostolic describeth; it followeth, that the articles thereof are principles necessary for all men to subscribe unto, whom by baptism the Church receiveth into Christ's school.

All points of Christian doctrine are either demonstrable conclusions, or demonstrative principles. Conclusions have strong and invincible proofs, as well in the school of Jesus Christ, as elsewhere. And principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of science, because it sufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in itself, or evident by the light of some higher knowledge; and in itself, such as no man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our souls have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverent admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that assent which the oracles of God require.

We are not, therefore, ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, that the highest point of our wisdom is, *Believe*.[a] That which is true, and neither can be discerned by sense nor concluded by mere natural principles, must have principles of revealed truth whereupon to build itself, and a habit of faith in us, wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. The mysteries of our religion are above the reach of our understanding,[b] above discourse of man's reason, above all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore, the first thing required of him which standeth for admission into Christ's family, is belief. Which belief consisteth not so much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that heavenly wisdom revealeth: the affection of faith is above her reach, her love to God-ward above the comprehension which she hath of God. And because only for believers all things may be done, he which is goodness itself loveth them above all. Deserve we then the love of God, because we believe in the Son of God? What more opposite than faith and pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them and loved them, because they were all as himself had made them. So the true reason wherefore Christ doth love believers is, because their belief is the gift of God, a gift than which flesh and blood in this world cannot possibly receive a greater. And as to love them of whom we receive good things is duty, because they satisfy our desires in that which else we should want; so to love them on whom we bestow is nature, because in them we behold the effects of our own virtue. Seeing, therefore, no religion enjoyeth sacraments, the signs of God's love, unless it have also that faith whereupon the sacraments are built; could there be any thing more convenient, than that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the sacrament of baptism should be consecrated with profession of belief?[c] which is to the kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof

Matt. xvi. 17; John i. 12, 13.

[a] Apostatæ maledictum. Οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας. Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julian.

[b] Ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα. Just. Mart. Expos. Fid. [p. 388.]

[c] "Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus templi non efficitur, quod antistitem non habet veram fidem." Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4.

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excludeth infidels both from that and from all other saving grace.

We find by experience, that, although faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her seat in the understanding; yet an evil moral disposition, obstinately wedded to the love of darkness, dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to see what doth shine before it. Men "are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." Their assent to his saving truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weak to persuade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of faith, there must abide in the will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness.

Isid. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 24.

"Two covenants there are which Christian men (saith Isidore) do make in baptism, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the faith of Christ." In like sort of St. Ambrose: "He which is baptized

Ambros. Hexam. lib. i. cap. 24.

forsaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the prince of this world, saying, *Abrenuncio;* Thee, O Satan, and thy angels, thy works and thy mandates, I forsake utterly." Tertullian

Tertul. de Spectac. [c. 4.]

having speech of wicked spirits; "These (saith he) are the angels which we in baptism renounce." The declaration of Justin the Martyr concerning baptism[a] sheweth how such as the Church in those days did baptize, made profession of Christian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easy for any man to prove, that ever baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought)

1 Pet. iii. 21.

alluding, hath said, "That the baptism which saveth us," is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, "an interrogative trial of a good conscience towards God."

Interrogatories

LXIV. Now the fault which they find with us concerning

[a] "Οσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. Justin. Apol. [ii. p. 93.]

proposed unto infants in baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.

interrogatories is, our moving of these questions unto infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorn at the baptism of children: first, because the Scriptures (he saith) do nowhere give commandment to baptize infants: secondly, for that, as there is no commandment, so neither any manifest example shewing it to have been done either by Christ or his Apostles: thirdly, inasmuch as the word preached and the sacraments must go together, they which are not capable of the one, are not fit receivers of the other: last of all, sith the order of baptism, continued from the first beginning, hath it in those things which are unfit to be applied to sucking children, it followeth in their conceit, that the baptism of such is no baptism, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the baptism of infants; it is not their desire that the Church should hazard so many souls, by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of understanding, that so they may be converted, and then baptized, as infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God so unthankful minds, as not to acknowledge it even amongst the greatest of his endless mercies, that by making us his own possession so soon, many advantages, which Satan otherwise might take, are prevented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happiness) the first thing whereof we have occasion to take notice, is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge. The baptism of infants they esteem as an ordinance which Christ hath instituted, even in special love and favour to his own people: they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the days, of the Apostles themselves unto this present; only it pleaseth them not, that to infants there should be interrogatories proposed in baptism.[a] This they condemn as foolish, toyish, and profane mockery.

[a] "They profane holy baptism in toying foolishly; of that they ask questions of an infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them, as was wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as being converted, answered for themselves and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore against the holy Scriptures. Gal. vi. 7." Admonition to the Parliament. The same defended in T. C. lib. i. p. 168.

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But are they able to shew, that ever the Church of Christ had any public form of baptism without interrogatories; or, that the Church did ever use at the solemn baptism of infants to omit those questions as needless in this case? Boniface, a bishop in St. Augustine's time, knowing that the Church did universally use this custom of baptizing infants with interrogatories, was desirous to learn from St. Augustine the true cause and reason thereof. "If (saith he) I should set before thee a young infant, and should ask of thee, whether that infant when he cometh unto riper age will be honest and just, or no? thou wouldst answer (I know) that to tell in these things what shall come to pass, is not in the power of mortal men. If I should ask, what good or evil such an infant thinketh? thine answer hereunto must needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canst promise for the time to come, nor for the present pronounce any thing in this case; how is it, that when such are brought unto baptism, their parents there undertake what the child shall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to say, it doth that which is impossible to be done by infants; at the least, there is no man precisely able to affirm it done. Vouchsafe me hereunto some short answer, such as not only may press me with the bare authority of custom, but also instruct me in the cause thereof."

Aug. Epist. xxiii. [al. 28. §. 7.]

Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for infants at the time of their baptism, that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustine's answer is yea; but with this distinction,[a] a present "actual habit of faith there is not in them;" there is delivered unto them that sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof consisteth in answering to the articles of faith, because the habit of faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but a further building up of the same edifice, "the first foundation whereof was laid by the sacrament of baptism." For that which there we professed without any understanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing else but only bring unto ripeness the very seed that was sown before? We are then believers, because then we begin to be that which process of time doth make perfect. And till we come to

[a] "Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo." Aug. [Ep. 23. al. 98. §. 10.]

actual belief, the very sacrament of faith is a shield as strong as, after this, the faith of the sacrament against all contrary infernal powers. Which whosoever doth think impossible, is undoubtedly farther off from Christian belief, though he be baptized, than are these innocents which at their baptism, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of faith, are notwithstanding pure and free from all opposite cogitations; whereas the other is not free. If, therefore, without any fear or scruple we may account them and term them believers only for their outward profession's sake, which inwardly are farther from faith than infants; why not infants much more at the time of their solemn initiation by baptism, the sacrament of faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing opposite, but have also that grace[a] given them which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our belief groweth? In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of believers, all honoured with that title; even hypocrites for their profession's sake, as well as saints because of their inward sincere persuasion, and "infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of faith:" the first sort are faithful in the eye of the world; the second faithful in the sight of God; the last, in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be suitable to these their present beginnings. "This [Ep. 23. al. 28. §. 10.] (saith St. Augustine) would not haply content such persons as are incapable or unquiet; but to them which, having knowledge, are not troublesome, it may suffice. Wherein I have not for ease of myself objected against you that custom only, than which nothing is more firm; but of a custom most profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reasonable cause."

Were St. Augustine now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to say of a child,[b] it is

[a] "Multum mirabilis res est, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabitator Deus; et quorundam cognoscentium non sit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui, cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt: et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu Sancto, qui per ætatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, isti potuerunt habere antequam nosse." Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. c. 6.]

[b] "If children could have faith, yet they that present the child cannot precisely tell whether that particular child hath faith, or no: we are to think charitably, and

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elect, and to say, it doth believe, are all one; for which cause, sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any infant in particular, it followeth, that precisely and absolutely we ought not to say the other. Which precise and absolute terms are needless in this case. We speak of infants, as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves, in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort God's dear children, (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy,) should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for presuming as it doth of a Christian innocent. For, when we know how Christ in general hath said, "that of such is the kingdom of heaven," which kingdom is the inheritance of God's elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the wellspring of new birth, wherein original sin is purged; besides which sin, there is no hinderance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant: hard it were, that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter (at the least) a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular infant

2 John i. an elect babe, as in presuming the like of others whose safety nevertheless we are not absolutely able to warrant.

If any, troubled with these scruples, be only for instruction's sake desirous to know yet some further reason why interrogatories should be ministered to infants in baptism, and be answered unto by others as in their names; they may consider, that baptism implieth a covenant or league between God and man; wherein, as God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add (in process of time) what grace soever shall be further necessary for the attainment of everlasting life; so every baptized soul, receiving the same grace at the hands of God, tieth

Gal. v. 3. likewise itself for ever to the observation of his law, no less than the Jews by circumcision bound themselves to the law of Moses. The law of Christ requiring therefore faith and newness of life in all men, by virtue of the covenant which they make in baptism; is it toyish, that the Church in baptism

to hope it is one of the Church; but it can be no more precisely said that it hath faith, than it may be said precisely to be elected." T. C. lib. i. p. 169.

exacteth at every man's hands an express profession of faith, and an irrevocable promise of obedience by way of a solemn stipulation?[a] That infants may contract and covenant with God, the law is plain. Neither is the reason of the law obscure: for sith it tendeth (we cannot sufficiently express how much) to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and, in favour of their tender years, such formal complements of stipulation as, being requisite, are impossible by themselves in their own persons to be performed, leave is given that they may sufficiently discharge them by others.[b] Albeit, therefore, neither deaf nor dumb men, neither furious persons nor children, can receive any civil stipulation; yet this kind of ghostly stipulation they may through his indulgence, who, respecting the singular benefit thereof, accepteth children brought unto him for that end, entereth into articles of covenant with them, and in tender commiseration granteth that other men's professions and promises in baptism made for them shall avail no less than if they had been themselves able to have made their own.

Gen. xvii. 14.

None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf than such as present them unto baptism. A wrong conceit that none may receive the sacrament of baptism, but they whose parents (at the least the one of them) are by the soundness of their religion, and by their virtuous demeanour, known to be men of God, hath caused some to repel children, whosoever bring them, if their parents be mispersuaded in religion, or for other misdeserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold baptism, unless the father (albeit no such exception can justly be taken against him) do notwithstanding make profession of his faith, and avouch the child to be his own. Thus, whereas God hath appointed them ministers of

T. C. l. i. p. 172.

[a] "Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumve se quod interrogatus est, respondet." Lib. v. sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. et Act. "In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt: Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam." Instit. de Verb. Oblig. lib. iii. tit. 15.

[b] "Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur; ut quoniam quod ægri sunt alio peccante prægravantur, sic cum sani fiant alio pro eis confitente salventur." Aug. Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost. [al. serm. 176. §. 2.]

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holy things, they make themselves inquisitors of men's persons a great deal farther than need is. They should consider, that God hath ordained baptism in favour of mankind. To restrain favours is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the civil law gave divers immunities to them that were fathers of three children, and had them living; those immunities they held, although their children were all dead, if war had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason to repute them by a courteous construction of law as live men,[a] in that the honour of their service done to the commonwealth would remain always: can it hurt us, in exhibiting the graces which God doth bestow on men, or can it prejudice his glory, if the self-same equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his covenant with such as had Abraham to their father, was only Abraham's immediate issue, or only his lineal posterity according to the flesh, included in that covenant? Were not proselytes as well as Jews always taken for the sons of Abraham? Yea, because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort, as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong unto them, the servants which Abraham had bought with money were as capable of circumcision, being newly born, as any natural child that Abraham himself begat. Be it then, that baptism belongeth to none but such as either believe presently, or else, being infants, are the children of believing parents, in case the Church do bring children to the holy font, whose natural parents are either unknown, or known to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that severity to take compassion upon their offspring, (for it is the Church[b] which doth offer them to baptism by the ministry of presenters,) were it not against both equity and duty to refuse the mother of believers herself, and not to take her in this case for a faithful parent? It is not the virtue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can give us the true holiness

[a] "Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur." Instit. lib. ii. tit. 25. sect. 1.

[b] "Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni et fideles sint, quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium." Aug. in Epist. 23. [al. 98. §. 5.] Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Justin. Resp. ad Orthod. [resp. 56.]

which we have by virtue of our new birth. Yet, even through the common faith and spirit of God's Church, (a thing which no quality of parents can prejudice,) I say, through the faith of the Church of God, undertaking the motherly care of our souls, so far forth we may be and are in our infancy sanctified, as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of baptism, and to be interested in the rites of our new birth for their piety's sake that offer us thereunto. "It cometh sometime to pass (saith St. Augustine) that the children of bond-slaves are brought to baptism by their lord; sometime, the parents being dead, the friends alive undertake that office; sometime strangers or virgins consecrated unto God, which neither have nor can have children of their own, take up infants in the open streets, and so offer them unto baptism, whom the cruelty of unnatural parents casteth out, and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain pity." As therefore he which did the part of a neighbour, was a neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Gospel describeth; so they are fathers, although strangers, that bring infants to him which maketh them the sons of God. In the phrase of some kind of men, they use to be termed witnesses, as if they came but to see and testify what is done. It savoureth more of piety to give them their old accustomed name of fathers and mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards those innocents for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges.

[Aug. ep. 23. al. 98. §. 6.]

This therefore is their own duty: but because the answer which they make to the usual demands of stipulation proposed in baptism is not their own; the Church doth best to receive it of them, in that form which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a guardian doth in the name of his guard or pupil, standeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge; and shall we judge it a thing unreasonable, or in any respect unfit, that infants by words which others utter should, though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly, bind themselves to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith Nestorius the heretic was charged,[a] as having fallen from his first profession, and broken

[a] "Si Arianæ aut Sabellianæ hæreseos assertor esses, et non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum auctoritate. Quid

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the promise which he made to God in the arms of others. Of such as profaned themselves, being Christians, with irreligious delight in the ensigns of idolatry, heathenish spectacles, shows, and stage-plays, Tertullian, to strike them the more deep, claimeth the promise which they made in baptism. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore stood they not up to answer in their own defence, that such professions and promises made in their names were frivolous; that all which others undertook for them was but mockery and profanation? That which no heretic, no wicked liver, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himself been baptized, was ever so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received customs, is now their voice that restore, as they say, "the ancient purity of religion."

Tertull. lib. de Spectac. [c. 4.]

Of the cross in baptism.

LXV. In baptism, many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean abolished; for that the virtue and grace of this sacrament had been therewith overshadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithstanding, to them which think it always imperfect reformation that doth but shear and not flay, our retaining certain of those formal rites, especially the dangerous sign of the cross, hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight. "The cross, (they say,) sith it is but a mere invention of man, should not therefore at all have been added to the sacrament of baptism. To sign children's foreheads with a cross, in token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to make profession of the faith of Christ, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Christ. That reason which moved the Fathers to use, should move us not to use, the sign of the cross. They lived with heathens that had the cross of Christ in contempt; we with

tandem si sic apud te agerem? quid diceres? quid responderes? nonne obsecro illud, in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum esse? Et vere, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defensio, et quæ non absurde causam erroris diceres, si pertinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cum in catholica urbe natus, catholica fide institutus, catholico baptismate regeneratus sis, numquid agere tecum quasi cum Ariano aut Sabelliano possim? Quod utinam fuisses. Minus dolorem in malis editum quam de bonis lapsum; minus fidem non habitam quam amissam. Non iniquum, hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliquid postulo. Hoc fac in catholica fide editus, quod fueras pro perversitate facturus." Cassian. de Incarn. lib. vi. cap. 5.

such as adore the cross; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like consideration, Hezekiah did of old the brazen serpent."

These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the cross; a ceremony, the use whereof hath been profitable, although we observe it not as the ordinance of God, but of man. "For (saith Tertullian) if of this and the like customs thou shouldest require some commandment to be shewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found." What reason there is to justify tradition, use, or custom in this behalf, "either thou mayest of thyself perceive, or else learn of some other that doth." Lest therefore the name of tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been and is abused, we mean by traditions,[a] ordinances made in the prime of Christian religion, established with that authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because the inventors of them were men.

Tertull. de Coron. Militis [c. 4.]

Such as say, they allow no invention of men[b] to be mingled with the outward administration of sacraments; and, under that pretence, condemn our using the sign of the cross, have belike some special dispensation themselves to violate their own rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever, baptize any without manifest breach of this their profound axiom, "That men's inventions should not be mingled with sacraments and institutions of God." They seem to like very well in baptism the custom of godfathers, "because so generally the churches have received it." Which custom, being of God no more instituted than the other, (howsoever they pretend the other hurtful and this profitable,) it followeth, that even in their own opinion, if their words do shew their

T. C. l. i. p. 170.

[a] "Traditionis non scriptas, si doctrinam respiciant, cum doctrina scripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales et ecclesiasticas attinet, ordinis et ædificationis ecclesiarum in his semper habenda ratio est; inutiles autem et noxias, nempe ineptas et superstitiosas, patronis suis relinquamus." Goulart. Genevens. Annot. in Epist. Cypr. 74.

[b] "They should not have been so bold as to have brought it into the holy sacrament of baptism; and so mingle the ceremonies and inventions of men with the sacraments and institutions of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 171.

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minds, there is no necessity of stripping sacraments out of all such attire of ceremonies as man's wisdom hath at any time clothed them withal; and, consequently, that either they must reform their speech as over general, or else condemn their own practice as unlawful.

Ceremonies have more in weight than in sight; they work by commonness of use much, although in the several acts of their usage we scarcely discern any good they do. And because the use which they have for the most part is not perfectly understood, superstition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof, when we use this ceremony, we always plainly express the end whereunto it serveth, namely, for a sign of remembrance to put us in mind of our duty. But by this mean, they say,[a] we make it a great deal worse. For why? Seeing God hath nowhere commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Christ, our practice with this exposition publisheth a new Gospel, and causeth another word to have place in the Church of Christ, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reason the authors of those grave Admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held, "that sitting at communions betokeneth rest and full accomplishment of legal ceremonies in our Saviour Christ." For although it be the word of God that such ceremonies are expired; yet seeing it is not the word of God that men, to signify so much, should sit at the table of our Lord, these have their doom as well as others, "Guilty of a new-devised Gospel in the Church of Christ."

Which strange imagination is begotten of a special dislike they have to hear, that ceremonies now in use should be thought significant; whereas, in truth, such as are not significant must needs be vain. Ceremonies destitute of signification are no better than the idle gestures of men whose broken wits are not masters of what they do. For if we look but into

a "The profitable signification of the cross maketh the thing a great deal worse, and bringeth in a new word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no doctor heard in the Church, but only our Saviour Christ. For although it be the word of God, that we should not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, yet it is not the word of God, that we should be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn across one over another in the child's forehead." T. C. lib. i. p. 170.

secular and civil complements, what other cause can there possibly be given why to omit them where of course they are looked for? for where they are not so due, to use them bringeth men's secret intents oftentimes into great jealousy: I would know, I say, what reason we are able to yield, why things so light in their own nature should weigh in the opinions of men so much, saving only in regard of that which they use to signify or betoken? Doth not our Lord Jesus Christ himself impute the omission of some courteous ceremonies, even in domestical entertainment, to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not so much respecting what was less done, as what was signified less by the one than by the other? For, to that very end he referreth in part those gracious expostulations: "Simon, seest thou this woman? Since I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: thou gavest me no kiss, but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet: mine head with oil thou didst not anoint, but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment." Wherefore, as the usual dumb ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import; even so religion, having likewise her silent rites, the chiefest rule, whereby to judge of their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For if they signify good things, (as somewhat they must of necessity signify, because it is of their very nature to be signs of intimation, presenting both themselves unto outward sense, and besides themselves some other thing to the understanding of beholders,) unless they be either greatly mischosen to signify the same, or else applied where that which they signify agreeth not, there is no cause of exception against them, as against evil and unlawful ceremonies; much less of excepting against them only in that they are not without sense. And, if every religious ceremony, which hath been invented of men to signify any thing that God himself alloweth, were the publication of another Gospel in the Church of Christ; seeing that no Christian church in the world is, or can be, without continual use of some ceremonies, which men have instituted, and that to signify good things, (unless they be vain and frivolous ceremonies;) it

Luke vii. 44—46.

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would follow, that the world hath no Christian church which doth not daily proclaim new Gospels; a sequel, the manifest absurdity whereof argueth the rawness of that supposal out of which it groweth.

Now the cause[a] why antiquity did the more, in actions of common life, honour the ceremony of the cross, might be for that they lived with infidels. But that which they did in the sacrament of baptism was for the self-same good of believers, which is thereby intended still. The cross is for us an admonition no less necessary than for them, to glory in the service of Jesus Christ, and not to hang down our heads as men ashamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of fear to incur disgrace and ignominy. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproach, some things ignominious only through a false opinion which men have conceived of them, nature, that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension, must by reason and religion be taught what it should be ashamed of, and what not. But be we never so well instructed what our duty is in this behalf, without some present admonition at the very instant of practice, what we know is many times not called to mind till that be done whereupon

Ephes. v. 12; Rom. vi. 21.

[a] "It is known to all that have read the ecclesiastical histories, that the heathens did object to Christians in times past, in reproach, that the God which they believed on, was hanged upon a cross. And they thought good to testify, that they were not ashamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often using of the sign of the cross. Which carefulness and good mind to keep amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means so. For they might otherwise have kept it, and with less danger, than by this use of crossing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of men's brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the swaddling-clouts, to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would do nothing without crossing. But if it were granted, that upon this consideration which I have before mentioned, the ancient Christians did well; yet it followeth not, that we should so do. For we live not among those nations which do cast us in the teeth, or reproach us with the cross of Christ. Now that we live amongst papists that do not contemn the cross of Christ, but which esteem more of the wooden cross than of the true cross, which is his sufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these crosses. For contrary diseases must have contrary remedies. If, therefore, the old Christians, to deliver the cross of Christ from contempt, did often use the cross; the Christians now, to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the use of it." T. C. lib. i. p. 170.

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Sen. Epist. lib i. ep. 11.

our just confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such as that way might do us good when they see us in danger of sliding, there are judicious and wise men which think we may greatly relieve ourselves by a bare imagined presence of some, whose authority we fear, and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were present with us. Witnesses at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the mind have always some whom it feareth, some whose authority may keep even secret thoughts under awe. Take Cato, or if he be too harsh and rugged, choose some other of a softer metal, whose gravity of life and speech thou lovest, his mind and countenance carry with thee, set him always before thine eyes, either as a watch or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot straighten but by some such level. If men of so good experience and insight in the maims of our weak flesh, have thought these fancied remembrances available to awaken shamefacedness, that so the boldness of sin may be stayed ere it look abroad; surely the wisdom of the Church of Christ, which hath to that use converted the ceremony of the cross in baptism, it is no Christian man's part to despise; especially seeing that by this mean, where nature doth earnestly implore aid, religion yieldeth her that ready assistance than which there can be no help more forcible, serving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which should most make ashamed of sin.

The mind, while we are in this present life, whether it contemplate,[a] meditate, deliberate, or howsoever exercise itself, worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination, the only storehouse of wit, and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by means whereof, as the pulse declareth how the heart doth work, so the very thoughts[b] and cogitations of man's mind, be they good or bad, do nowhere sooner bewray themselves, than through the crevices of that wall, wherewith nature hath

[a] Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. Arist. de Anim. lib. i. cap. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει· ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. Lib. iii. cap. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισται αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν, καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ κινεῖται. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

[b] "Frons hominis tristitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, severitatis index est." Plin. lib. xi. [c. 36.] Ezek. ix. 4. Apoc. vii. 3. ix. 4. Ἐρυθραίνονται γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. Arist. Eth. iv. c. 9.

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compassed the cells and closets of fancy. In the forehead nothing more plain to be seen than the fear of contumely and disgrace. For which cause the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) describeth them marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confusion and shame. Not that God doth set any corporal mark on his chosen, but to note that he giveth his elect security of preservation from reproach, the fear whereof doth use to shew itself in that part. Shall I say, that the sign of the cross (as we use it) is in some sort a mean to work our preservation from reproach?[a] Surely, the mind which as yet hath not hardened itself in sin, is seldom provoked thereunto in any gross and grievous manner, but nature's secret suggestion objecteth against it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit being entered into that palace of man's fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy sign, which bringeth forthwith to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought, and we vowed, against sin, it cometh hereby to pass that Christian men never want a most effectual, though a silent, teacher, to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame. So that in things which we should be ashamed of, we are by the cross admonished faithfully of our duty at the very moment when admonition doth most need.

Other things there are which deserve honour, and yet do purchase many times our disgrace in this present world; as, of old, the very truth of religion itself, till God by his own outstretched arm made the glory thereof to shine over all the earth. Whereupon, St. Cyprian exhorting to martyrdom in times of heathenish persecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to allege unto them, with other arguments, the very ceremony of that cross whereof we speak. Never let that hand offer sacrifice to idols which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Christ, and shall hereafter the crown of his glory; "Arm your foreheads" unto all boldness, that the "sign of God" may be kept safe. Again, when it pleased God that the fury of their enemies being bridled, the Church had some little rest and quietness, (if so small a liberty, but only to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietness and rest,) to such as fell not away from Christ through former

Cypr. Epist. 56. [al. 58. c. 6.] ad Thibaritanos.

[a] "Caro signatur ut et anima muniatur." Tertull. de Resur. Carn. [c. 8.]

Cypr. de Laps. [c. 2.]

persecutions, he giveth due and deserved praise in the self-same manner. "You that were ready to endure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that have courageously withstood the world, ye have made yourselves both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the rest of your brethren to follow. Those mouths which had sanctified themselves with food coming down from heaven, loathed, after Christ's own Body and Blood, to taste the poisoned and contagious scraps of idols; those foreheads which the sign of God had purified, kept themselves to be crowned by him, the touch of the garlands of Satan they abhorred."[a] Thus was the memory of that sign which they had in baptism, a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apostacy, whereunto the frailty of flesh and blood, overmuch fearing to endure shame, might peradventure the more easily otherwise have drawn them.

We have not now, through the gracious goodness of Almighty God, those extreme conflicts which our fathers had with blasphemous contumelies every where offered to the name of Christ, by such as professed themselves infidels and unbelievers. Howbeit, unless we be strangers to the age wherein we live, or else, in some partial respect, dissemblers of that we hourly both hear and see, there is not the simplest of us but knoweth with what disdain and scorn Christ is dishonoured far and wide. Is there any burden in the world more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whose quality no way making them less worthy than others are of reputation, only the service which they do to Christ in the daily exercise of religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we sustain for religion's sake pierce so deeply, as that which would seem of mere conscience religiously spiteful? When they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest service of honour that men can do unto him, is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greatest sincerity, do, with more than heathenish petulancy, trample under foot almost whatsoever either we, or

[a] "Erant enim supplices coronarii." Tertull. lib. de Coron. Mil. [c. 7.] In the service of idols, the doors of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the priests, and the supplicants that were present, wore garlands.

the whole Church of God, by the space of so many ages, have been accustomed unto, for the comelier and better exercise of our religion according to the soundest rules that wisdom directed by the word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no man fighting under Christ's banner can be always exempted from seeing or sustaining those indignities, the sting whereof not to feel, or feeling not to be moved thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and blood: if this be any object for patience to work on, the strictest bond that thereunto tieth us is our vowed obedience to Christ; the solemnest vow that we ever made to obey Christ, and to suffer willingly all reproaches for his sake, was made in baptism; and amongst other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow, we cannot think that the sign which our new baptized foreheads did there receive, is either unfit or unforcible, the reasons hitherto alleged being weighed with indifferent balance.

It is not (you will say) the cross in our foreheads, but in our hearts the faith of Christ, that armeth us with patience, constancy, and courage. Which as we grant to be most true, so neither dare we despise, no, not the meanest helps that serve, though it be but in the very lowest degree of furtherance towards the highest services that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that such ceremonies are available, at the least, as memorials of duty; or do think that himself hath no need to be so put in mind what our duties are: it is but reasonable, that in the one the public experience of the world overweigh some few men's persuasion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condescend unto common imbecility.

Seeing, therefore, that to fear shame, which doth worthily follow sin, and to bear undeserved reproach constantly, is the general duty of all men professing Christianity; seeing also that our weakness, while we are in this present world, doth need towards spiritual duties the help even of corporal furtherance, and that by reason of natural intercourse between the highest and the lowest powers of man's mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that special note of remembrance, than which there is nothing more forcible, where

either too weak or too strong a conceit of infamy and disgrace might do great harm, standeth always ready to put forth a kind of necessary helping hand; we are in that respect to acknowledge the good and profitable use of this ceremony,[a] and not to think it superfluous that Christ hath his mark applied[b] unto that part where bashfulness appeareth, in token that they which are Christians should be at no time ashamed of his ignominy. But to prevent some inconveniences which might ensue, if the over-ordinary use thereof (as it fareth with such rites when they are too common) should cause it to be of less observation or regard where it most availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar, as the custom heretofore hath been. Although to condemn the whole Church of God when it most flourished in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of error and superstition only because they had this ceremony more in use than we now think needful, boldly to affirm that this their practice grew so soon through a fearful malediction of God upon the ceremony of the cross, as if we knew that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all men's eyes how execrable those things are in his sight which have proceeded from human invention, is, as we take it, a censure of greater zeal than knowledge. Men whose judgments in these cases are grown more moderate, although they retain not, as we do, the use of this ceremony, perceive notwithstanding very well such censures to be out of square; and do therefore not only acquit the Fathers from superstition therein,[c] but also think it sufficient to answer, in excuse of themselves, "This ceremony, which was but a thing indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day a matter necessary for all Christian men to observe."[d]

As for their last upshot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Christians, to deliver the cross

[a] Ἔστω δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 6.

[b] "Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus est, et parte corporis notatus offenso Domino, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur." Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 16.

[c] "Quamvis veteres Christiani externo signo crucis usi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, et doctrina de Christi merito ab errore, qui postea irrepsit, pios servavit immunes." Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19.

[d] Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. Epist. 56. cap. 7.

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of Christ from contempt, did well and with good consideration use often the sign of the cross, in testimony of their faith and profession before infidels which upbraided them with Christ's sufferings; now that we live with such as contrariwise adore the sign of the cross, (because contrary diseases should always have contrary remedies,) we ought to take away all use thereof. In which conceit they both ways greatly seduce themselves: first, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no use of the cross but with reference unto infidels, which mispersuasion we have before discovered at large; and, secondly, by reason that they think there is not any other way besides universal extirpation to reform superstitious abuses of the cross. Wherein, because there are that stand very much upon the example of Hezekiah, as if his breaking to pieces that serpent of brass, whereunto the children of Israel had burnt incense, did enforce the utter abolition of this ceremony; the fact of that virtuous prince is by so much the more attentively to be considered.

2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

Our lives in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of general rules and axioms by discourse of wit our duties in every particular action, is both troublesome, and many times so full of difficulty, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to observe examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own ease rather to follow them, than to enter into new consultation, if in regard of their virtue and wisdom we may but probably think they have waded without error. So that the willingness of men to be led by example of others, both discovereth and helpeth the imbecility of our judgment. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud wits would always seem to be their own guides; and because it doth the other, we see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawn unto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reasons alleged. Reasons proving that which is more particular by things more general and further from sense, are with the simpler sort of men less trusted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in those things; but of examples which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another, more familiarly and sensibly known, they easily perceive in them-

selves some better ability to judge. The force of examples, therefore, is great, when in matter of action, being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done whose deliberations were like.

But whosoever doth persuade by example, must as well respect the fitness as the goodness of that he allegeth. To Hezekiah God himself in this fact giveth testimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here questionable, but only whether the example alleged be pertinent, pregnant, and strong. The serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinary and miraculous cure of the Israelites in the desert. This use having presently an end, when the cause for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing itself they notwithstanding kept for a monument of God's mercy; as, in like consideration, they did the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron, and the sword which David took from Goliath. In process of time they made of a monument of divine power a plain idol; they burnt incense before it contrary to the law of God, and did it the services of honour due unto God only. Which gross and grievous abuse continued, till Hezekiah, restoring the purity of sound religion, destroyed utterly that which had been so long and so generally a snare unto them. It is not amiss which the canon law hereupon concludeth, namely, "That if our predecessors have done some things which at that time might be without fault, and afterwards be turned to error and superstition; we are taught, by Hezekiah breaking the brazen serpent, that posterity may destroy them without any delay, and with great authority." But may it be simply and without exception hereby gathered, that posterity is bound to destroy whatsoever hath been either at the first invented, or but afterwards turned to like superstition and error? No, it cannot be. The serpent therefore, and the sign of the cross, although seeming equal in this point, that superstition hath abused both; yet being herein also unequal, that neither they have been both subject to the like degree of abuse, nor were in hardness of redress alike, it may be, that even as the one for abuse was religiously taken away, so now when religion hath taken away abuse from the other, we should by utter abolition thereof deserve hardly his commendation, whose example there is offered us no such necessary cause to follow.

Dist. 6. 3. cap. Quia.

For by the words of Hezekiah in terming the serpent but "a lump of brass," to shew that the best thing in it now was the metal or matter whereof it consisteth, we may probably conjecture, that the people whose error is therein controlled had the self-same opinion of it which the heathens had of idols. They thought that the power of Deity was with it; and when they saw it dissolved, haply they might, to comfort themselves, imagine, as Olympius the sophister did beholding the dissipation of idols, "shapes and counterfeits they were, fashioned of matter subject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to dust was easy; but those celestial powers which dwelt and resided in them are ascended into heaven." Some difference there is between these opinions of palpable idolatry, and that which the schools in speculation have bolted out concerning the cross. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Church of Rome hath hitherto practised and doth profess the same adoration to the sign of the cross, and neither less nor other than is due unto Christ himself, howsoever they varnish and qualify their sentence, pretending that the cross which to outward sense presenteth visibly itself alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret surmise or conceit a reference to the person of our Lord Jesus Christ; so that the honour which they jointly do to both respecteth principally his person, and the cross but only for his person's sake: the people not accustomed to trouble their wits with so nice and subtile differences in the exercise of religion, are apparently no less ensnared by adoring the cross, than the Jews by burning incense to the brazen serpent. It is by Thomas ingenuously granted, that because unto reasonable creatures a kind of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them, and whereby they resemble God; therefore, if reasonable creatures, angels or men, should receive at our hands holy and divine honour, as the sign of the cross doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not them alone, but we honour God with them, would not serve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the error of men, or cause them always to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, that no such error can grow by adoring in that sort a dead image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellency in itself, and

Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 15.

Tho. 3. q. 25. art. iii. Resp. ad Tert.

therefore will easily conceive that the honour done unto it hath a higher reference. Howbeit, seeing that we have by over-true experience been taught how often, especially in these cases, the light even of common understanding faileth, surely their usual adoration of the cross is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind we are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what some few men's wits may devise in construction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a false opinion of some personal divine excellency to be in those things which either nature or art hath framed, causeth always religious adoration: and as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things sensible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea, leaveth imprinted in them, the very same opinion of Deity from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea, the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in itself, the more they incline to think that every man which doth adore it knoweth there is in it, or with it, a presence of divine power.

Be it therefore true, that crosses purposely framed or used for receipt of divine honour be even as scandalous as the brazen serpent itself, where they are in such sort adored; should we hereupon think ourselves in the sight of God and in conscience charged to abolish utterly the very ceremony of the cross, neither meant at the first nor now converted unto any such offensive purpose? Did the Jews, which could never be persuaded to admit in the city of Jerusalem that image of Cæsar which the Romans were accustomed to adore,[a] make any scruple of Cæsar's image in the coin which they knew very well that men were not wont to worship? Between the cross which superstition honoureth as Christ, and that ceremony of the cross which serveth only for a sign of remembrance, there is as plain and as great a difference, as between those brazen images which Solomon made to bear up the cistern of the temple, and (sith both were of like shape, and of unlike use) that which the Israelites in the wilderness did adore; or between the altars which Josias destroyed, because they were instruments of mere idolatry, and that which the tribe of

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8. et lib. xviii. cap. 3. et de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. Matt. xxii. 20; 2 Chron. iv. 3; Exod. xxxii. 4; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

Josh. xxii. 10.

[a] Their eagles, their ensigns, and the images of their princes, they carried with them in all their armies, and had always a kind of chapel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. Dio. lib. xl. [c. 6.] Herodian. lib. iv. [c. 8.]

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Reuben with others erected near to the river Jordan; for which also they grew at the first into some dislike. and were by the rest of their brethren suspected, yea, hardly charged with open breach of the law of God, accused of backwardness in religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor and the odious example of Achan; as if the building of their altar in that place had given manifest show of no better than intended apostacy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence it appeared, that such as misliked misunderstood their enterprise, inasmuch as they had no intent to build any altar for sacrifice, which God would have nowhere offered saving in Jerusalem only, but to a far other end and purpose, which being opened satisfied all parties, and so delivered them from causeless blame.

In this particular, suppose the worst; imagine that the immaterial ceremony of the cross had been the subject of as gross pollution as any heathenish or profane idol. If we think the example of Hezekiah as a proof that things which error and superstition hath abused may in no consideration be tolerated, although we presently find them not subject to so vile abuse; the plain example of Hezekiah proveth the contrary. The temples and idols, which under Solomon had been of very purpose framed for the honour of foreign gods, Hezekiah destroyed not; because they stood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. Josias for some inconvenience afterwards razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himself; that, touching matter of religion, they walked in the steps of David, and did no way displease God.

1 Kings xi. 7.

2 Kings xxiii. 13.

2 Kings xviii. 3. 6; xxii. 2.

Perhaps it seemeth that by force and virtue of this example, although in bare detestation and hatred of idolatry, all things which have been at any time worshipped, are not necessarily to be taken out of the world; nevertheless, for remedy and prevention of so great offences, wisdom should judge it the safest course to remove altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of evil. Some kinds of evil, no doubt, there are, very quick in working on those affections that most easily take fire; which evils should in that respect, no oftener than need requireth, be brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the cross any such evil, nor yet the

brazen serpent itself so strongly poisoned, that our eyes, ears, and thoughts, ought to shun them both for fear of some deadly harm to ensue the only representation thereof, by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant means. And for mine own part, I most assuredly persuade myself, that had Hezekiah (till the days of whose most virtuous reign they ceased not continually to burn incense to the brazen serpent), had he found the serpent, though sometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of so gross abuse, and reduced to the same that was before in the time of David, at which time they esteemed it only as a memorial, sign, or monument of God's miraculous goodness towards them, even as we in no other sort esteem the ceremony of the cross; the due consideration of a use so harmless, common to both, might no less have wrought their equal preservation, than different occasions have procured notwithstanding the one's extinguishment, the other's lawful continuance.

In all persuasions, which ground themselves upon example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore, whether the ceremony, supposed to have been sometimes scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause to be now removed; there is no reason we should forthwith yield ourselves to be carried away with example, no, not of them whose acts the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any public evil; but before we either attempt any thing or resolve, the state and condition as well of our own affairs, as theirs whose example presseth us, is advisedly to be examined; because some things are of their own nature scandalous, and cannot choose but breed offence, as those sinks of execrable filth which Josias did overwhelm; some things, albeit not by nature, and of themselves, are notwithstanding so generally turned to evil by reason of an evil corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurably settled in the minds of the greatest part, that no redress can be well hoped for without removal of that wherein they have ruined themselves; which plainly was the state of the Jewish people, and the cause why Hezekiah did with such sudden indignation destroy what he saw worshipped; finally, some things are, as the sign of the cross, though subject either

2 Kings xxiii. 7.

almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facility and ease. And to speak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to destroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean scoured from the rust of evil which by some accident hath grown unto it. Wherefore, to that which they build in this question upon the example of Hezekiah let this suffice.

When heathens despised Christian religion because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, the Fathers, to testify how little such contumelies and contempts prevailed with them, chose rather the sign of the cross, than any other outward mark, whereby the world might most easily discern always what they were. On the contrary side, now, whereas they which do all profess the Christian religion are divided amongst themselves; and the fault of the one part is, that in zeal to the sufferings of Christ they admire too much, and over-superstitiously adore the visible sign of his cross: if you ask what we that mislike them should do, we are here advised to cure one contrary by another. Which art or method is not yet so current as they imagine.

For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it be their meaning that the scope and drift of reformation, when things are faulty, should be to settle the Church in the contrary; it standeth them upon to beware of this rule, because seeing vices have not only virtues, but other vices also in nature opposite unto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seek but that which we find contrary to present evils. For in sores and sicknesses of the mind, we are not simply to measure good by distance from evil, because one vice may in some respect be more opposite to another, than either of them to that virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and covetousness, the one a virtue and the other a vice, are not so contrary as the vices of covetousness and prodigality. Religion and superstition have more affiance, though the one be light and the other darkness, than superstition and profaneness, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh also to pass, that the mean, which is virtue, seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity: the liberal-hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal miserable, and by the judgment of the miserable

lavish; impiety for the most part upbraideth religion, as superstitious, which superstition often accuseth as impious; both so conceiving thereof because it doth seem more to participate each extreme, than one extreme doth another, and is by consequent less contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themselves. Now, if he that seeketh to reform covetousness or superstition should but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of lime into coal-dust: so that their course, which will remedy the superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church, is not still to abolish utterly the use thereof, because not using at all is most opposite to ill using; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right perfect and religious usage, which, albeit less contrary to the present sore, is notwithstanding the better and by many degrees the sounder way of recovery.

And unto this effect, that very precedent itself which they propose may be best followed. For as the Fathers, when the cross of Christ was in utter contempt, did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare that they so esteemed it as was meet; in like manner where we find the cross to have that honour which is due to Christ, is it not as lawful for us to retain it in that estimation which it ought to have, and in that use which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away, to seem followers of their example, which cure wilfully by abscission that which they might both preserve and heal?

Touching therefore the sign and ceremony of the cross, we no way find ourselves bound to relinquish it; neither because the first inventors thereof were but mortal men; nor lest the sense and signification we give unto it should burden us as authors of a new gospel in the house of God; nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more than we have to use the same; nor finally, for any such offence or scandal as heretofore it hath been subject unto by error, now reformed in the minds of men.

Of Confirmation after Baptism.

LXVI. The ancient custom of the Church was, after they had baptized, to add thereunto imposition of hands with effectual prayer for the illumination of God's most Holy Spirit,[a] to

[a] "Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur." Tertull. de Resur. Car. [c. 8.]

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confirm and perfect that which the grace of the same Spirit had already begun in baptism. For our means to obtain the graces which God doth bestow, are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are available, as well for others as for ourselves. To pray for others, is to bless them for whom we pray; because prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both natural and spiritual fathers. With prayers of spiritual and personal benediction the manner hath been in all ages to use imposition of hands, as a ceremony betokening our restrained desires to the party whom we present unto God by prayer. Thus when Israel blessed Ephraim and Manasses, Joseph's sons, he imposed upon them his hands, and prayed, "God, in whose sight my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from all evil, bless these children." The prophets which healed diseases by prayer, used therein the self-same ceremony. And therefore when Elisha willed Naaman to wash himself seven times in Jordan for cure of his foul disease, it much offended him; "I thought (saith he) with myself, surely the man will come forth, and stand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may so heal the leprosy." In consecrations and ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was usually done from the time of Moses to Christ. Their suits that came unto Christ for help were also tendered oftentimes, and are expressed in such forms or phrases of speech, as shew that he was himself an observer of the same custom. He which with imposition of hands and prayer did so great works of mercy for restoration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infusion of heavenly grace into them, whose age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be supposed a bar to the goodness of God towards them. "They brought him" therefore "young children to put his hands upon them and pray."

Gen. xlviii. 14.

2 Kings v. 11.

Num. xxvii. 18.

Matt. ix. 18; Mark v. 23; viii. 22.

Matt. xix. 13; Mark x. 13; Luke xviii. 15.

After the ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his

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Apostles, whose prayer and imposition of hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Christ a promise, that such as have believed in him, these signs and tokens should follow them, "To cast out devils, to speak with tongues, to drive away serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poison could work, and to cure diseases by imposition of hands." Which power, common at the first in a manner unto all believers, all believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men; but whosoever was the instrument of God to instruct, convert, and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghost they had not, but only at the Apostles' own hands. For which cause, Simon Magus, perceiving that power to be in none but them, and presuming that they which had it might sell it, sought to purchase it of them with money.

Mark xvi. 17.

Acts xix. 6.

Acts viii. 17, 18.

And, as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles' times, ("For," saith Irenæus, "they which are truly his disciples do in his name, and through grace received from him, such works for the benefit of other men, as every of them is by him enabled to work: some cast out devils, insomuch as they which are delivered from wicked spirits have been thereby won unto Christ, and do constantly persevere in the church and society of faithful men; some excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of visions from God, and the gift of prophetical prediction; some by laying on their hands restore them to health, which are grievously afflicted with sickness; yea, there are that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards many years conversed with us. What should I say? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the world, and by virtue whereof, in the name of Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Church every day doth many wonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently, nor in any respect of lucre and gain to herself, but as freely bestowing, as God on her hath bestowed his divine graces;") so it nowhere appeareth, that ever any did by prayer and imposition of hands, sithence the Apostles' times, make others partakers of the like miraculous gifts and graces, as long as it pleased God to continue the same in his Church, but only bishops, the Apostles' successors

Iren. lib. ii. cap. 57.

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for a time, even in that power. St. Augustine acknowledgeth, that such gifts were not permitted to last always, lest men should wax cold with the commonness of that, the strangeness whereof at the first inflamed them. Which words of St. Augustine declaring how the vulgar use of these miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces, more rarely observed in some, either then or of later days.

August. de Vera Relig. cap. 25.

Now whereas the successors of the Apostles had but only for a time such power, as by prayer and imposition of hands to bestow the Holy Ghost; the reason wherefore confirmation, nevertheless, by prayer and laying on of hands, hath hitherto always continued, is for other very special benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian men, but when we are made such, assisteth us in all virtue, armeth us against temptation and sin. For, after baptism administered, "there followeth (saith Tertullian) imposition of hands, with invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghost, which willingly cometh down from the Father, to rest upon the purified and blessed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of baptism a fit seat." St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here especially was respected, "How great (saith he) is that power and force wherewith the mind is here (he meaneth in baptism) enabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the world before had of it, not only so purified and made clean, that no stain or blemish of the enemies' invasion doth remain; but over and besides (namely, through prayer and imposition of hands) becometh yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so far as to reign with a kind of imperial dominion over the whole band of that roaming and spoiling adversary." As much is signified by Eusebius Emissenus, saying, "The Holy Ghost, which descendeth with saving influence upon the waters of baptism, doth there give that fulness which sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation and augmentation of further grace." The Fathers, therefore, being thus persuaded, held confirmation as an ordinance apostolic, always profitable in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first.

Tertul. de Baptis. [c. 8.]

Cypr. Tract. ad Donat. c. 2.

Euseb. Emis. Ser. de Pentec. [p. 572. par. i. tom. v. Biblioth. Patr. Lat.]

Aug. de Trin. lib. xv. cap. 26.

Heb. vi. 2.

The cause of severing confirmation from baptism (for most commonly they went together) was sometimes in the minister, which being of inferior degree, might baptize, but not confirm, as in their case it came to pass whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom St. Jerome hath said, "I deny not but the custom of the churches is, that the bishop should go abroad, and, imposing his hands, pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on them whom presbyters and deacons far off, in lesser cities, have already baptized." Which ancient custom of the Church St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John, in the eighth of the Acts before alleged. "The faithful in Samaria (saith he) had already obtained baptism; only that which was wanting Peter and John supplied by prayer and imposition of hands, to the end the Holy Ghost might be poured upon them. Which also is done amongst ourselves, when they which be already baptized are brought to the prelates of the Church to obtain by our prayer and imposition of hands the Holy Ghost." By this it appeareth, that when the ministers of baptism were persons of inferior degree, the bishops did after confirm whom such had before baptized.

Acts viii. 12—17.

Hieron, advers. Lucif. cap. 4.

Cypr. Epist. 73. [c. 6.] ad Jubaianum.

Sometimes they which by force of their ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whom heresy had disjoined from the fellowship of true believers. Whereupon, when any man by them baptized and confirmed, came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosom of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the question of rebaptization. But the generally received custom was only to admit them with imposition of hands and prayer. Of which custom, while some imagined the reason to be, for that heretics might give remission of sins by baptism, but not the Spirit by imposition of hands, because themselves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their baptism might stand, but confirmation must be given again; the imbecility of this ground gave Cyprian occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove, that heretics could do neither; and, consequently, that their baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their chrism; for the manner of

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those times was in confirming to use anointing. On the other side, against Luciferians, which ratified only the baptism of heretics, but disannulled their confirmations and consecrations, under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, "heretics cannot give the Holy Ghost," St. Jerome proveth at large, that if baptism by heretics be granted available to remission of sins, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it must needs follow, that the reason taken from disability of bestowing the Holy Ghost was no reason wherefore the Church should admit converts with any new imposition of hands. Notwithstanding, because it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost do always join itself with true baptism, the Church which thinketh the bishop's confirmation after other men's baptism needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghost, should hold an error; St. Jerome hereunto maketh answer, that the cause of this observation is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the sacrament of baptism, unless a bishop add after it the imposition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour prelacy with such pre-eminences, because the safety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors, to whom, if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the Church as many schisms as priests. By which answer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is received in baptism; that confirmation is only a sacramental complement; that the reason why bishops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not because the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof is greater than of baptism, but rather, for that by the sacrament of baptism men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reasonable and convenient that if he baptize them not unto whom the chiefest authority and charge of their souls belongeth, yet for honour's sake, and in token of his spiritual superiority over them, because *to bless* is an act of authority, the performance of this annexed ceremony should be sought for at his hands. Now what effect their imposition of hands hath, either after baptism administered by heretics, or otherwise, St. Jerome in that place hath made no mention, because all men understood, that in converts it tendeth to the fruits of repentance, and craveth in behalf of the penitent such grace as David after his fall desired at the hands of God; in

Heb. vii. 7.

Psal. li. 10—12.

others, the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before shewed.

Finally, sometime the cause of severing confirmation from baptism was in the parties that received baptism being infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the family; but because to fight in the army of God, to discharge the duties of a Christian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to do the works of the Holy Ghost, their time of ability was not yet come, (so that baptism were not deferred,) there could, by stay of their confirmation, no harm ensue, but rather good. For by this means it came to pass, that children in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole lives, the seed of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound, the prelates and fathers of God's family, to whom the cure of their souls belongeth, saw by trial and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burden discharged, reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years, glorified Him whose praise they found in the mouths of infants, and neglected not so fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto imposition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the good effect thereof is the same which Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers, and men of God have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth of religion, will easily think to have been without fruit.

No, there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit, but surely great cause to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian duty almost with all them, to whom by right of their place and calling the same belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which error rashly uttereth in disgrace of good things,[a] may peradventure

[a] "Tell me why there should be any such confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned decretal epistles of the popes, (this is retracted by the same T. C. lib. iii. p. 232. That it is ancienter than the feigned decretal epistles, I yield unto,) and no one title thereof being once found in the Scripture, and seeing that it hath been so horribly abused, and not necessary, why ought it not to be utterly

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be sponged out, when the print of those evils which are grown through neglect will remain behind.

Thus much therefore, generally spoken, may serve for answer unto their demands that require us to tell them, "why there should be any such confirmation in the Church," seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly they have protested against it; and how directly (although untruly, for so they are content to acknowledge) it hath by some of them been said, "to be first brought in by the feigned decretal epistles of the popes;" or, why it should not be "utterly abolished, seeing that no one tittle thereof can be once found in the whole Scripture," except the Epistle to the Hebrews be Scripture. And again, seeing that how free soever it be now from abuse, if we look back to the times past, which wise men do always more respect than the present, it hath been abused, and is found at the length no such profitable ceremony, as the whole silly Church of Christ for the space of these sixteen hundred years hath, through want of experience, imagined. Last of all, seeing also, besides the cruelty which is shewed towards poor country people, who are fain sometimes to let their ploughs stand still, and, with incredible wearisome toil of their feeble bodies, to wander over mountains and through woods, it may be, now and then a little less than a whole half-score miles for a bishop's blessing, "which, if it were needful, might as well be done at home in

Heb. vi. 2.

abolished? And, thirdly, this confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The first step of popery in this confirmation, is the laying on of hands upon the head of the child, whereby the opinion that it is a sacrament is confirmed: especially when as the prayer doth say, that it is done according to the example of the Apostles, which is a manifest untruth, and taken indeed from the popish confirmation. The second is, for that the bishop, as he is called, must be the only minister for it; whereby the popish opinion, which esteemeth it above baptism, is confirmed. For whilst baptism may be ministered of the minister, and not confirmation, but only of the bishop; there is great cause of suspicion given to think, that baptism is not so precious a thing as confirmation, seeing this was one of the principal reasons whereby that wicked opinion was established in popery. I do not here speak of the inconvenience, that men are constrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes half a score miles for that, which, if it were needful, might be as well done at home in their own parishes. The third is, for that the book saith, a cause of using confirmation is, that by imposition of hands and prayer, the children may receive strength and defence against all temptations, whereas there is no promise, that by the laying on of hands upon children, any such gift shall be given; and it maintaineth the popish distinction, that the Spirit of God is given at baptism unto remission of sins, and in confirmation, unto strength." T. C. lib. i. p. 199.

their own parishes, rather than they to purchase it with so great loss and so intolerable pain." There are, they say, in confirmation, besides this, three terrible points. The first is, "laying on of hands, with pretence that the same is done to the example of the Apostles," which is not only, as they suppose, "a manifest untruth," (for all the world doth know that the Apostles did never after baptism lay hands on any, and therefore St. Luke, which saith they did, was much deceived;) but further also, we thereby teach men to think "imposition of hands a sacrament," belike, because it is a principle engrafted by common light of nature in the minds of men, that all things done by apostolic example must needs be sacraments. The second high point of danger is, "that, by tying confirmation to the bishop alone, there is great cause of suspicion given to think that baptism is not so precious a thing as confirmation:" for will any man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only sergeants-at-law do wear? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is, where the book itself doth say, "that children by imposition of hands and prayer may receive strength against all temptation:" which speech, as a two-edged sword, doth both ways dangerously wound; partly, because it ascribeth grace to imposition of hands, whereby we are able no more to assure ourselves, in the warrant of any promise from God, that his heavenly grace shall be given, than the Apostle was that himself should obtain grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, because by using the very word *strength* in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we maintain with popish evangelists an old forlorn distinction of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's Apostles before his ascension into heaven, and augmented upon them afterwards; a distinction of grace infused into Christian men by degrees; planted in them at the first by baptism, after cherished, watered, and (be it spoken without offence) strengthened, as by other virtuous offices which piety and true religion teacheth, even so by this very special benediction whereof we speak, the rite or ceremony of confirmation.

Acts viii. 15. 17.

Ephes. iii. 14.

John xx. 22; Acts i. 8.

END OF VOL. I.

In 356 1°

PRINTED BY J. VINCENT, OXFORD.

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