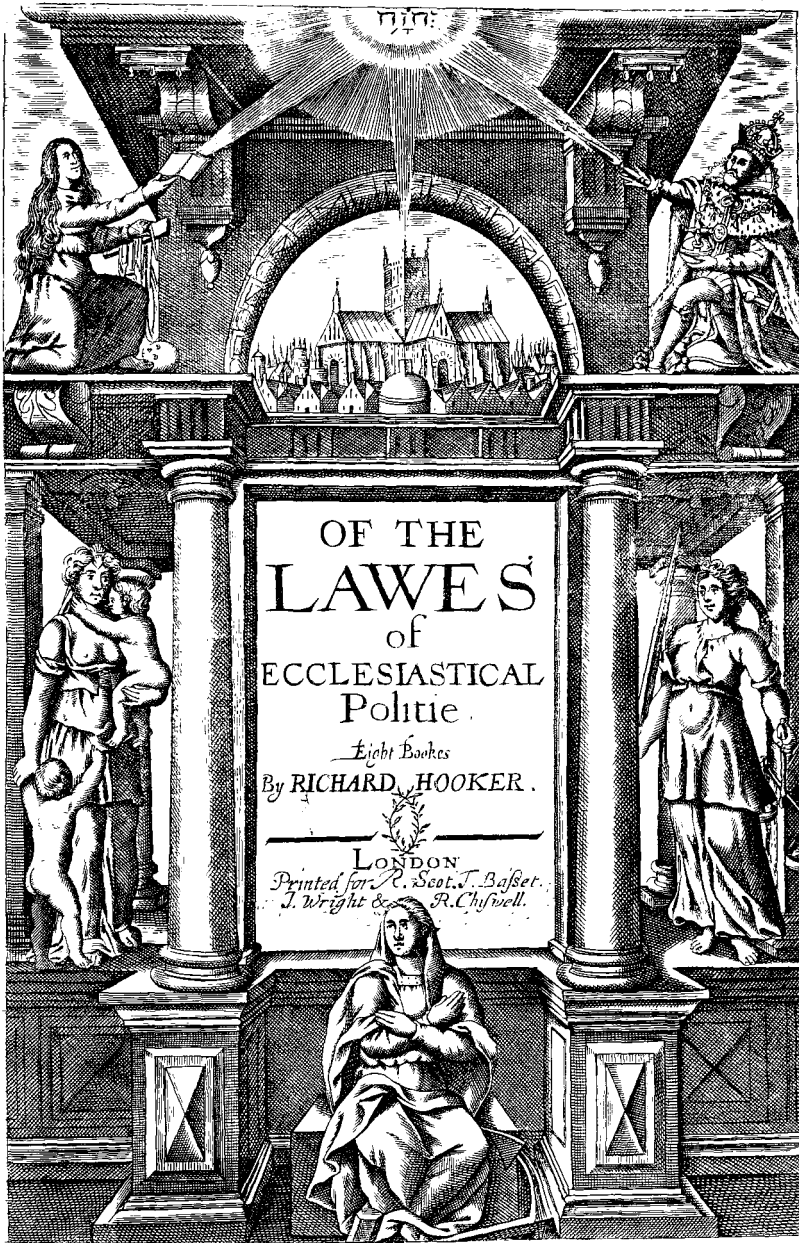




RICHARDVS HOOKER Exoniensis scholaris
sociusq; Collegij Corp. Christi Oxon: deinde Londr:
Templi Interioris in sacris magister Rectorq;
huius Ecclesie, scripsit octo libros Politicæ
Ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ, quorum tres desi-
derantur. Obijt An: Dō: M. DC. III. Etat:
suæ L.

Posuit hoc pyssimo viro monumentum An:
Dō: M. DC. XXX. V. Gul: Comper Armiger,
in Christo Iesu quem genuit per Evangelium.
Christi: 4. 15.



THE WORKS

Of that Learned and Judicious Divine,

Mr. Richard Hooker,

IN

EIGHT BOOKS

Of the LAWS of

Ecclesiastical Polity,

Completed out of his own MANUSCRIPTS.

Dedicated to the King's most excellent Majesty,

CHARLES II.

By whose ROYAL FATHER (near his Martyrdom) the former five Books (then only extant) were commended to his Dear Children, as an excellent means to satisfy private Scruples, and settle the public Peace of this CHURCH and KINGDOM.

To which are added, Several other Treatises by the same Author.

All Revised and Corrected in numberless Places of the former Editions, by a diligent Hand.

There is also prefix'd before the Book,
The LIFE of the AUTHOR, written by ISAAC WALTON.

To this Edition is added a large Alphabetical INDEX.

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Walthoe, George Conyers, James Knapton, Robert Knaplock, J. and B. Sprint, Dan. Midwinter, Bernard Lintot, Benj. Cowse, William Taylor, W. and J. Innys, John Osborne, Ranew Robinson, Sam. Tooke, Tho. Wotton. M.DCC.XXIII.

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,

ALTHO 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.* 17. 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 *reformation* 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 unparallel'd 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 *intire*, 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*, commended 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 is 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 *armory*, to enrich their friends, and defend them against the enemies of the *church* of *England*: a rare composition of *unpassionate reason*, and *unpartial 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

An Epistle to the KING.

v.

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 antiently 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 *factionous* 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 politick 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 fought not fairly to obtain *reformation* of what might seem amiss, but violently and wholly to overthrow the antient and goodly *fabrick* 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-temper'd 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 *smoak* 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

An Epistle to the KING.

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 your self, 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 *center* 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 publick. Whose verity, unity, sanctity, and solemnity in religious concerns, being once duly *established*, must not be shaken, or sacrificed to any private varieties and extravagancies. 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.

TO THE READER.

I Think it necessary to inform my reader, that doctor Gauden (the late bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and publish'd the life of master Hooker. And tho 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 my self, 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 or too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify : for, tho I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions ; yet I will 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 excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both ; and sometimes wonder more at my self, 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 writ to Mr. Walton, by doctor King,
lord bishop of Chichester.*

Honest ISAAC,

THO a familiarity of forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst times, be sufficient to indear 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 publick 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 your self, 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 chusing 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 doctor *Donne*, late dean of saint *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 publick: professing before doctor *Winnif*, doctor *Montford*, and I think your self, then present at his bedside, 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 your self, 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 critick of our later time (Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton* college) affirmeth to me, *He had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of doctor Donne's.*

After the performance of this task for doctor *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 doctor *Donne*, if death had not prevented him; by which means, his and your pre-collections for that work, fell to the happy manage 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, 'tis 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 elegant a pen, as any former, or ours, which in that kind is a most excellent age, has 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 discipline 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.

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 saint *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, then lord bishop of *London*; from whom, and others at that time, I have

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

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 unvaluable 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 could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and not 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 doctor *John Spencer*, who after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, was so careful to preserve his unvaluable sixth, seventh and eighth books of *ECCELESIASTICAL POLITICS* and his other writings, that he procured *Henry Jackson*, then of *Corpus-Christi* college, to transcribe for him all Mr. *Hooker's* remainning written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his study had been risted or worie used by Mr. *Chark*, and another of principles too like his. But as these papers were, they were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend doctor *Spencer*, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, till doctor *Abbot*, then arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, commanded them out of my custody, authorizing doctor *John Barkham* (his lordship's chaplain) to require and bring them to him to *Lambeth*: at which time I have heard they were put into the bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of arch-bishop *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 tho 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* for 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 arch-bishop *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* to *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 catholice*) 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 & 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,

Chichester,
Novemb.
11. 16.

S I R,

Your ever faithful and affectionate old friend,

Henry Chichester

THE LIFE OF Mr. Richard Hooker.

THE 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 tho 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 enquire, 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 prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the compleating 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 intreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some reasons which, I my self 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 doctor 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 this following discourse; as also George Cranmer their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentick testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named 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-bourn near Canterbury; in which city

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their good father then lived. They had (I say) a great part of their education with him, as my self, 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 doctor Usher, the late learned archbishop of Armagh; and with doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales of Eaton 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 information, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, tho 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 compleating of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my introduction.

The L I F E.

His birth and youth.

IT is not to be doubted, but that *Richard Hooker* was born within the precincts, or in the city 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 fifty and 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 a 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 school-boy, 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 mixt with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature; and with them a quick apprehension of many perplext 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 a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his school-master, 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

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 catch'd in his own snare*. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually water'd 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 attain to, hath made *Richard Hooker* honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good school-master, whose name I am not able to recover, (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 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 forc'd 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 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 tho 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 school-master 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 school-master 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 fourteenth year of his age, which was *Anno 1567*, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend doctor *Cole*, then president of *Corpus-Christi* college: which he did, and doctor *Cole* had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned doctor *John Reynolds*) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, tho 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

Admitted into *Corpus-Christi* college, *Oxen*.

Bishop *Jewel*'s patron.

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

dition 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 saint *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 saint *Augustine* 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 his sickness, he took a journey from *Oxford* to *Exeter*, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a country-man and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of mony, 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 council, 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 thro 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 aman of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Mr. *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 rayment, (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. *Hooker*.

Edwin Sandys (then bishop of *London*, and after arch-bishop of *York*) had also been in the days of queen *Mary* forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where for many 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 time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of bishop *Jewel*, which was one thousand five hundred seventy and one. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, *Jewel* began a story of his *Richard Hooker*, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that the 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*, tho his son *Edwin* was then almost of the same age: 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 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 study, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

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of such learning as lay hid from common searches. So that by these added to his great reason, and his 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 this 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 Crammer*, of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chappel 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 burden of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncemely 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 innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till death; still increasing in learning, in patience and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was chosen, *December 24. 1573.* to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in *Devonshire*; (out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founders statutes.) And now he was much encouraged; for 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 bishop *Jewel*, doctor *John Reynolds*, and doctor *Thomas Jackson*, of that foundation. The first, famous by his learned apology for the church of *England*, and his defence of it against *Harding*. The second, for the learned and wise manage of a publick dispute with *John Hart*, of the romish persuasion, about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent exposition of the creed, and for his other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all men.

In the year 1576. *February 23.* Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts; doctor *Herbert Westphaling*, a man of noted learning, being then vice-chancellor; and the act following he was compleated master, which was anno 1577. his patron doctor *Cole* being that year vice-chancellor, and his dear friend *Henry Savil* of *Merton* college, then one of the proctors. It was that *Henry Savil*, that was after sir *Henry Savil*, warden of *Merton* college, and provost of *Eaton*: he which founded in *Oxford* two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that sir *Henry Savil* that translated and enlighthened the history of *Cornelius Tacitus*, with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of saint *Chrysostom*, and the publication of them in one entire body in *Greek*; in which language he was a most judicious critick. It was this sir *Henry Savil* that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and a most familiar friend to our *Richard Hooker*, and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577. he was chosen fellow of the college: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of doctor *John Reynolds*, of whom I have lately spoken, and of doctor *Spencer*; both which were after, and successively, made presidents of his 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 pupilage and friendship of his *Edwin Sandys* and *George Crammer*, 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 *Crammer*, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned master *Camben*, the lord *Tottenes*, *Fines Morison*, and others.

*

This

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

This *Craumer*, whose christen name was *George*, was a gentleman of singular hope, the eldest son of *Thomas Craumer*, son of *Edmund Craumer*, the arch-bishop's brother : he spent much of his youth in *Corpus-Christi* college in *Oxford*, where he continued master of arts for many years 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* : after whose fall, he went in place of secretary with Sir *Henry Killegrew* in his embassy 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.

Between 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. 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 it to such a degree of amity, as bordered upon heaven ; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And, tho this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship ; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, and manners, and 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 Mr. *Hooker* to his college : where he was daily more assiduous in his studies, 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 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, ' The scripture was not writ to beget pride and disputations, and opposition to government ; but moderation, and charity, and humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind ; of which no good 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 musick and poetry ; all which he had digested, and made useful ; and of all which, the reader will have a fair testimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years ; about which time he entered into sacred orders, and was made both deacon and priest : and not long after, in obedience to the college statutes, he was to preach either at saint *Peter's Oxford*, or at saint *Paul's-crofs London* ; and the last fell to his allotment.

In order to which sermon, to *London* he came, and immediately to the *Shunamites* 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 two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by *John Churchman*, sometimes a draper of good note in *Watling-street*, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition ; which tho 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 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 hiring him no easier an horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days 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 mistress *Churchman*, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year one thousand five hundred eighty and one.

And in this first publick 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, and hath been since by doctor Jackson, doctor Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justify'd this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occasional 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.

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 Nathanael who feared no guile, because he meant none; did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, when he was sent to chuse a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to chuse for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that, or 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 he had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth, but rather to lay 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 (especially 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 such reasons) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, and (as some think) 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 tho it be unpleasing to mankind, yet almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, tho bitter physick to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this means 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 Draiton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, (not far from Ailsbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln) to which he was presented by John Cheney Esquire (then patron of it) the ninth of December 1584. where he behaved himself so, as to give no occasion of evil, but (as saint 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 mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the odes of Horace) he being then tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his servant was then gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, 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 their welcome was so like this, that they staid but next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, 'Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry your wife proves not a more comfortable companion, after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless
b studies.

' studies.' To whom the good man replied, ' My dear *George*, if faints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wife creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace.'

Made master of the Temple.

At their return to *London*, *Edwin Sandys* acquaints his father (then bishop of *London*, and after arch-bishop of *Tork*) with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him 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 one thousand five hundred eighty and five,

* He was dead, and the place void in the month of August, anno 1584. J. S.

* Mr. *Alvey* (master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of father *Alvey*. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this father *Alvey*, the arch-bishop of *Tork* being then at dinner with the judges, the reader and benchers of that society, he met there with a condolment for the death of father *Alvey*, an high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both to God and man: and as they bewailed his death, so they wish for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the arch-bishop to commend Mr. *Hooker* to father *Alvey*'s place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. *Hooker* was sent for from *Draiton 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 advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his 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

† This you may find in the Temple-records. Will. *Ermstead* was master of the Temple at the dissolution of the priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard *Alvey*, Bacc. Divinity, Pat. 13. Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister sine custos domus & ecclesia 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 doctor *Belgey* succeeded Rich. *Hooker*.

living, where he might be free from noise, (so he expressed the desire of his heart) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averfeness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the bishop's proposal; and was by † patent for life made master of the Temple the

17 of March 1585. he being then in the 34th year of his age.

Endeavours for Travers to be master of the Temple. J. S.

But before any mention was made of Mr. *Hooker* for this place, two other divines were nominated to succeed *Alvey*; whereof Mr. *Walter Travers*, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by *Alvey* himself on his death-bed, to be master after him: and no marvel, for *Alvey*'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 request, 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 arch-bishop *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 also 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 conformable and agreeable to the church, namely, one doctor *Bond*, the queen's chaplain, and well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the arch-bishop what *Travers* was, by a letter 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.

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 doctor *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 doctor *Bond* seems to be that doctor *Nicolas Bond* that afterwards was president of *Magdalen* college, *Oxon*, and that was much abused by *Martin Mar-prelate*.

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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 following letter unto the queen.

IT may please your majesty to be advertised, that the mastership of the *Temple* is vacant by the death of Mr. *Alvey*. 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 suit made to 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 dissension 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, doctor *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.

The archbishop to the queen, concerning the vacancy of the *Temple*.

Your majesty's most faithful

From *Croyden*, the
August, 1584.

servant and chaplain,

Jo. Cantuar.

Next, in a letter of the archbishop to the lord treasurer, dated from *Lambeth*, *Sept.* 14. 1584. he hath these words: '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 my own knowledge and experience can testify. Doctor *Bond* is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter man.'

The archbishop to the lord treasurer.

The lord treasurer in a letter to the archbishop, dated from *Oatlands* (where the queen now was) *Sept.* 17. 1584. thus wrote. 'The queen hath asked me what I thought of *Travers* to be master of the *Temple*. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of doctor *Alvey* 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, intitled, *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 unblameable,

The lord treasurer to the archbishop.

From the court at *Oatlands*,
the 27 *Sept.* 1584.

Your grace's to command,

Will. Burghley.

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Part of the archbishop's letter in answer to this, was to this tenour.

The archb.
in answer to
the letter of
the lord
treasurer.

‘ Mr. Travers, whom your lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to my self; I did elect him fellow of *Trinity-College*, being before rejected by doctor *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 his 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 of 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 this 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 yet this was denied him. 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 that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begot an earnest desire of a settlement in the church and state; believing there was no other probable way 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 those begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those 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 and progress 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 were still thirsting for more and more, neglecting to pay that obedience to government, and perform those vows to God, which they made in their days of adversities and fears: so that in 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 forts) and the passive peaceable protestant. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in *Rome*: the second in *Scotland*, in *Geneva*, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles,

conventicles, both there; and within the bosom of our own nation : the third pleaded and defended their cause by establish'd 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 establish'd to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and as 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 the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of nonconformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were possessed with an high degree of spiritual wickedness ; I mean with an innate restless radical pride and malice ; I mean not those lesser sins that are more visible and more properly carnal, and sins against a man's self, as gluttony and drunkenness, and the like (from which good Lord deliver us!) but sins of an higher nature ; because more unlike the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace ; and more like the devil, (who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil) those wickednesses of malice, and revenge, and opposition, and a complacency in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind ; and greater sins, tho many will not believe it) men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace ; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey ; men that laboured and joyed to *speak evil of government*, and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion) whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were errors ; and at last became so restless, and so hardened in their opinions, that like those which perish'd in the gain-saying of *Core*, so these died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses, of which *Coppinger* and *Hacket*, and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate : and yet these very men did in their secret conventicles, covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up a church-government that they had not agreed on. To which end, there were many select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discords and fediton, 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 very bold, and as indiscreet sermons, the common people became so phanatick, as saint *Peter* observed there were in his time, *some that wrested the scripture to their own destruction*. so by these men, and this means, many came to believe the *bishops* to be *antichrist*, and the only obstructors of God's discipline ; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the *revelation of saint John*, that *antichrist was to be overcome by the sword*, which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that those very men, that began with tender meek petitions, proceeded to print publick admonitions ; and then to *satirical remonstrances* ; and at last (having like *David* number'd 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 not long after, both *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 ; whom he used as a sacrilegious snare to further his design, which was 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 avaritious desire had so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almost flattered him into 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 beifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline*. And in *Scotland* they were more confident, for there

Nonconformists represented.

* Mr. Dering.

* See bishop
Spotswood's
history of the
church of Scot-
land.

there* they declared her an atheist, and grew to such an height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; *no nor for treason against their own king, if spoken in the pulpit*: shewing at last such a disobedience even 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 fasting, 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, vented so daringly, that beside the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion, and the perillous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable 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; *That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shop-keepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church government; 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 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 governours, 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 had so often, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his blessed Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe; into a belief, which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods) but these have sinned themselves into a belief, that there is no God: and so finding nothing in themselves, but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, *that they should be like the beasts that perish*; and, in wicked company (which is the atheists sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: tho the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other 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; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitted; 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, 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 ingenious sir *Henry Wotton* (that knew him well) hath left this true character, *that he was a man of a 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 tho I dare not undertake to add his character, 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.

John Whitgift was born in the county of *Lincoln*, of a family that was antient, and noted to be prudent and affable, and genteel 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 bishoprick of *Worcester*, and (which was not a usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him vice-president of the principality of *Wales*. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both these places, she in the twenty-sixth 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 *Jehoida* that did good unto *Israel*.

Some account of *Whitgift*, archbishop of *Canterbury*.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. *Camden*'s very words in his annals) *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 disorder'd at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness * of bishop *Grindal* (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 tho he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as saint *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 greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entred.

* Or rather by reason of his suspension and sequestration, which he lay under (together with the queen's displeasure) for some years, when the ecclesiastick affairs were managed by certain civilians. J. S.

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 eased herself by laying the burden of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which she was certain he managed with prudence and piety*.

I shall not keep my self 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 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 good 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, and to this purpose:

' 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 deputing 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. And tho you and my self are born in an age of frailties.

His speech to the queen.

ties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet (madam) let me beg that you will but first consider, and then you will believe there are such sins as prophaneness and sacrilege; for 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 tho 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 to punish these things; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the prophaners out of the temple; overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And consider, that it was saint *Paul* that said to those christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet, *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* supposing, I think, sacrilege to be 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 as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with these immunities and lands they have intailed a curse upon the alienators of them; God prevent your majesty from being liable to that curse.

And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it; I beseech you forget not, that, besides these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavour'd 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 testified openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands 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*. And now 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 clergy-men 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 right: and tho I pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; *That church-land, added to an antient 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 her self that stole it.* And, tho 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 it.

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 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 it self will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe in too many poor vicaridges in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands; yet, dispose of them for Jesus sake as the donors intended: let neither falshood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; and put a stop (I beseech you) to the approaching ruins of God's 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 patience hearing this affectionate speech, 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 begot 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, and those powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were 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 ebblings of her favour towards all men that 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 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 wife 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; to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, 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 alms-house 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 *Boysse Siff*, 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 sick at *Lambeth*; of which the king having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse, the king assured him, *He had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God.* To which he 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 one thousand five hundred eighty and three. 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*; i. e. *He conquers that endures*. And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occasion'd by the then powerful earl of *Leicester*, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of non-conformists to oppose him; especially one *Thomas Cartwright*, a man of noted learning; sometime contemporary with the bishop in *Cambridge*, and of the same college, of which Dr. *Whitgift*, before he was bishop, was 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.

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

And in this discontent, long before the earl's death (which was one thousand five hundred eighty and eight) 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 to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances (especially that called the *Admonition to the parliament*.) Which last he caused to be printed; to which the doctor made an answer, and *Cartwright* replied upon him; and then the doctor having rejoined to his reply, (however Mr *Cartwright* would not be satisfied) he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. [And to posterity he left such a learned and most useful book, as does abundantly establish the reformation and constitution of our church, and vindicate it against all the cavils of the innovators.]

J. S.

After some years the doctor being preferred to the see, first of *Worcester*, and then of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Cartwright*, after his share of trouble and imprisonment (for setting up new presbyteries in divers places, against the establish'd order) having received from the archbishop many personal favours, retired himself to a more private living, which was at *Warwick*, where he became master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the archbishop 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 one thousand six hundred and two, the archbishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

J. S.

[Tis true, the archbishop treated *Cartwright* with such a civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the earl of *Leicester*, how much the archbishop's human 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 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 consider'd; the former, of the earl to the archbishop; the latter, of the archbishop to the earl.

My good lord,

The earl of
Leicester to the
archbishop,
concerning
Mr. *Cart-*
wright,

I Most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. *Cartwright*, who hath so exceeding kindly taken 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 professeth 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,

At the court, this
14th of July.

Rob. Leicester.

To which letter the archbishop returned this answer.

My singular good lord,

The archbi-
shop 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 longer tryal,

' tryal, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, tho not for the manner; my self 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 publick 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 doctor Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; That tho the pens of Mr. Cartwright and doctor Whitgift were now at rest, and had been a great while, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became posselt 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 doctor Howland, then bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming God's, so far as to set limits to his mercies; there was not only 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 in 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 employ'd 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 parrot*; *A fig for my god-son*; *Come crack me this nut*, and the like: so that his merry wit made 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.

And now the reader is to take notice, That at the death of father Alvey, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of 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, of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbyters in Antwerp, 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 endeavours to be master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved some occasion of his opposition of Mr. Hooker's sermons publickly in the pulpit. Many of which were concerning the doctrine, discipline and ceremonies of this church: and Mr. Hooker again publickly justified his doctrine against the other's exceptions. Insomuch, that as saint Paul withstood saint Peter to his face, so did they. For as one hath pleasantly expres'd it, *The forenoon sermons speak Canterbury, and the afternoons Geneva*.

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time, till the oppositions became so high, 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 and her privy council to have it recalled, where he met with many assisting powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or against the archbishop, whom the queen had intrusted 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 magnified by them and many others, as never to be answered: so that intending the bishops and Mr. *Hooker's* disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. *Hooker* was forced to appear as publicly, and print an answer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, to have in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to wonder at the man, 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* differed (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.

- I. 'First, I taught, that the things which God promises in his word, are not surer to us 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 one and 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; whereas 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, tho they want the inward testimony of it.'

Tell this 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 my self: 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 he gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. *Travers*.

- II. 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 save many of our forefathers living heretofore in popish superstition, for as much 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 fought to be justified by the merit of their works,

works, and so overthrow the foundation of faith) he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith 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 mens 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 elect: 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 consequent 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?*' Saint *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, '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 tho they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of christian faith? altho they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit? altho they have all other tokens of God's children in them? altho they be far from having any proud opinion, that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? altho the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them, be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fire arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? altho they be not obstinate in this opinion? altho they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? altho the only cause why they do not forsake it e'er they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? altho 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.

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I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, 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, 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 'tis 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: doubtless, if almighty God had blest 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 blest like *Jerusalem*, that is, at unity with it-self: but that can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people with a belief, *that schism is a sin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey.*

[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 compleat, 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 beforementioned 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 those 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. I shall set all down exactly from an authentick manuscript.

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

A short note of sundry unsound points of doctrine, at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his publick sermons.

1. The church of *Rome* is a true church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth which God hath revealed unto us by his Son; tho 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, tho 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 faith of any, that he is a righteous man, faith, that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he faith, he is a dead man, then he denieth him to be a man: and
of

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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.

‘ 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 shall be partakers of those plagues there denounced against such as repent not of their superstitions: which they cannot who know them not.

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

Travers his own answer.

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 them nothing. So they which join their own works with Christ.

‘ 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 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, altho the proposition were true, that he who thinketh that he cannot be saved by Christ without works, overthroweth the foundation; yet we may persuade our selves, 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. Altho 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 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

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‘ 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* 4. *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, from 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, yet 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 with 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 great 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, 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, being 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 fophter, and will not examine them in quiddities, but accept them, if they plainly hold the foundation.

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‘ This

‘ 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.’

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 ; The arch-
bishop's judg-
ment of these
controversys.
ignorance excused them. As the apostle alledgeth, 1 *Tim.* 1. 13. *I obtained mercy, be-
cause 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 merciful 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, tho 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 *pagans*.

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*, were the cause of his transcribing several of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books ; 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 the hands of others, that have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings have been : 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 tho 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 tho the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of
d Mr.

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Mr. *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 ſaint *Paul* to his dear brother and fellow-labourer *Philemon*; than which none ever was more like this epiſtle of Mr. *Hooker's*. So that his dear friend and companion in his ſtudies, doct^r *Spencer*, might, after his death, juſtly ſay, 'What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in all wiſe mens eyes, except his own! With what gravity and majeſty of ſpeech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whole 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 therefore ſolicited the archbiſhop for a remove, to whom he ſpoke 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. And, my lord, my particular conteſts here with Mr. *Travers*, 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 ſaſtify that, I have conſulted the holy 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 by us, as to alter our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worſhip, our praizing and praying to him, and our eſtabliſhed ceremonies, as often as their tender conſciences ſhall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only ſaſfied my ſelf; but have begun a treatiſe, in which I intend the ſaſiſfaction 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. *Carrwright*, 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 bleſſings 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 ſiſh 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. And therefore if your grace can think me and my poor labours worthy ſuch a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun, which is a bleſſing I cannot hope for in this place.'

About the time of this requeſt to the biſhop, the parſonage or rectory of *Boſcum*, in the dioc^{eſs} 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 death of biſhop *Pierce*, and biſhop *Caldwell's* admiſſion into it) the diſpoſal of that, and all benefices belonging to it, during the time of 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 preferment 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 enter'd into the regiſter-book in *Stationers-hall*, the
9th

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9th of March 1592. but not printed till the Year 1594. and then with the beforementioned 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 finish'd and publish'd but only the first four, being then in the 39th 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 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of *Bishops-bourne* in *Kent*, three miles from *Canterbury*, is in that arch-bishop's gift; but in the latter-end of the year 1594. doctor *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 *Bourne*, 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 *Bourne*, and then give a rest both to my self 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 is printed 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 printers 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 it self, 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 it self into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that cardinal *Allen*, or learned doctor *Stapleton* (both englishmen, and in *Italy* when Mr. *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 church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for: and, after reading of them, boasted to the pope (which then was *Clement* the eighth) That tho he had lately said, he never met with an English book, whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appear'd 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 so grave and such humble majesty, with 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 doctor *Stapleton* should bring the said four books, and looking on the *English*, read a part of them to him in *Latin*, which doctor *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 wrote the books of church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before queen *Elizabeth*, 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

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‘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*, tho it were but about the fashion of churches, or church musick, 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, tho very learned men : and, I observe, there is in Mr. *Hooker* no affected language ; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason ; and that backt with the authority of the *scripture*, the *fathers* and *school-men*, and with all *law* both *sacred* and *civil*. And tho 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. *Cambden** mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. *Hooker*, and magnifying his books, with’d, *that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language*. Which work tho 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 finish’d, by the happy pen of doctor *Earl*, now lord bishop of *Salisbury*, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as 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 blest 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 *Bourne* ; in which place he continu’d 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 doctor *Hadrian Saravia*, then one of the prebendaries of *Canterbury*, a *German* by birth, and sometimes 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 of 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 *bishops superiority above the 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 three-fold episcopacy (which he calls *divine, human* and *satanical*) this doctor *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 publick ; and therein discovered how *Beza*’s opinion did contradict that of *Calvin*’s 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 year in which Mr. *Hooker* also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of ecclesiastical polity.

* In his annals of *Eliz.* 1599.

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 doctor *Saravia's*; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of *Bishops-bourne*, 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 designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each others 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 *Bourne*, 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 Saviour said of saint *John* the baptist, *What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?* 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 inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour; God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days, his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; 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 tho he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixt 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 mistress *Churchman* to chuse a wife for him.

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: 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 present parson of *Bourne* was sequestred (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 sequestred so many good men, that he doubted if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestred 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. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bad 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.

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

His holy behaviour at Bishops-bourne.

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virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers and meditations : his life was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechize 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 fix'd on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering ; insomuch that he seem'd 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 discernable in a preacher, *as an artificial from a natural beauty.*

He never failed the Sunday before every *ember* week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading both to fast, and then to double their devotions, for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the laity ; saying often, *that the life of a pious clergy-man was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men (tho 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 lock'd 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 remembred 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 way distressed, and would often visit them unent for ; supposing that the fittest time to discover 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 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 law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours, to bear with each others infirmities, and live in love, because (as saint *John* says) *he that lives 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 a 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 seem'd in his youth to be taught of God, so he seem'd 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 tho in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible ; yet let his memory be bless'd 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 his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour at *Bourne*; thus as *Enoch*, so he walked with God; charged with 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 *Susanna's* by the wicked elders; or that against saint *Athanasius*, as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies) and which this age calls *trepanning*. The particulars need not a repetition, and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the publick punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. 'Twas 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 saint 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 hung on 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 I was bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long; when my nights were restless, and my sleeps broken with a fear worse than death; 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. 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 fears and 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 'tis 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, tho the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, 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, tho this be said 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 doctor *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.

In the year one thousand six hundred, and of his age forty six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt *London* and *Graveſend*, from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for 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 sollicitous in his study, and said often to doctor *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, tho he denied the benefit of them as completed by himself; and 'tis 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 *bodily 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, 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 his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for 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?* 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, doctor *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 returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord 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 require 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 tho 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 a 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 which blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me.' 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 here I 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 ardent desires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his christian moderation: for these are praise-worthy; these bring peace at the last. And let the labours of his life, 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.

A N
A P P E N D I X
T O T H E
L I F E
O F
Mr. Richard Hooker.

HAVING by a long and laborious search satisfied my self, 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 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 *Bourne* church, where Mr. *Hooker* was buried, his death is said to be an. 1603. but doubtless both mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of *William Somner* the archbishop's register for the province of *Canterbury*, that *Richard Hooker's* Will bears date *October* the 26th, in anno 1600. and that it was proved the third of *December* following. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, *Alice*, *Cicily*, *Jane*, and *Margaret*, that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; 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 husbandry 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 it: of which will I shall say no more, but that his dear friend *Thomas*, the father of *George Craumer*, 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 *Chalmer*, sometime a school-master in *Chichester*, and both dead long since. *Margaret* his youngest daughter was married unto

The life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

Ezekiel Clark, bachelor in divinity, and rector of saint *Nicholas* in *Harbledown* near *Canterbury*, who died about 16 years past, and had a son *Ezekiel*, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of *Waldron* in *Suffex*; 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 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 staid 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 but 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 my self 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 finish'd 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 a month after the death of *Mr. Hooker*, bishop *Whitgift*, then archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent one of his chaplains to enquire 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 I have been told, that about three months after 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 was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that doctor *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 doctor *Spencer*, the three first 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* hand-writing, 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, as 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.

‘ And tho *Mr. Hooker* hastned his own death by hastning to give life to his books,
 ‘ yet he held out with his eyes to behold these *Benjamins*, these sons of his right hand,
 ‘ tho 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 dis-
 ‘ membered 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 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

‘ strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their
‘ work, and that 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 doctor *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 compleated out of Mr. *Hooker's* rough draughts, as is expressed by the said doctor *Spencer*, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a christian, that doctor *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 finish'd
‘ 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 *Canter-*
‘ *bury*, which was doctor *Abbot*, or unto doctor *King* bishop of *London*; and that she
‘ did as he enjoyned her.

I do conceive, that from doctor *Spencer's* and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and were to be found in several places, as namely in sir *Thomas Bodley's* library, in that of doctor *Andrews*, 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, being much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminish'd 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.

Doctor *Barnard*, sometime chaplain to doctor *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 the supposed sixth, seventh and eighth 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 them.

‘ *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 poli-
‘ tick societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment:
‘ for, 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 course 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 head of justice
‘ whereunto all are subject, but it self in subjection to none. Which kind of preemi-
‘ nency 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 magi-
‘ strates, 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 Phillips*, a man of note for his useful books. ‘ I will make oath if I shall be required, that doctor *Sander-*
‘ *son* 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 hand-writing 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 Phillips.

So that there appear to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books ; and this may probably be one reason why doctor *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*, 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 enquire, 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 himſelf, but ſo as to leave others the ſame liberty of believing, or diſbelieving them to be Mr. *Hooker*’s : and ’tis obſervable, that as Mr. *Hooker* adviſed with doctor *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 doctor *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.

George

George Cranmer's LETTER

UNTO

Mr. Richard Hooker,

February 1598.

WHAT posterity is like 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 inclin'd that way. The books then written, for the most part, favoured of the disciplinary style: it founded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of mens 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 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 (tho nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of 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 mens 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 afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of an 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 conveniencies; 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.

* John Whit-
cuff, the arch-
bishop.

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. 1. That whereas *T. C.* and others his great matters 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 refused, 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 my self to be true) how some of them, altho they could not for shame approve so leud an action, yet were content to lay hold on 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, tho 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 were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

* *Hacket and Copping.*

A further degree of outrage was in fact; certain * prophets 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 deliver'd 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 unlike to that of saint 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 like 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 were they before they entered into this frantick 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 reprov'd and condemn'd 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 loth 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 doctor *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, altho 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, or 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 whosoever 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 ought I see) the most unanswerable; you may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be solved, 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 have 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 politicks, who perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and 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 loth to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These mens ends in all their actions, is distraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected 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 mean time, may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy, in entertaining a conceit in mens 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 common-wealths, and of our own, till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, tho 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 your self 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 ge-

George Cranmer's letter unto Mr. Richard Hooker.

neral suspition of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, altho 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, 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 fore-telling 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 laid 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, altho they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire, than the breach and dissolution 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 our selves; especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of faith and salvation? Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open to advantage for the *barrowist* and the papist, 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 thro 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 your self) 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 justly be 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

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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 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, to 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 spoke 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 alledged, 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 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 tryal 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. 2. cap. 9.* it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to common-wealths, 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, should be 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* it self, is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards *God*, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are 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 childlike.

GEORGE CRANMER.

This *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 *Bourne-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 this 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 maintain'd : then why
Without all ceremony should he dye ?
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 so long obscurely low,
Doth now prefer'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.

W. C.

To

To the most reverend father in G O D, my very
good lord, the lord arch-bishop of

CANTERBURY his grace,

PRIMATE and METROPOLITAN

O F A L L

E N G L A N D.

Most reverend in Christ,

TH E long continued, and more than ordinary The cause of writing this general discipline. 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 antient 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 refor-

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reformation of evil laws, is a commendable endeavour ; but for us the more necessary, is a speedy redress of our selves. 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 saint *Greg. Naz.* *Gregory*, "Ὅτις ἡμεῖς γινώμεθα, *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 farther we examine them, the greater cause we find to conclude μένομεν ὅτις ἔσμεν, *altho we continue the same we are, the harm is not great.* The fervent reproachers of things established by publick 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 likely 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 which 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, my self have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that

that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth. Now, if any marvel how a thing in it self so weak, could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flyeth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politick being subject, as much as natural, to dissolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown thro diseases bred within themselves, than thro 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 could be else 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 mean while the commonwealth is not only thro un-soundness so far impaired, as those evils chance to prevail; but farther also, thro 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 common-wealth, is not here necessary. Such as rise from variety in matter of religion, are not only the farthest 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; for as much 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

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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 shew appeareth.

Thus were those poor seduced creatures, *Hacquet* and his other two adherents, whom I can neither speak or 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 mov'd 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 mens 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 farthest off, to all mens thinking, from any inclination unto furious attempts; must not the peril thereof be greater in men whose minds are of themselves as dry fewel, apt beforehand unto tumults, seditions and broils? But by this we see in a cause of religion, to how desperate adventures men will strain them-

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 it self from inconveniencies, sustained not only thro 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 ministred 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 peradventure have met with some, not unlike to *Ithacius*, 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 kalendar 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 scurrillous 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 unfavoury 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

*Sulp. Sever.
Epist. Hist.
Eccles.*

discipline, did not only bend it self to reform ceremonies, but seek farther to erect a popular 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 altho peradventure not willing to be yoked with elderships, 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 dislike or liking of any one thing whatsoever, sundry other in the mean time 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 darkneth theirs, it cannot be chosen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with the 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 it self 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 κοινόν, the publick and common good of all; for
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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 mens 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 thro 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 antients uttered upon like occasions: *Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit.* Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421. But 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 thro his assistance, may be turned away from us, bending thereunto our selves 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; 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 confes'd 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

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the days of her regiment past have been happy unto our selves ; and for his most dear anointed's sake, grant them all prosperity, whose labours, cares, and counsels, unfeignedly are referred to her endless welfare, thro 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

P R E F A C E

To them that seek (as they term it) the

Reformation of the Laws

A N D

ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL

I N T H E

Church of ENGLAND.

THOUGH for no other cause, yet for this, that posterity may know we have not loosely thro silence, permitted things to pass away as in a dream; there shall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the present state of the church of God, established amongst us, and their careful endeavour 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 publish'd books and writings peremptorily maintain) every christian man fearing God, stand bound to joyn with you for 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

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

such

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such numbers of otherwise right well-affected and most religiously enclined 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 travel and care performed that part of the apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to try all things, 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 alledged 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 misconception 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 be knoweth) hath undertaken the burthensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up 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.

Jam. 2. 1.

The first establishment of new discipline by Mr. Calvin's industry, in the church of Geneva; and the beginning of strife about it amongst our selves.

2. *A founder it had, whom, for my 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 tho 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 enterprize, 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 publick 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 still hang on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever it self 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 ecclesiastical 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 ure, 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 thro mens desire,*

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 it self, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of churches then being, tho free within themselves, yet small common conference before-hand 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 it self, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which rendred 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 entring into further consultation afterwards. Which, tho 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. Calvin therefore, and the other two his 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 salu 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 loth 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. 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 chuse 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. Epist. Cal. 14; Luk. 10. 17; 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 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 ministers 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, wife 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 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 care of all mens manners, power of determining of all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to

controul, 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 state of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moon-light; or howsoever, being departed, to chuse 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 staid behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recal 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 publick 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 the chiefeest 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 tryal 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 shew, 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 chuse one: namely, whether they would to their endles disgrace, with ridiculous lightness, dismiss him, whose restitution they had in so important a manner desir'd, 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 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 fortres 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 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, this speech was publickly 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 mens 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 bad 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 un-

pected mention of sudden departure, caused presently the senate (for according to their wonted manner, they still continued only constant in unconflancy) 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 Helvetic 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, ifs, or ands; 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 Helvetic 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 unsported religion, excommunication is to be exercised? Secondly, *Epist. 166.* 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? 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 that 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, altho not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Mr. Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply; in as much 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 might thereby appear in what sort amongst them, that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth, 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 wife 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, sharpneth 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 it self 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 endowed 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 necessarily inforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurrerth with his against the orders of your own church? We should be injurious unto virtue it self, 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 institution of christian religion; the other, his no less industrious travels for exposition

Quod cum urbem videret omnino his frenis indigere.

of holy scripture, according to the same institutions. In which two things, whatsoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainayed; 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 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 fabrick 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 adored; 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 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 our selves, there was in king Edward's days some question moved, by reason of a few mens 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 their realm; others liking better the common-prayer book of the church of Geneva translated; those smaller contentions before begun, were by this mean somewhat increased. Under the happy reign of her majesty which now is, the greatest matter a while 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 mens writings 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 tryal be used to find out which part is in error.

3. 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 saint 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. Again afterward, Judge in your selves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered? The exercise of this kind of judgment, our Saviour requireth in the Jews. In them of Be-roca the scripture commendeth it. 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, altho the thing it self be allowable. Saint 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. 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 mens salvation necessary, either to be held or denied,

By what means so many of the people are trained unto the liking of that discipline, 1 Cor. 10. 13. & 11. 13. 1. ut. 12. 56, 57. Act. 17. 11. Rom. 14. 5.

denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause *saint 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 (tho 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 (*saieth Galen. de opti doccn. gen.*) like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all; what can be more convenient than 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 doth shew the simple where his way lieth? In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there, who seeth not how requisite it 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 himself hath appointed, That the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and that *Mal. 2. 7.* other men should seek the truth at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. *Gregory Nazianzen*, offended at the peoples too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in such cases they should have rather submitted their own, seeketh by earnest intreaty to stay them within their bounds. Presume not ye that are sheep, to make your selves guides of them that should guide you; neither seek ye to overslip the fold which they about you have pitched. It sufficeth for your part; if ye can well frame your selves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your selves, 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 peace. 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; if the priest be partial in the law; 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, tho in it self 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 tryal 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 thorowly instructed, and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dunt of the apostle's sentence against evil-speakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men; not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil policy (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, in as much 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, 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 alledged, 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 specialities will serve to lead forward mens inclinable and prepared minds. The method of winning the peoples 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

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hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established. Wherein as before by reproving faults they purchased unto themselves, with the multitude, a name to be vertuous; 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 shew of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that common-wealth; as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical (whereof also God himself, tho 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, possess 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 inducements is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of mens minds in such sort, that when they read the scripture, they may think that every thing foundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in 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, thro their misfashioned pre-conceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the 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? 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 of rule or 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 scepter, the rod, the throne and kingdom of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons; that by myssical resemblance, mount Sion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit; Samaria and Babylon, the churches which oppugn the said 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 Eldras, Nehemias, and the rest; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to fore-signify, 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 an 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.

1 John 4. 1. Dearly beloved, saith saint John, give not credit unto every spirit. There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending it self 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,

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 mens 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. After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thorowly 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 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 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 to 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 over-charge themselves, for such mens sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnesst. 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 not women loaden with sins, as the apostle saint Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness, be otherwise edified in 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 ministred for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gain by the soundness of proof, whereupon it doth build it self, 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. After they 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: after thro that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men, to be bountiful towards their preachers, who suffer want: after thro sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren: finally, after thro 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 rehearal of the words of John, We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us: 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,

2 Thess. 2. 13

Tim. 3. 6

John 4. 6

1 Cor. 27.

Acts 26. 24.

Sap. 5. 4.

We fools

thought his life

madness.

Merc. Trif. ad

Æsculap.

'Οι δὲ ἡνῶτες

ὄντες ἕτεροι

πικρὰς ἀνεί-

κας, ὅτι

πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς

μεμνημένοι ὅ

δ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ

ἀσέβεια ἐπαρ-

καύματι. vide

Lactant. de

justit. lib. 5.

cap. 16.

August. epist.

50.

cause, than of the anabaptists; when the dignity, authority, and honour of God's magistrates is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters; their answer is, God hath chosen the simple. 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. 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 blood-thirsty 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 saint Augustine writeth, saying; Martyrs, rightly so named, are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the ungoldy 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 the unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like sort, with the thieves was the Lord himself crucified, but they who were matcht in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disjoin'd. 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 bond-maid was so sharply handled. Altho 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 governours; and 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 evil; 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 your selves, 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 learnedest sort to approve the same discipline.

4. Wherefore to come unto you, whose judgment is a lanthorn of direction for all the rest; you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade my self) of a politick intent or purpose, but your selves being first overborn with the weight of greater mens 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 alledge drivers; but so, that when the same are discust, 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 alledged, for that I think the instance in any alledged 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 your selves, 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, since 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-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

hat have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very apostles times till this present age, wherein your selves 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 writeth, how altho 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 bearers 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 corruption of doctrine immediately after the apostles times, alledgeth the proverb, that there are few sons like their fathers. Socrates saith of the churches of Rome and Alexandria, 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, tho the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefeft 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 fryers, 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, endure 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, are a most fit episcopal emprise. 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 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 later, 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 lovers 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: 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 our selves 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 charge might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well born 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 anti-enter (a), 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 (b) *Oscula sancta*.

Ensch. 3. l. 32.

Lib. from. somewhat after the beginning. L. 7. cap. 11.

Phil. 4. 12.

(a) *Antiquitas ceremoniarum atque sanctorum tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis. Arn. p. 746.*

(b) *Rom. 16. 16. 2 Cor. 13. 12. 1 Thes. 5. 25. 1 Pet. 5. 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. ver. 12. *Concerning which feasts, saint Chrysostom saith, Statu diebus mensas faciebant communes, & peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibat convivium, divitiis quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis. In 1 Cor. 11. hom. 27. Of the same feasts in like sort Tertullian. Coena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: vocatur enim *agape*, id quod est penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiscunque sumptibus consistit, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum. Apol. cap. 37.*

Those (c) feasts of charity, which being 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 tythes, the device of alms-houses 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 antientest 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 intitle apostolical, was in the apostles time exercised. For at 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 compleat 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, altho it serve ye 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 chiefeft among 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 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 erect an eldership so authorised 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 publick authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration; in such an exigent I see not well, how they could have staid 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; for the like falleth out, even in questions of higher knowledge. It saith many times with

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men opinions, as with rumors 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 controversie, 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 thro 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 it self 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 quire, concerning whose deserved authority, amongst even the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move those many learned, to be followers of one man's judgment ; no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto ? your demand is answered by your selves. Loth 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. 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. This in every profession hath too much authorized the judgment 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 Vertue, and no one of them, without somewhat noted, wherein they were 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 humane frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which becometh.

Petition to
queen Mary,
pag. 14.

Eccles. 10. 1.
(11.)

5. Notwithstanding, as tho ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers ye are of tryal by some publick 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 severall parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination. The learnedst of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence, at the time of those great assemblies ; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing my self have known him to grant of scholastical courtesie 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 concurrence 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 politick, whereof if ye judge your selves 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 tryal, 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 your selves be satisfy'd, or else could by satisfying others, draw them to your party. Provided always, first, in as much 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

Their calling
for tryal by
disputation.

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not our selves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any 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 your's 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 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 chuse 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 publick action I should be loth, (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them, whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to over-rule) 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.

6. 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 it self, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions, by submitting it self 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 your selves can be persuaded to condemn your selves? 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. Ways of peaceable conclusion there are but these two certain, the one a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within our selves; 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. 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 chuse; 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.

Rom. 3. 17.

Deut. 17. 8.

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shalt thou 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 harkning unto the priest (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there) 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 be-
Acts 15.
 lieving might be saved, altho they were not circumcised after the manner of *Moses*, nor did observe the rest of thole legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound ; after great dissention 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. Are ye able to alledge any just and sufficient cause, wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy, to have your judgments over-ruled by some such definitive sentence ; whether it 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 tho angels should define otherwise, as the blessed apostle's own example teacheth : 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 your selves 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, tho 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 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 avoid 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.

Pref. tract.
de excom.
presbyt.

Matth. 23, 23.

great. The other way happily may like you better, because master Beza in his last book, save one, written about these matters, professeth himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, insomuch as he findeth that controversies thereby are made but brawls; and therefore wisheth, that in some common lawful assembly of churches, all these strifes may at once be decided. Shall there be then in the mean while no doings? Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and fidelity. 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, with 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 your 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 chuse but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the publick 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 among 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 shew against it might be made? It is meet, that when publick 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 naught. 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 publick charge and authority. As tho when publick 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 publick charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every intire society or body politick, over-rule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God being author of peace, and not of confusion in the church, must needs be author of those mens 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.

T. C. lib. 3.
p. 171.

The matter
contained in
these eight
books.

7. 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 we observe, or such as your selves would have established; when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and ques-

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tions,

tions, 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 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, for which we 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 displeasing 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 becometh 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 ecclesiastical polity, 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 specialities of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alledged, wherefore the publick 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 politick; the eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those preeminences royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travels, and presented under your view, the limbs of that cause litigious between us, the whole intire 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.

8. 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 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 mens baseness 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,

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

1 Pet. 2. 2.

Psal. 55. 13.

Pref. against
doctor Bancr.

Math. 23. 3.

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; 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, are now become our professed adversaries, because we think the statute-congregations in England, to be no true christian churches; because we have severed our selves from them; and because without their leave or licence, 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 teaching we heard, we read your writings. and tho we would, yet able we are not to forget, with what zeal ye have ever profest, that in the English congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own laws) the very publick service of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the strop 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 tied, 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 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 entred, 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 synagoge may be accounted a true church of Christ, ye 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 loth 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 chuse but acknowledge with grief, that we were, when they doing evil, we by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof; or at leastwise, 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, 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 (ye 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 scepter of Christ, the minister of God, into whose hands the Lord himself hath put that scepter, 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 false-hearted scribes and pharisees, They say, and do not. Thus the foolish barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of

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, altho 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 supream 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 tryal, 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 (sometime it hapneth) tho better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judg, 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 made unto any one of higher power; in as much as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judg 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; and of that sort, the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great, when (that therewith the son of Syrach professeth himself at the heart grieved) *men of understanding are already so little set by; 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, chuse 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 step-mother; 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, thro 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 profest? To charge you, as purposely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. On-ly therefore, I wish, that your selves 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; your selves 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 born 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 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 chuse 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. 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, altho my self have not been much 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*

Humb. motion to the L.
p. 50.

we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within our selves, 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 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 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 thro 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 meer will and stomach, doth vex and molest his brother, and trouble the country. 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 so far as against all these and the like difficulties, your answer is, 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, altho 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 farther 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 it self 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 opinions touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hindrances 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, must be rooted out; 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 commission 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, 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 truth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterwards, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance, they said, must appear by every man's fashioning his own life, contrary unto the custom 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. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof, not 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. They were sollicitors of men to fasts, to often medi-

Acts 19. 19.

Humb. motion, page 74.

Counserp. page 108.

Mat. 15. 13.

Guy de Bres cont. l'erreur des anabaptistes, page 4.

The P R E F A C E.

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tations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayers, page 16.
 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 reprov'd as being carnally and earthly-minded. Every word otherwise page 116, 120.
 than severely and sadly uttered, seem'd to pierce like a sword thorow them. If any
 man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighs to repeat those words of page 124.
 our Saviour Christ, Wo be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament. So great Luke 6. 12.
 was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives,
 they judg'd of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affect'd to
 cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other mens 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 accusom'd themselves to make no other distinction, than by numbers, the
 first, second, third day. From this they proceeded unto publick reformation, first page 40.
 ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouch'd, that them-
 selves 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 be-
 fore in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be
 brought to that antient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they
 began to controul 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 droine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicab
 as it is read or preached, 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 promis'd before should be, saying, I will put Jer. 31. 34.
 my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The book of
 God they notwithstanding for the most part so admir'd, that other disputation page 29.
 against their opinions than only by allegation of scripture they would not bear;
 besides it, they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; inso- page 27.
 much, as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects
 unto humane 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 publickly
 on fire. When they and their bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical
 opinion soever at any time entred 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 rehears'd. And for as
 much 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, it was no mar- 2 Tim. 3. 7.
 vel 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 pro-
 ceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a page 65.
 manner infinite; so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of
 whose brain was not possess'd with some special mystery. Whereupon altho their mutual page 66.
 contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to page 135.
 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, which were not so far enlightned, and professing page 25.
 a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their fwer-
 ving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified, as men page 71.
 whose vocation was from God; the rest their manner was to term disdainfully
 scribes and pharisees, to account their calling an human creature, and to detain the page 124.
 people, as much as might be, from hearing them. As touching sacraments, baptism
 administred in the church of Rome, they judg'd to be but an execrable mockery, and page 764.
 no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the papacy are wicked idolaters,
 leud persons, thieves and murderers, curs'd 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 synagoga. The custom of using god-fathers and god-mothers page 748.
 at christnings, they scorn'd. Baptism of infants, altho confess'd by themselves to page 512.
 have been continued even sithence the very apostles own times, yet they altogether page 518.
 condemn'd; partly, because sundry errors are of no less antiquity; and partly,

- Page 722. for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ, which saith, baptize infants; 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 other-wise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both, the law of Christ declareth, not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The
- Page 38. 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. In rites and ceremonies their profession was hated 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, in as much as anticrist (they said) was the first inventor of them. The pretended end of their civil reformation was, That Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and scepters 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 over-turning the seats of magistracy, because Christ hath said, Kings of nations; in abolishing the execution of justice, because Christ hath said, Resist not evil; in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial tryal, because Christ hath said, Swear not at all: finally, in bringing in community of goods, 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 mens 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 erant? With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil? Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony, 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. The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes, were most effectual; first, a wonderful shew of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even wrapt in every thing they spake: secondly, an 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 whith they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away: 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; that it was hightime for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance. Lastly, a cunning slight which they had to stroke and smoothe 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 peoples common acclamation unto such deceivers was; These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere prophets. 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 the blessed saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament, that God took away his most dear servants from them. In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they
- Page 841.
- Page 833.
- Page 849.
- Page 40.
- Laffant, de justit. lib. 5. cap. 19.
- Page 6.
- Page 420.
- Page 55.
- Page 6.
- Page 7.
- Page 7.
- Page 27.

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, ^{Page 6.} but with mighty opposition and resistance; against which, to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into a league of association. And peradventure considering, that altho they were many, yet long wars in time 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 encrease, 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 it self 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 were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be, and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by amplifying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old common-wealth of Israel; concluding, that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of Egypt of this world's servile thralldom 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, Sampsons, 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 gather'd 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; then 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 becometh 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 it self to be merciless cruelty; accounted, at the length, their own hands sanctified with being imbrued 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 ^{Page 47.} a readiness their answer, That now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promise, the meek ones must inherit the earth; and that their title ^{Matth. 5. 5.} hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians. Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh ^{Exod. 11. 2.} experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you, tho touching the sequel of your present mis-persuasions, 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 ^{Mat. in his third libel, page 23.} to

Demonstr. in
the pref.

to be in this church of England, whether her majesty and our state will or no; 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 our selves, if to bring in discipline, some such means hereafter be used, as shall cause all our hearts to ake. That things doubtful are to be construed in the better part, is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the publick state of a common-weal. 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 your selves, 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 scepter of that discipline to rule over them? Yea, even by you which have staid your selves 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 ought 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, whereunto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink it self, 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 publick resolution! Wherefore, if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded, even as ye are, have gone further upon that persuasion than ye allow; if we regard the present state of the highest governour 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 from 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 imbrace a thing of so perillous 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.

The conclu-
sion of all.

9. 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 ye 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 it self, seek not to smother it with glozing delusion, 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, should be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many, so huge volumes, as the infinite pains of saint Augustine have brought forth, what one hath
† gotten

gotten him greater love, commendation, and honour, than the book wherein he carefully collecteth his own over-sights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's, whereby his wisdom and other vertues may appear; but the glory of an ingenious mind be bath purchased by these words only, Behold, ^{Job 39. 37.} 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. 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 enjoined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembred 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, My mind leadeth me ^{Greg. Naz. in Apol.} (sith there is no other remedy) to fly and convoy my self into some corner out of sight, where I may scape from this cloudy tempest of maliciousness, whereby all parts are entred 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 others faults we observe, as matter of exprobaton, 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 altho 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-dissentions: this we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to strive, than becometh men of vertuous 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 our selves each towards other the same which Joseph, and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Ægypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof, what man sever 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.

What things are handled in the following

B O O K S.

B O O K I.

C*Concerning laws in general.*

B O O K II.

Of the use of divine law contained in scripture; whether that be the only law which ought to serve for our direction in all things, without exception?

B O O K III.

Of laws concerning ecclesiastical polity: whether the form thereof be in scripture so set down, that no addition or change is lawful?

B O O K IV.

Of general exceptions taken against the laws of our polity, as being popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches.

B O O K V.

Of our laws which concern the publick religious duties of the church, and the manner of bestowing that power of order, which enableth men in sundry degrees and callings to execute the same.

B O O K

B O O K VI.

*Of the power of jurisdiction, which the reformed platform
claimeth unto lay-elders, with others.*

B O O K VII.

*Of the power of jurisdiction, and the honour which is an-
nexed thereunto in bishops.*

B O O K VIII.

*Of the power of ecclesiastical dominion or supreme authority,
which with us the highest governour or prince hath, as
well in regard of domestical jurisdictions, as of that other
foreignly claimed by the bishop of Rome.*

OF THE LAWS OF Ecclesiastical Polity.

BOOK I.

Concerning laws, and their severall kinds in general.

The matter contained in this first book.

1. **T**HE 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. Mens 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 politick 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 mens direction.
12. The cause why so many natural or rational laws are set down in holy scripture.
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.

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 publick 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 mens 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

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The cause of writing this general discourse.

heavy

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 before-hand, usually take against that which they are loth 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 founded 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 it self 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 it self oftentimes not seen. The stanceliness of houses, the goodliness of trees, when we behold them, delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministrereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed; and if there be occasion at any time 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 do it, the pains we take are more needful a great deal than 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 scepter of his discipline. Behold therefore, we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general tryal 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 laid clean 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 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.

2. 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

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

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 that 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 altho to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our foundest 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. Our God is one, or rather very oneness, and mere unity, having nothing but it self in it self, 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, thro 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, altho in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned among the very heathens themselves, have all acknowledg'd 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 by what means* eth, observeth in working a most exact *order or law*. Thus much is signify'd by that which *Homer* mentioneth, (a) Διὸς δ' ἐπελείετο βουλὴ. Thus much acknowledg'd by *Mercurius Trismegistus*, (b) Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησαν ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confess'd by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *intellectual worker*. *Filator* made the whole world, not with hands, but by reason. *Stob.* in *Eclog. Phys.* (c) Proceed by a certain and a set way in the making of the world. Thus much is us'd, *reason* follow'd, a *way* observ'd, that is to say, constant *order* and *law* is kept, whereof it self must needs be author unto it self: otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not it self be the first; being the first, it can have no other than it self to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself he is a law in all those things 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 created. *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone;* Gen. 2. 18. therefore let us make an 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 propos'd, 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 which it worketh, even all things, *χρῆσις*, in most decent and comely sort, all things in *measure, number, and weight.* Sapi. 8. 1. The general end of God's eternal working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue: which abundance doth shew it self in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in scripture express'd by the name of *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, in as much as there is a law impos'd 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, in as much

Ephes. 1. 11.

as he worketh all things, κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς θελήματι 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 with most perfect beauty, the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning her self, *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 whereof, which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore, that according to this law he worketh, *of whom, thro whom, and for whom, are all things;* altho 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. The law whereby he worketh, is eternal, and therefore can have no flesh or colour of mutability. For which cause, a part of that law being open'd 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 of the will of God any whit abated, let, or hindred, 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.*

Rom. 11. 36.
Boet. lib. 4. de
consol. philof.

2 Tim. 2. 13.
Heb. 6. 17.

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

3. 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 kind 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 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 eternal law?* So that a twofold law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in (d) all things. Wherefore to come

(d) Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ. Th. 1. 1. 2. q. 93. art. 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, à quo pax universitatis administratur. August. de civit. Dei, lib. 19. c. 22. Immo et peccatum, quatenus à Deo jussu permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subijciuntur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio poenalem quoddam incommodum anima inferit, juxta illud Augustini, Iussisti Domine, & sic est, ut poena sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. Confess. lib. 1. cap. 12. Nec male sibi-lectici. Quemadmodum, inquit, videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod à fine particulari suo, atque adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipsis in casu particulari constitutum: sic verisimile est, homines etiam cum peccant, & deficiunt à lege æternâ ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.

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 travel 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 heavens 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 travel, pain, or labour? Surely, it seemeth that *Moses* had herein, besides this, a further purpose; namely, first to teach that God did not work as a necessary, but a voluntary agent, intending before-hand, and decreeing with himself, that which did outwardly proceed from him. Secondly, to shew that God did then institute a law natural to be observ'd by creatures; and therefore according to the manner of laws, the institution thereof is describ'd, as being establish'd 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. The world's first creation, and the preferation 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 order'd, that after a law is once publish'd, 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 hearkned 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, tho it were but for a while, 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 it self; 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 Psal. 19. 9. heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, thro 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 disorder'd and confus'd 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 wither'd 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? notwithstanding, with nature it cometh sometimes to pass as with art. Let *Phidias* have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, tho 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, Ποῦν τὸ ἔχοντα φύσιν ἐστὶν ἀναγκαστὸν τὸ αἰετὶν *Theophrast.* in *Metaph.* 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, observ'd 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 reveal'd unto his church, was above the reach of their merely natural capacity and understanding. But however, these swervings are now and then incident into the course of nature; nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observ'd, 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.

Ariff. Rhet. 1.
cap. 39.

Τὸ πρῶτον
μὲν ἡ φύσις
ἐκαστοῦ ὁρ-
μᾶται εἰς τὴν
τοῦ μὲν ὅσον
ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν
ὁ πρῶτος
ὁ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων
μὲν ὁρμᾶται
εἰς τὴν
τοῦ μὲν ὅσον
ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν
ὁ πρῶτος
ὁ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων

Acts 17. 28.

(e) Form in o-
ther creatures
is a thing pro-
portionable un-
to the soul in
living crea-
tures. Sen-
sible it is not,
nor other wise
discernible
than only by
effects. Ac-
cording to the
diversity of
inward forms,
things of the
world are dis-
tinguished into
their kinds.

Vide Tho. in
Concord.
Theol. cap. 3.
Cum quod mo-
vetur ab aliquo,
est quasi instru-
mentum quo l-
dam primi me-
reus. Ridi-
culum est autem
eriam apud in-
doctos ponere,
instrumentum
moveri non ab
aliquo princi-
pali agente.

manner. If here it be demanded, what this 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. Altho 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: altho we rather embrace the oracle of *Hippocrates*, *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 tho they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not discern the things which they look on*: nevertheless, for as much 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 her self working, but in the guide of nature's work. 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 (e) forms 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 mean while, tho 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 apprehend 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 by the name of *providence*. The same being referred unto the things themselves, here disposed by it, was wont by the antients to be called *natural destiny*. That law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authenticall, 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; in the course whereof, *Dionysius* perceiving some sudden disturbance, is said to have cryed out, *Aut Deus natura patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvitur*: either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater than himself hindred; 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 others 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 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 others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole,

before

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 center of the earth, which to it self is most natural, even as if it did hear it self commanded to let go the good, it privately wisherth, and to relieve the present distress of nature in common.

4. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the foot-stool 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 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, 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 will for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more, 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 especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God, in admiration of so great excellency, they all adore him; and being wrapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness, maketh them unweariable and even unfatiable 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 paimins 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; 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, 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. 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. A part of the angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fall hath been thro the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue. 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 it self, 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 adoration, love and imitation of God,

Joh. 8. 44.
 1 Pet. 5. 8.
 Apoc. 9. 11.
 Gen. 3. 15.
 1 Chro. 21. 1.
 & 2. 2.
 John 13. 27.
 Acts 5. 3.
 Apoc. 20. 8.

God, could not chuse 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 amongst the minerals, dens and caves that are under the earth; they have, by all means, laboured to effect an universal rebellion against the laws, and, as far as in them lieth, utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens 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.

The law
 whereby man
 is in his actions
 directed to the imita-
 tion of God.

Πάντα ὅσα ἐ-
 νταῖς ἀγγέ-
 λαι. *Arist.* de
 An. lib. 1. cap.
 4.

5. 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. Again, since 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 it self another way; that is, by off-spring 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 risen a number of axioms in philosophy, shewing, *how the*

Ἐν τοῖς φύσι
 οἷς τὸ βέλπον,
 ἑὰν ἐπιδέξῃται
 ἀπαρχὴν
 μέλλον ἡ φύσις
 αὐτοῖ ποιεῖ τὸν
 ἐνδεχόμενον
 τὸ βέλπον.
Arist. 2. de
 Cael. cap. 5.
 Mat. 5. 48.
 Sap. 7. 27.
 Ἡ δὲ ποικίλη
 ἰστορία κλέου
 ἀνθρώπων ἐχει
 ὁμοίαν, ὑπομι-
 νουσα τὸ πέν-
 τας ἀνθρώπων,
 καὶ λόγους καὶ
 ἔργους πάντας
 ἀπομιμούμενα,
 μιμουμένη αὐ-
 τὴς τὰ πάθη.

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 it self, desired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the 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, tho not gods, yet as gods, high, admirable and divine? And *Mercurius Trismegistus* speaking of the virtues of a righteous soul, *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.*

Mens first be-
 ginning to
 grow to the
 knowledge of
 that law
 which they
 are to observe.
vide Isai. 7.
 16.

6. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels of God, and the children of men, this difference: angels already have full and compleat 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

ready 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 dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength, or durability of being; and plants, tho' 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 an 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 hability, whereof in them there is no shew at all, the ability of reaching * higher than unto sensible things. * Ο ὃ ἀνθρώπου πῶς εἰς τὸ ἀνεγνώσκειν διὰ βαρύνει, καὶ μεταφέρει αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ποῦα ἰδὼ ἔστιν αὐτῶ ἀφ' ἡμᾶς, πῶτα οὐ παρὸν, καὶ οὐ ἀλλὰ πῶτα ἐκείνῳ. πῶς μεταφέρει. Καὶ τὸ πᾶν πᾶν μὴ ὅσον ἐστὶν πᾶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀναγνώσκειται. Met. Tr. Aristotelical demonstration.

Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the soul of man doth only store it self with conceits of things of inferior or more open quality, which afterwards do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the mean while, 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 hyperbolicall, 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. In the poverty of that other new devised aid, two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as quick 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 find 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 gold, to teach what degree of the one will serve to purify the other, so well as the artizan (which doth this by fire) discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

7. 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 it self 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 it self, 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 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. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeness

Of man's will, which is the thing that laws of action are made to guide. Ephes. 4. 23.

Sallust.

Math. 6. 2.

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 it self 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 incline it self thereunto as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth over-sway. 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 it self if reason were diligent to search it out. Thro the neglect thereof, abused we are with the shew of that which is not; sometimes the subtilty of satan inveigling us, as it did *Eve* (a); sometimes the hastiness of our wills preventing the more considerate advice of sound reason, as in the (b) 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, (c) *O Jerusalem, how often, and thou wouldst 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 being weakned wherewithal the soul (especially in reasoning) doth work, it preferreth rest in ignorance before wearisom 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 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.*

8. 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 chuse 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 mens 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. For he that knoweth what is frait, doth even thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straitness in bodies capable thereof is crookedness. Goodness in actions is like unto straitness; wherefore that which is done well, we term right. For as the frait 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

(a) 2 Cor. 11. 3.
(b) Luke 9. 54.
(c) Mat. 23. 37.
* Sap. 9. 15.
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 earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before us. Who can then seek out the things that are in heav'n? Ephes. 5. 14.
Heb. 12, 1, 12.
1 Cor. 16. 13.
Prov. 2. 4.
Luke 13. 24.

Of the natural way of finding out laws by reason, to guide the will unto that which is good.

Τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ χρημίστην ἐνὶ σώματι καὶ ἐνὶ αἵματι καὶ ἐνὶ οὐρανῷ. Αἰν. lib. 1.

men, a name expressing both beauty and goodness; because goodness in ordinary speech is for the most part apply'd only to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodness, do here imply both. And of discerning goodness, there are but these two ways; 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, altho 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 over-ruled 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 it self, is notwithstanding now by reason of common imbecility, the fitter and likelier to be brooked. Signs and tokens to know good by are of fundry 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 times 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 overfen. 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 altho 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 that discourse: for of things necessarily and naturally done, there is no more affirmed but this, (a) *They keep either always, or for the most part, one tenure.* The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself: (b) for that which all men have at all times learned, nature her self must needs have taught; 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, altho we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The apostle St. Paul having speech concerning the heathen, faith of them, (c) *They are a law unto themselves.* 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 to 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 object 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 it self 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.* 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 of 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

Καλοῦ καὶ
ἀγαθοῦ.

(a) *H δὲ ἡ
ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἀγαθοῦ ἐκτείνεται.
Arist. Ethic.
l. 1. c. 39.

(b) Non potest
error contingere
ubi omnes
idem opinan-
tur. Monticat.
in 1. Polit.

Quæquid in
consensu indi-
viduis unius
speciei com-
muniter inest,
id causam
communem ha-
beat oportet,
quæ est eorum
individuum
speciei et natu-
ræ. Idem.

Quod à tota
aliqua specie
fit, universalis
particularibus
naturæ fit in-
finitum. Ficin.
de Christ. Rel.

Si proficere
cupis, primo
firmè id ve-
rum puta quod
sana mens om-
nium homi-
num attesta-
tur. Cula in
Compend.
cap. 1.

Non licet na-
turale univer-
saleque homi-
num iudicium
falsum vanum-
que existimare.
Telef.

*Οὐδὲ πᾶσι
δοκεῖ, τῶν
ἐναισθησέων.

*Οὐδὲ πάντες
πάντων τῶν
αἰσθησέων
αἰσθάνονται.
Arist. Ethic.
lib. 10. cap. 2.

(c) Rom. 2.
14.

Ἄνευ λόγου
ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ
ἀναίσθητου
καὶ ἀλογισ-
του. Theoph.
in Metaph.

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 compass'd, yet still to rejoice and delight in them: surely this could never stand with reason; but that wisdom thus prescribing 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 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 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 sake fall into. 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 farther proof, are such as these, *God to be worshipped; parents to be honoured; others* Mat. 16. 25. *to be used by us, as we our selves would be by them.* Such things, as soon as they are alledged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further discourse to be assured of their goodness. 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 discernable, not only so far forth as serveth for our vital preservation, but further also in a twofold 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 it self, 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, in as much 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 our selves, 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 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. 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 (a) as unto children, and unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himself is the (b) principal cause, these axioms and laws natural concerning our duty have arisen: (c) *That in all things we go about, his aid is by prayer to be craved:* (d) *That he cannot have sufficient honour done unto him; but the uttermost of that we can do to honour him, we must;* which is in effect the same that we read, (e) *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 (f) *the first, and the great commandment.* Touching the next, which, as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, in as much as it is the root out of which all laws of duty to mankind have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God) the like na-

ἵνα ὅταν καὶ ἐν βραχὺ σαφενῶς ἡμεῖς ἴδωμεν, ὅτι πῶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾷμεν. Plat. in Tim. (d) 'Αλλ' ὅσον δύναται καὶ ὡς ψυχὴν σου ἀγαπᾷ. Plat. in Thea. (e) 'Ὅσον δύναται καὶ ὡς ψυχὴν σου ἀγαπᾷ. Plat. in Thea. (f) 'Αλλ' ὅσον δύναται καὶ ὡς ψυχὴν σου ἀγαπᾷ. Plat. in Thea.

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 with unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless my self 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 our selves, and them that are as our selves, what several Rules and canons natural reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, (g) *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*, 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 specialities are dependent. 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 it self is absolutely good or evil; as it had been for *Joseph* to yield or not to yield to the impotent desire of his leud 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 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 latitude 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 oftentimes 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. 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 her self doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole world. The works of nature are all behevoful, 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*. 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 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 travel 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 it self 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 befeeming or unbecfeeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do. Now,

(g) *Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse.* lib. in arenam C. de inof. test. *Quod quisque caris in aliam flauerit, ipsam quæque eodem vi debere.* lib. quod quisque. *Ab omni penitus in iura atque in res abstinentiam.* lib. 1. sect. 1. *Quod vi aut clam.* Mat. 22. 40. On these two commandments hangeth the whole law. Gen. 39. 9. Mark 10. 4. Acts 4. 37. & 5. 4. 2 Thess. 3. 8.

Οὐ γὰρ τι
 ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
 ποσὶ Σὴ τῷτο
 κ' ἔδειξ' οἶδε
 ἔξ ἔτασαν.
 Soph. Ajax.

altho it be true, which some have said, that whatsoever is done amiss, the law of nature and reason thereby is transgress'd, 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 Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 3. Connit peccata sunt in univ. sum contra naturam legem. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 12. cap. 1. Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est. De doct. chr. lib. 3. cap. 14. 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 it self; 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 it self 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 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 extinguisbeth all heinous crimes: refer it to the love of thy neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it banisbeth 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 leud 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 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 like unto them, and so are all that trust in them.* That wherein an idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish, is by the wiseman thus expres'd, *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 worshipped as a god, ordaining to his servants ceremonies and sacrifices.* Thus by process 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 encreasing their superstition. Unto this which the wiseman 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 darkned, and being strangers from the life of God, thro 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

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.

The benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.

9. 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 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 it self. 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 it self 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, *Tribulation and anguish unto every soul that doth 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 our selves, 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, tho not thro outward force and impulsion, tho 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 our selves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and alledgeth that his wits were not his own; in as much 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, tho we may sometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward, the other simply an 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.* By these and the like rules, mens actions are determin'd of and judg'd, 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 since every man's heart and conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and known to none but it self, either like or disallow it self, 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, saying 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; altho 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 man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but divine punishment.

Voluntate sub-
lata, omnem
actum parem
esse lib. fædifi-
ciam, de
adult. Bonam
voluntatem
plerumque pro
facto reputari.
I. si quis in tes-
tament.

Divos castè
adeunto, piete-
rem adhibento.
Qui secus faxit,
Deus ipse vin-
dix erit.

Gen. 5.

2 Pet. 2. 5.

Arist. Polit.
lib. 3, & 4.Arist. Polit.
lib. 1, cap. 3.
Vide & Platonem
in 3. de
legibus.

(1) Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugebant virtute præstantem, qui cum prohiberet injuriâ tenuiores, æquitate constituenda summus cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ. Cic. Offic. lib. 2. ὃ νόμος πῶτον ἐξ ὁρίων ἐστίν, καὶ τοῖς ἐνέχουσιν χάριν ἀνδρόθεσι, ἰσότηα καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐστῆσαν πρὸς ἀνδράδας οἱ γυμνασμένοι νόμοι τοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἰσότης ἀρχαῖος ἐκ κοινῆς νόμου νομίζεσθαι. Arist. Rhet. ad Alex.

(2) Iamta est enim rei voluptatum, ut & ignorantia pretulit in occasionem, & consuetudinem corruptat in dissimulationem. Tertul. lib. 2. de statul.

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 publick 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. 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 publick, 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 was offer'd, 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, in as much 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, altho 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 mens more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary. 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 politick 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 usurp'd, 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 chieftest person in every household was always as it were a king, so when numbers of households join'd themselves in civil societies together, kings were the first kind of governments amongst them. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason why the name of *father* continu'd still in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as also the ancient custom of governours to do as *Melchisedec*, 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 receiv'd in the world. The inconveniencies of one kind have caus'd sundry other to be devised. So that, in a word, all publick 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 consider'd by it self, but that men might have liv'd without any publick regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presuppos'd, 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 publick 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 approv'd, 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 fore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will, became the cause of all mens misery. This constrain'd them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. (b) If things be simply good or

evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for such things. The first kind therefore of things appointed by laws human containeth whatsoever being in it self 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 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. 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 kind 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 publick 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 forc'd 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 obedience unto laws dependeth upon this point. Let a man, tho 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 a 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 apply'd 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 politick 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 publick 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, altho we be not personally our selves 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 our selves 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 receiv'd long sithence, and is by custom now establish'd, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet, what consent was ever thereunto fought or requir'd at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politick 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 publick 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 hercof to be, the sundry particular ends wherunto 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 so far 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 publick good, where such disorder was grown, to frame a positive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known laws of 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 kind 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 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 whomsoever 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 offer'd 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 observ'd concerning the difference of positive laws, which to be every where the same, is impossible, and against their nature. 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 politick 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 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 prevail'd 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, as beasts void of reason, they corrupted themselves*: or if there be no such special accident, yet so far 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: 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 *mixt*, 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

Arif. Polit.
lib. 2. cap. ult.

Standsf. Preface
to the
pleas of the
crown.

Jud. ver. 10.
Οι σαρκοὶ αὐ-
τῶν καὶ μάλλιν
ἢ λίγῳ σπι-
δαρχίᾳ καὶ
ζημίαις ἢ πῶ-
κα.
Arif.
Eth. lib. 10.
cap. 10.

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 it self 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, *wo*. Whereas now, which soever be received, there is no law of reason transgress'd; 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. Laws, whether mixtly or merely human, are made by politick societies; some only, as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually join'd, 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 touch'd the force where-with 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 politick society, there is a third kind of law which toucheth all such several bodies politick, so far forth as one of them hath publick 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, for as much as with them we can use no such conference, they being in degree, altho above other creatures on earth, to whom nature hath deny'd 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 satisfy'd, 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 common-wealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural desire in us, (a manifest token that we wish, after a sort, an universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yet to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for traffick'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. 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 and duties, are not sufficient, but require the access of other laws now, that man and his off-spring are grown thus corrupt and sinful: again, as those laws, of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in publick society together with that harmless disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve, when mens 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 traffick, 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 law-

Isaiah 10. 1.

Arist. Polit. 1.
CAP. 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. Tusc. 5.
&c. 1. de Legib.1 Kings 10. 1.
2 Chron. 9. 1.
Math. 13. 42.
Luke 11. 31.

fully 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 politick, doth therefore over-rule each several part of the same body; so there is no reason that any one commonwealth of it self 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. 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; a thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author; a thing practised by the holy apostles themselves; a thing always afterwards kept and observ'd thro-out 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 reduc'd to that first perfection, than in regard of stains and blemishes thence 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, 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 resolv'd; 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 instance gave, as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renew'd, 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. 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.

11. All things (God only excepted) besides the nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. Inasmuch, 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 or 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 altho we desire for it self, as health, and virtue, and knowledge; nevertheless, they are not the last mark whereto we aim, but have their further end wherunto they are referred: so as in them we are not satisfy'd, as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are link'd, and as it were chain'd 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 unto a future harvest: but we must come at length to some pause. For if every thing

were

*Joseph. lib. 2.
contra Ap-
pion.
Theod. lib. 9.
de sanand.
Græc. affect.*

Ephes. 4. 5.

Acts 15. 28.

John 14. 27.

Wherefore
God hath by
scripture fur-
ther made
known such
supernatural
laws, as do
serve for
mens directi-
on.

*Gal. 6. 8.
He that sow-
eth to the spi-
rit, shall of the
spirit reap life
everlasting.*

were to be desir'd for some other, without any stint, there could be no certain end propos'd 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 desir'd for it self simply, and for no other: that is, simply for it self desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desir'd 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 desir'd for it self. But why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for it self, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be refer'd 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 it self, towards that, his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desir'd altogether for it self, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who plac'd their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or any thing here attain'd, because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss. Nothing may be infinitely desir'd, but that good which indeed is infinite: for the better, the more desirable; that therefore 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 desir'd. No good is infinite but only God; therefore he is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendereth 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 things wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfy'd even with everlasting delight: so that altho 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 it self is to be desir'd, 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

Vide Arij.
Ethic. lib. 10.
c. 10. & Me-
taph. 1. 12.
cap. 6. &
cap. 4. &
cap. 30.

fundry * imperfections, grief 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

* Μόρον δ' Ασκήσεις τὸ ὄνομα τῶ ἀγαθῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον ὠδυμῶ. Τὸ μὴ λίαν κρῶν, ἐνδεδεῖ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ. Τὸ δ' ἐν-
θουσιᾶ ἀγαθόν, μωροῖον τὴ καλῇ τὸ ἐλάττωον. Ἀδυνατοῦν ἐν τῷ
ἀγαθῷ ἐνδεδεῖ κατὰ φύσιν τὴ κακίαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἡδέειν ἔχει τῷ θυμῷ
τῷ εἰς τὸν νοῦν βαλόντι πλεονεξίας τῶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐπὶ ἀδυνατοῦν εἶναι
αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος ἀπληροῦται ὡς τὴ κακίαν, ὁ δ'
θεὸς ἀγαθός, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεῶ. Merc. Trif.

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 compleat. Compleat 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 who so 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 unobtain'd, so likewise upon the same hereafter received it shall work also by love.

Appetitus inbians fit amor fruentis, saith St. Aug. *de Trin.*
lib. 9. c. ult.
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 it self; 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. Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our blessedness is termed a *crown* *Mat. 25.*
which withereth not, doth neither depend on the nature of the thing it self, nor proceed from any natural necessity that our souls should so exercise themselves for ever in be-
The just shall go into life everlasting.
Mat. 22.
They shall be as the angels of God.
2 Tim. 4. 8.
1 Pet. 1. 4.
holding 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 thy self the inheritance of his rest, and the substance of his felicity? Now, if men had not naturally this desire to be hap-

Psalm 8.

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py, 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 sensual, consisting in those things which very life it self 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 further 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 intente 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 altho 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 claim and call for a more divine perfection than either of these two that have been mentioned. This last and

(a) Mat. 5. 12. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.

Aug. de Doct. Christi. cap. 6. Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur.

(b) Ambros. contra Sym.

(c) Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrina penitus dedidissent, quicquid

laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus et privatis et publicis actionibus) ad inquirenda veritatis studium contulerunt, existimantes multo esse preclarior humanarum divinarumque rerum investigare ac scire rationem, quam fruendi opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhaerere. Sed neque adepti sunt id quod volebant, et operam simul atque industriam perdididerunt: 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 aeterna cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio divina nosceteret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiae regerentem diutius aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, et nationem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut et humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, et erranti ac vago viam consequenda immortalitatis ostenderet. Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 1.

riches,

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 handywork 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 it self should look into the bosom of divine reason; God did not suffer him, being desirous of the light of wisdom, to stray any longer up and down, and with bootless expence 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 denative, to the end that man might both be clearly convicted of folly; and being thro error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him. 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 (d) wittiest of the school-divines, that if we speak of strict justice, God could no way have been bound to requite man's labours in so large and ample a manner as human felicity doth import; in as much as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the others 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 becometh 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, tho 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 it self upon the guiltiness of sin, and thro 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, 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 prescrib'd, our Saviour in the gospel of saint *John* doth note, terming it 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 nothing, 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 remov'd, 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

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(d) Scot. lib. 4. Sent. dist. 49. 6. Loquendo de strictâ iustitiâ Deus nulli nostrum propter quacunq; merita est debitor perfectionis reddenda tam intense, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam premium tali quidem iustitiâ qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogantis in premiis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessario, quod per illam iustitiâ sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam premium, imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

John 14. 6.

John 6. 29.

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 reveal'd? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernaturally receiv'd 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.

12. When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless. The law of God therefore is, tho principally deliver'd for instruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other also. The scripture is fraught even with laws of nature, inasmuch that * *Gratian* 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 vain that the scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws in this kind: for they are either such as we of our selves 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 endu'd 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 it self more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be clear'd, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most fruitful use and profit many ways for mens 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 imbecillity, 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. Again, being so prone as we are to sawn upon our selves, and 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

cur'd, 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, tho 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 it self; are there not many which few mens 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 subtlest 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

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having

The cause why so many natural or rational laws are set down in holy scripture.

* *Jus naturale est quod in lege & evangelio continetur*, p. 1. d. 1.

* *Joseph. lib. secundo contra Appium. Lacedemonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitalitatem reprehendi, sedumque neglectum nuptiarum? Ilenses vero & Thebani ob coitum cum masculis plane impudentem & contra naturam, quem recte & iustiter exerceere putabant? Cumque hec omnia perpetrarunt, etiam sui legibus misere. Vid. Th. 1. 2. q. 49. 4. 5. 6. Lex natura sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut incestum non reputarent peccatum. August. (aut quisquis auctor est) lib. de quaest. nov. & vet. test. Quis nesciat quid bene vita 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 iudicium omnes audirent: Non quod penitus oblitterata esset, sed quia maxima ejus auctoritate carebat, idololatriam funderetur, timor Dei in terris erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data ergo lex est, ut qua sciebantur auctoritatem haberent, & qua latere cuperant, manifestarentur.*

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

13. 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 saint *John*, how often express charge is given, *scribe, write these things?* Concerning the rest of our Lord's disciples, the words of saint *Augustine* are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit*. Now, altho we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; altho writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto; finally, tho 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 other where 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 convey'd than that which spreadeth it self 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 thro 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. How miserable had the state of the church of God been long e'er 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 things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be sav'd; 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, tho 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

The benefit of having divine laws written

Exod. i. 4.

Hof. 8. 12.

Apoc. i. 11.

& 14. 13.

Aug. lib. 1. de

Conf. Evan.

cap. ult.

* I mean those historical matters concerning the antient 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 shew of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

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. *Utrum cognitio supernaturalis necessaria vniuersi, sit sufficienter tradita in sacra scriptura?* This question proposed by Scotus, is affirmatively concluded.

14. Altho the scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, altho 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. 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 call'd, 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 confess'd impossible for the scripture it self to teach. Whereunto we may answer with truth, that there is not in the world any art or science, which proposing unto it self 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 before-hand 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 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 as necessary 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, instance hath 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 no 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 surmized. 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, alledge 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

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fible 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 preeminence above that which passeth from hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no book 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, (a) natural, (b) historical, (c) foreign, (d) supernatural, so much as the matter ^{(a) Ephes. 5. 29.} handled requireth. Now for as much as there have been reasons alledged sufficient to conclude that all things necessary unto salvation must be made known, and that God himself ^{(b) 2 Tim. 3. 8.} hath therefore revealed his will, because otherwise men could not have known so much ^{(c) Tit. 1. 12.} 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. The main drift of the whole new testament is that which saint 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,* ^{Joh. 20. 31.} *and that in believing, ye might have life thro his name.* The drift of the old, that which the apostle mentioned to Timothy, *The holy scriptures are able to make thee wise* ^{2 Tim. 3. 15.} *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 thro 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 since 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* ^{2 Tim. 3. 14.} *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, *thro the faith which is in Christ.* Wherefore 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 unto 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, altho unwritten, yet the self-same force

Whitakerus
adversus Bel-
larmin. quat.
6. cap. 6.

force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *that the apostles did in every church 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, altho 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.

Of laws positive contained in scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of scripture.

15. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a publick society upon the particulars thereof; or by all the nations of men upon every severall 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 paid unto men, and the vows we have made unto God; for these are laws which we tie our selves unto, and till we have so tied our selves they bind us not. Laws positive in the second kind, are such as the civil constitutions, which are 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 altho 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 it self 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 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; in as much 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 our selves 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; altho as it is a society, it have the self-same original grounds which other politick 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 heathens; 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 politick society, or to men as they are of that politick 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 it self in this world, is subject unto; all laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea, altho 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 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 awhile 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.

Iſa. 29. 13.
Their ſear towards me was taught by the precept of men.

any way set forward unto the tryal of that whereof there is doubt made ; I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, tho a less easy, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propose. Left 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 reasonable 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 ; in as much as they all concur as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, altho 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. 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. 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 duriful 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 it self, *Bye 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 it self to the world by them, when the laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, altho 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 actions 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 alledge, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things natural ; *No man bateth 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 spiritual actions of men, and consequently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever. 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 others more perfect direction. Would angels acknowledge themselves fellow-servants with the sons of men, but that 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

Jam. 1. 17.

Arist. Phys.
l. 1. cap. 1.Arist. Ethic.
10. τὸ κείναι
ἀγθὸς κρίνον.
Intelligit de
legum qualitate
judicium.

Prov. 8. 15.

Ephes. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

1 Pet. 1. 12.
Ephes. 3. 10.
1 Tim. 5. 21.

far hath the apostle saint *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 we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the church of God. Our largeness of speech how men do find out what things reason bindeth them of necessity to observe, and what it guideth them to chuse 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 distinguish'd. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politick, 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 purpose 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 publick society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy, but we must add yet a farther law. For altho, 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 publick 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 inforce, 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 publick determinations over-ruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than our selves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are at this present day so rent with mutual 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 mens actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politick 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. 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 wildernes by themselves. The cause of which their disposition to 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

1 Cor. 11. 10.

Psal. 148. 7, 8, 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

Rom. 13. 1.

Πολιτις δὲ ἐστὶν
 ὁ μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 οὗτος τῆς ἀρετῆς
 συντακτικὸς νόμος
 ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος
 ἀδυνατών.
 Αἰσθ. Ethic.
 lib. 1. cap. 3.

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 shew 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 publick should take place, they breed disturbance. For the better insuring 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 shall take place. To seek no

Job 24. 3.
Psal. 145. 15,
16.

further, let but that be considered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are 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 has 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 our selves 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. 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 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 it self to be that way guided, which the publick judgment of the church hath thought better. In which case, that of *Zonaras* concerning fasts may be remembered. *Fastings*

"Οτι ε καλόν
το καλόν, όταν
μή καλώς γί-
νεται. Zonar.
in can. apost.
66.

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. 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, 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 howeven one and the self-same thing is under divers considerations conveyed thro 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, tho each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

Acts 15. 20.

OF THE
L A W S
OF
Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K 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. **A**n answer to their first proof brought out of scripture, Prov. 2. 9.
 2. To their second, 1 Cor. 10. 31.
 3. To their third, 1 Tim. 4. 5.
 4. To their fourth, Rom. 14. 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 mens actions and persuasions.
 8. A declaration what the truth is in this matter.
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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 disliked in this church) they 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 our selves) injuriously blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the same, and instead thereof to establish a much worse; only thro a strong misconceit they have, that the same is grounded on divine authority. Now, whether it be that thro 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 discuss'd by reason than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch an heap is made:

surely, as now we have drawn them together, chusing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discuss'd, and omitting such mean specialities 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 examin'd, 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) any where in other churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determin'd ; 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 to 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 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 consider'd of the action, shall in that respect be condemn'd 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. Prov. 2. 6. 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 equity, and every good way.*

Psal. 119. 95.

1. 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 sake endeavour to unrrip 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 with-hold 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 alledge, *that wisdom doth teach men every good way* ; 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 to 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 our selves 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

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to that of (a) St. Paul, 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 diversly 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 inspirith 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.

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 an 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.

2. That *all things be done to the glory of God*, 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 be perhaps a question, whether saint 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.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that saint Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with 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 alledged to the contrary, God may be glorify'd by obedience, and obey'd 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, altho no special clause or sentence of scripture be in every such action set before mens 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 manyes, that they may be saved.* 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 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 saint Peter exhorted to have their *conversation honest among the gentiles, that they which speak evil of them as of 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 heathens 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

(a) 2 Tim. 3. 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 made perfect unto all good works. He meaneth all and only those

The second proof out of scripture, 1 Cor. 10. 31. T. C. l. p. 26. Saint 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.

1 Pet. 2. 12.

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 mens actions. Most certain it is, that nothing but only sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorify him in all things, is to do 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 hindred; nothing whereby his law is transgressed. But the question is, whether only scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in?

3. And tho 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 before-hand 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.

4. 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. *Tho* (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 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 (a) it is granted that *saint Paul* doth mean nothing else by *faith*, but only *a full persuasion that that which we do is well done*; against which kind of faith or persuasion, as *saint Paul* doth count it sin to enterprize any thing, (b) so likewise some of the very heathen have taught, 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, altho the only ground of 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

Rom. 1. 34.

1 Cor. 10. 32.
Rom. 2. 23.

The third
scripture
proof, 1 Tim.
4. 5, and that
which *saint*
Paul said of
meats and
drinks, that
they are sanc-
tified unto us
by the word
of God, the
same is to be
understood of
all things
else whatso-
ever we have
the use of.
T. C. l. 1. p. 26.
1 Tim. 4.

The fourth
scripture
proof, Rom.
14. 23.
T. C. l. 1. p. 27.

Psal. 19. 8.
Apo. 3. 14.
2 Cor. 1. 18.

John 10. 38.
John 20. 25.

(a) And if
any will say,
that *saint Paul*
meaneth there
a persuasion
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 per-
suade and as-
sure our selves
that we do

well, but whereas we have the word of God for our warrant? T. C. l. 1. p. 27. (b) What alſo that some even of those heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubtst 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 thro faith to give them assurance and resolution in their doings. T. C. l. 1. p. 60.

well

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*, faith our Saviour. What scripture had *Tully* for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who alledge him, think he did well to set down in 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; our selves 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 whercon 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 assur'd that scripture is a sacred and holy rule of well-doing. On which determination we might be contented to stay our selves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger speech by reason of their so great earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alledged 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, so far 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 enquire 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 it self 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 remove the indifference that such things have in themselves. Their indifference 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 indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as swines flesh. Impossible therefore it is that we should otherwise think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the same he permitteth them 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. Now in things, altho 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 thro 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 had 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 scriptures 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 enquire 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 chusing any one of them before another, we sin, if any thing but scripture direct us into this our choice. When many means are set before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as most convenient. If scripture require me so

John 20. 29.

R.C. 1. 2. p. 58.

Acts 5.

Exod. 28. 33. 34.
Levit. 11.

1 Cor. 6. 12.

to

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, Sem, 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 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 mens 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 for 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 alledge commonly, but not only. Only scripture they should have alledged, had they been thus persuaded, that so far forth we do sin as we do any thing otherwise directed than by scripture. Saint *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 saint *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.

The first assertion endeavoured to be proved by the use of taking arguments negatively from the authority of scripture; which kind of disputing is usual in the fathers.

5. 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*. 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 alledged 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 catholick 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 farther 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. Saint *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.* In like sort *Tertullian*, *We may not give our selves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor chuse 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 deliver'd faithfully unto the people; in which place the name of discipline importeth not,*

Aug. cont. liter.
Petil. l. 3. c. 6.

Tertul. de præ
script. advers.

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. *Augustine* saith, *Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his church, &c.* And left 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 embued with the heresy of *Montanus*, giveth testimony unto the discipline in these words, *We may not give our selves, &c.*

as they who alledge 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 farther, doth not saint *Jerom*, 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 saint *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 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 alledged words of *Cyprian*, *The christian religion shall find, that out of this scripture rules of all doctrines have sprung, and that from hence doth spring, and thither 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: *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*

Hierom. contra Helvid.

Hilar. in Psal.
132.

T. C. l. 1. p. 8.
Let him hear what *Cyprian* saith, *The christian religion (saith he) shall find, that, &c.*

Verū hoc man-
datum legem
complectitur
prophetas, &
in hoc verbo
scripturarum volu-
mina coarctantur.

Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamant auctoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit consummationem omnis religio. Primum est hoc mandatum & ultimum, hoc in libro vite conscriptum indeficientem, & hominibus, & angelis exhibet lectionem. Legit hoc unum verbum & in hoc mandato meditatur christiana religio, & inveniet ex hac scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas amanissime, & hinc nasci & huc reverti quicquid ecclesiastica continet disciplina, & in omnibus irritum esse & frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

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 so exclude the rest of the scripture, as now they do all means besides scripture? But thus it saith, when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech rather to pass by number than to stay for weight. 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*. 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 no where 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 moe, 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 those 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 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 her self to an infidel, as in those times some widows christian had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world, he urgeth very earnestly saint *Paul's* words, *only in the Lord*: whereupon he demandeth 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, 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*; 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 alledged, 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 womens persons; and in the latter, where received with hurt, is put instead of wilful incurring that which is evil. And so in some, *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

Tertul. lib. de Monog.

T.C. l. 2. p. 81.
And in another place *Tertullian* saith, that the scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

T. C. l. 2. 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. 2. ad uxorem.*

Que Domino non placent, utiq; Dominum offendunt, et in malo se inferunt.

more shew there is in a second place of *Tertullian*, which notwithstanding when we have examined, it will be found as the rest are. 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 would 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 prophetic spirit which *Montanus* and his followers did boast they had receiv'd; as if in them Christ had performed his 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 exultation 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 the first man he commended 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 rising 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 shewn 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 do we find it written in scripture, that a christian man may not wear a garland?* And as mens speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alledged, and the answers to things objected in that book, will now and then perhaps espie the like imbecillity. 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 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 should thereby acknowledge my self 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 it self doth stand for law; that inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to alledge 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

T. C. l. 3. p. 81. And to come yet nearer, where he disputeth against the wearing of crown or garland (which is indifferent in it self) 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.

Terr. de Corona Militis.

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 alledge, 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 & aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules scripturarum, nullam invenies*; 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 altho 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.

The first assertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively, 1 *John* 2. 5. *God is light, and there is in him no darkness at all.* Heb. 6. 18. *It is impossible that God should lye.* Numb. 23. 19. *God is not as man, that he should lye.* T. C. l. 2. 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. 19. 5. *And which never entered into my heart,* Jer. 7. 31, 32. and where he condemneth them, *because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord,* Isai. 30. 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.* 18. 21. and 20. 5. *Deut.* 17. 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* 19. 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.* 17. 6.

ing 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 saint *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 altho the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but forbidden them and that expressly; yet the prophet chuseth 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 our selves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be con-

Levit. 18. 21.
& 20. 3.
Deut. 18. 10.

controllers of his wisdom : in this we fail to perform the thing which God seeth meet, convenient 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 an 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 an 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 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 pass'd 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, tho' 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* chuse 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 an 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 to taken from the authority of scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this less than nothing. And touching that which unto this purpose is borrowed from the controversy sometimes handled between Mr. *Harding* (a) and the worthiest divine that *Christendom* hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one university, it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, (b) *They learned in the same, that which in contrary camps they did practise.* 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*

1 Chron. 17. 6.

Isaiah 30. 1.

Josh. 9. 14.

Num. 27. 21.

1 Chron. 17.

(a) T. C. l. 2.

p. 50. Mr.

Harding re-

proacheth the

bishop of Sa-

isbury 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 alledgeth places out of *Irenæus*, *Chrysostom*, *Leo*, which reasoned negatively of the authority of the scriptures. The places which he alledgeth be very full and plain in generality, without any such restraints as the answerer imagined, as they are there to be seen. (b) *Vell. Patere. Jugurtha at Marius sub eodem Africano militantes, in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis fecerent.* Art. 1. Divis. 29.

to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word; and is used not only by us, but also by saint Paul, and by many of the catholick fathers. Saint 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, be 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 traditions sake, unto them it seemeth not good. Again, the English apology alledging 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 antient learned fathers having to deal with politick hereticks, that in descence 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 hereticks, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives, which thing to do it was never possible. The antient 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, Del. hom. 3. This tree neither Paul planted, nor Apollos watered, nor God increased. In like sort Epist. 93. c. 12. 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? Saint Epist. 97. c. 3. Epist. 165. 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. Saint 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 catholick, antient, 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 your selves, 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 knew?* When their grave and reverend superiours do reckon up unto them, as Augustine did to the *Donatists*, large catalogues of fathers wondred 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 it self 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 mens 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*

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, altho taken negatively from scripture.

7. 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 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 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, is hard. By a man's authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of another's mind 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: for so it is said in saint *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? 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 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 learnedest 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 mens 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 empirick; 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 hereby often with the best learned prevailed most. As for arguments taken from human authority, and that negatively, for example 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; if 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

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of mens actions or persuasions.

T. C. l. 1. 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 never 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 disputant to enforce him that is learned. 1 Cor. 1. 11. John 4. 39.

Deut. 19. 15. Math. 18. 16.

standing 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 alledged 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 altho themselves do not err, yet may they thro 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 shew 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 before named, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here notwithstanding alledge 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 fortrels of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, altho 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 doth 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

T. C. L. i. p. 10. Altho 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, so far 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. 3.* He saith not as a wicked and lying man, but simply as a man: and altho 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.

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. 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 in matters divine, the like wits furnish 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 should 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 mens 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 blest, that the world for their great and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration; may we reject even their judgment likewise, as being utterly of no moment? for my 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

vealeth 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 anything 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, enclining 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 persuasion 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 unbuilt 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 forever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of tryal, such as the evidence is, which the truth hath either in it self or thro' 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 altho' ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alledged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not chuse but over-weigh them all; inasmuch 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 alledged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest divines in the world have ever thought; altho' 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 imbecillities 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 we maintain it not. For men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and tho' 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 alledge 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 alledgeth sundry their sermons and speeches uttered concerning that matter and reco-red in scripture. And lest any should beware

T. C. l. 2. 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 alledging reason, unto companies of learned men) I will content my self at this time with two or three sentences. *Irenæus* faith, 'Whatsoever is to be shewed in the scriptures, cannot be shewed but out of the scriptures themselves.' *lib. 3. cap. 12.* *Jerom* faith, 'No man, be he never so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the apostles.' in *Psal. 86.* *Augustine* faith, '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 faith; hear not this, *Donatus* faith, *Rogatus* faith, *Vincentius* faith, *Hilarius* faith, *Ambrose* faith, *Augustine* faith, but hearken unto this, The Lord faith.' *Ep. 8.* 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, matters with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason ought to be debated, *Cont. Max. Arian. p. 14.* And in another place against *Peril*, the *Donatist*, he faith, 'Let not these words be heard between us, I say, 'You say; let us hear this, Thus faith the Lord.' And by and by speaking of the scriptures, he faith, 'There let us seek the church, there let us try the cause.' *De unit. Eccl. cap. 3.* Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth.

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end he concludeth, *While we labour for these demonstrations out of scripture, and do summarily declare the things 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 offendi 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 saint *Jerom*, 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 prophetic revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned mens judgments in opening that truth, which by being conversant in the apostles writings, they have themselves from thence learned? saint *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, to be obeyed; or if they both speak the same thing, yet then also man's speech 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 antient strife which was between the catholick fathers and *Arians*, *Donatists*, and others of like perverse and froward disposition, as long as to fathers or councils alledged 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 that 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 alledged 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 loth the cause they maintain should be so much weakened as their testimony is available. Again, what reason is there why, alledging testimonies as proofs, men give them some title of credit, honour and estimation, whom they alledge, unless before-hand it be sufficiently known who they are? What reason hereof but only a common engrafted persuasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to countervail those excep-
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tions which might be taken against them, and that such mens authority is not lightly to be shaken off? Shall I add further, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of scripture it self, as scriptures commonly are alledged, shall (being sifted) be found to depend upon the strength of this so much despised and debated authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner than we are aware of. For altho' 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 alledged? 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 alledged 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 alledged 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 alledged 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 but after the truth made manifest, first by reason, or by scripture: they do it not, but to controul the enemies of truth, who bear themselves bold upon humane authority, making not for them, but against them rather.* 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.

8. But to the end it may more plainly appear what we are to judge of their sentences, and of the cause it self wherein they are alledged; 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 altho' 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, in as much as we might stay our doing of them if we would. Beasts naturally do take their food and rest when it offereth it self 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 perillous, 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

T.C. lib. 2. c. 21.
If at any time it hapned unto *Augustine* (as it did against the Donatists and others) to alledge 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.

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Math. 26. 40,

readily offereth it self that it needeth not be sought for, in those things tho we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may encline either way, and would not any one way bend it self, if there were not some apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we use, where there is doubt what we should encline 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. 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 nor 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.

Finally, some things, altho 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 that 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 it self, causing them to *sell their possessions*, and *lay down the price at the blessed apostles feet*. Hereat saint 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. 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 hither 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 purpoeth, 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 compleat; which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to be so compleat, that we utterly refuse as much as once to acquaint our selves 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 fundry as great inconveniencies. These 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 to 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 comprize 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? Not that the scripture it self 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 it self 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 chuse but bring the simple a thousand times to their wits end, how can it chuse 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 mens 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. 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, tho 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 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.

T. C. lib. p. 6.
Where this doctrine is accused of bringing men to despair; it hath wronged. 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.

Luke 7. 8.

O F T H E
L A W S
O F
Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K III.

Concerning their second assertion, That in scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of church polity, the laws whereof may in no wise be altered.

The matter contained in this third book.

1. **W**HAT 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, with 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 tho 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 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.
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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 mens 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

What the church is, and in what respect laws of polity are thereunto necessarily required.

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 an huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in scripture concerning the endles 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, 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 mens hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? 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 sensible 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 (a) *one body*. 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 afterward thro-out the whole world, all that were of the church visible were called christians, even amongst the heathens; which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the world, even Christ Jesus himself was (b) execrable; 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; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth God good service. These things I tell you, that when the hour shall come, ye may then call to mind how I told you before-hand 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, (c) *Thou keepest my name, and thou hast not denied my faith.* Concerning which faith, the rule thereof, saith *Tertullian* (d), *is one alone, immovable, 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*, (e) *Ireny*; *The church, tho scattered thro 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 tho 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 church is best able to speak, uttereth no more than this; and less than this, the most simple do not utter, when they make pro-

cession

(a) Ephes. 2. 16. That he might reconcile both unto God in one body.
Ephes. 3. 16. That the gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body.
ride T. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3.
1 Cor. 12. 13.
Ephes. 4. 5.
Acts 2. 36.
John 12. 13.
Col. 3. 24. &c. 4. 1.
(b) 1 Cor. 1. 23.
ride & Tacitum lib.
Annal. 15.
Nero quoscumque finis panis afficit, quos per flagitia innotis vulgus christianos appellabat.
Auctor nominis ejus Christus fuit, qui Liberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio afflicti erat.
Reprehenso in istius extrinsecus superstitio viris erumpere, non modo per Judam,

originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda conflunt celebranturque. John 15. 21. and 16. 2, 4.
(c) Apoc. 2. 13. (d) Tertul. de virgin. veland (e) Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 2, &c.

profession of their faith. Now altho we know the christian faith and allow of it, yet in this respect we are but entering; enter'd 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 baptiz'd, 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 do concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues excludeth from salvation. So doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth 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 they are of the visible church of Christ; and christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognisance hath in it those things which we have mention'd, yea, altho they be impious idolaters, wicked hereticks, 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 eternal 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 brazen serpent; when they served the gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt incense and offered sacrifice 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 embraceth 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 tho 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. 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 hereticks 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 hereticks are not at all any part of the church of Christ. Our Saviour founded his church on a rock, and not upon beryl. Power of baptizing he gave to his apostles, unto hereticks he gave it not. Wherefore they that are*

Acts 8. 38.
& 22. 16
& 2. 41.

Matth. 13. 47.
& 13. 24.

Exod. 27.
Pl. 106. 19, 20.
2 Kings 18. 4
Jer. 11. 13.
2 King 22. 17.
Isa. 57. 3.
& 1. 4.
& 60. 15.

Jer. 13. 11.
1 Kings 19. 13.

Fort. m. in
Concil. Car.
Mat. 7. 24.
& 16. 18.
& 28. 19.

Secundinus in
eodem concil.
Matth. 12. 30.

without the church, and oppose themselves against Christ, do but scatter the sheep and flock. Without the church, baptize they cannot. Again, Are hereticks 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, blesteth; a dead carrion promiseth life; a man unpeacably giveth peace; a blasphemers calleth upon the name of God; a prophane 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 hereticks 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. What is it but only the self-same error and misconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewise posselt, 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 saint Paul's time, the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reprov'd; they of Galatia much more out of square. In saint John's time, Ephesus and Smirna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope therefore, that to reform our selves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever our selves 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, chuse 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 her self, 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 fundry her grois and grievous abominations: yet touching those main parts of christian truth 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 diltraction 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 it self. But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even hereticks

In concilio Ni-
ceno. Vide
Hieron. Dial.
advers. Luci-
feri.

2 Chron. 13.

Hos. 14. 15.
& 17.

Josh. 24. 15.

Rom. 11. 28.

ticks themselves to be, tho a maimed part, yet a part of the visible church. If an infidel should pursue to death an heretick professing christianity, only for christian profession sake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the church. Hereticks 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 hereticks, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound believers. For where profest 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 hereticks embrace, and err only by misconstruction. Whereupon their opinions, altho 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. 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, Calvin. Epist. 149.* *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 sixth 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 over-sight herein they controuled. 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 it self is sound, altho 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 reflecteth 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, altho 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 antient predecessors, cannot with justice be defeated and broken off by their parents impiety coming between. By which reason of theirs, altho it seem that all the world may be baptized, in as much as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself; yet we mean not at this time, either to uphold, or to overthrow it; only their alledged conclusion we embrace, so it be construed in this sort: That for as much 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 publick 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 hereticks, 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 see being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the catholick church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct societies, every of which is termed a church within it self. In this sense the church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For altho the name of the church be given unto christian assemblies, altho 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 publick actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth it self, 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*; 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 publick 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 severally, 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 publick 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 comprize 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 superiority 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 publick. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary than church-polity, which is a form of ordering the publick spiritual affairs of the church of God.

2 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 regimen 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 author of it. *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 it self, 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 so farasmuch 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 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

Tertul. Exhort. ad Castit. Ubi res, ecclesia est, licet laici.

Acts 1. 42.

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. *Tertul. de habitu mul. & muli sint necesse est, que Dei non sunt.* *Rom. 2. 15.* *Lat. lib. 6. c. 8.* *Ille legis hujus inventor, distributor, lator.* *Cic. 3. de rebus*

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 complicate 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 alledged: altho there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject or dislike of 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.

* The first is, *misdistinguishing*, because matters of 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.

* 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, altho there be none for them; you (I say) distinguishing or dividing after this sort, do prove your self an evil divider. As the 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 tho 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 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. 1. pag. 26.

3. 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 sort. 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 mens 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 divide the gospel into doctrine and discipline. 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 regimen 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

That matters of discipline are different from matters of faith and salvation; and that they themselves do teach which are our reprovers.

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 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?

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 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; hereticks 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 otherwise 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 unfound, wherein doth the point of unfoundness lie? Is it 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 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.

4. 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 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 scriptures 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 necessities; 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 altho there be no necessity it should of purpose prescribe 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-governours, even in particularities to follow; yea, that those things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular form of church-polity (altho 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 tho the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building the church were uttered in

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them,

Matth. 23. 23.

* 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 doctor Bridges, p. 121. if it be Fenner which was the author of that book.

That we do not take from scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with soundness of truth. *Arist. pol. lib. 1. cap. 8. & Plato in Menex.* *Arist. lib. 3. de anima, c. 45.*

them, and those things left out that should pertain to the form and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused be referred to the accusers own conscience, and let that judge whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

5. But so easy it is 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 inconsiderably defended, the same is commonly persisted in as long as wit, by whetting it self, 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 subtil 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, *Ye shall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye take out 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 repealed. 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, 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 alledge 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.

6. 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 ought 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, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which tho 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, 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 *Aristaus* (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 that church established, yea, by Christ himself and by his apostles observed, tho not commanded any where in scripture.

7. Well, yet a gloss there is in colour that paradox, and notwithstanding all this, still to make it appear in shew 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, altho 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

mandments 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. 10. 32. & 14. 40. & 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6, 7. T. C. l. 1. p. 35.

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. Deut. 4. 2. & 12. 32. *Whatever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom.*

The same assertion we cannot hold, without doing wrong unto all churches.

John. 13. *Canonicum: de quo Matth. 23. 12. ibi de Canonicis Nuptiis.*

A shift to maintain that nothing ought to be established in the church, which is not commanded in the word of God; namely, that com-

pleasure,

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 displease 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? Saint *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 mens 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, altho 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 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 nor remembering, they gather out of scripture general rules to be followed in making laws; and so in effect they plainly grant that we our selves 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 alledged that principal whereof we speak. One particular plat-form 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

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 subtil 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 uncontrouled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily received and practised: so considering what disturbance hath grown in the church amongst our selves, 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 controulment, in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaleth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a shift?

8. 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.* 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, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard of saint 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. 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 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 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, *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 is not for nothing that saint 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 hereby. Have they not always been great admirers of human reason? Hath their

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. Polit. 1.*

Apoc. 8. 10.

1 Cor. 2. 14.

Col. 2. 8.

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 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 know not God; in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save believers.* Fifthly, The word of God in it self 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 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 it self 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. 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 thro equivocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly observed, doth to the former allegations it self make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all mens plainer and fuller satisfaction; 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, tho they be shewed, can never be approved without the special operation of God's good grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the apostle saint *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 foretold. *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. Secondly, philosophy we are warranted 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 hereby or error casteth a fraudulent shew 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 thro philosophy, and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy, doth not give counsel to be impolitick; 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 thro 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. Thirdly, but many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief; and many found 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 hereticks 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 antient fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Inasmuch, that *Cresconius* the heretick complained greatly of *St. Augustine*, as being too full of logical subtilties. Heresy prevaileth only by a counterfeit shew 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 hability to convict hereticks, 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 hereticks, even for their very philosophicall 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 publick persuasions which are grafted in mens 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 my self also, use the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I my self too will use the secret acknowledgement of the commonalty, bearing record of the God of gods: but when I hear men alledge, that which is dead, is dead; and while thou art alive, be alive; and, after death an end of all, even of death it self: 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 heretick flie also unto such vicious, popular, and secular conceits, my answer unto him shall be: Thou heretick, avoid the beaten; altho in this ye be one, that ye both bely God; yet thou that dost this under the name of Christ, differeth from the beaten, in that thou seemest to thy self 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 rayment 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 catholick fathers did good unto all by that knowledge, whereby hereticks hindring 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

ἀντοκαταλέπτοι, men condemned even in, and of themselves. For tho 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. 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 wherewith *Solomon* excelled all men; or that rational and oratorical wisdom of the *Grecians*, which the apostle saint *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 shew 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 frantick 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 of whose most blessed name, who so 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; scribes against that 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. Fifthly, unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute in it self, 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 scriptures perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. *The word of God is a*

Tit. 1. 9, 11.

Tert. de resur. carnis.

Tit. 3. 11.

IV.

Acts 7. 22,
Dan. 1. 17,
1 Kings 4. 29,
30.
Acts 22. 3.

Marth. 13. 52.

V.

Heb. 4. 12.

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, endowed 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 endowed 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 for no tongue they spake withal : 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 saint *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 tho the gospel had been taught him by others than by Christ himself, and as if the cause of the gentiles conversion and belief, thro his means, had been the learning and skill which he had by being 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 words 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,

2 Cor. 10. 10. concerning his preaching, their very by-word was, *αὐτῶν ἡδονήμιν*, *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 saint *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 the rest of the apostles of Christ. *My*

1 Cor. 2. 4. *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 ? No : for of him the sacred history

Acts 18. 4, 11. 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 made persuasive ? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one human, the other divine. Either saint *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 weresent 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 thro 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 thro 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, altho it could not authorize him to teach as other apostles did ; so altho 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. 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 supplications and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which

which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such Heb. 11. 6. fort 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 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 1 Cor. 10. 15. 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. Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by it self 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, saint *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews religion, nor the books whereby they were taught it, speaks unto the other of things foretold 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 chuse 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 Act. 26. 26. *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. 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 tho 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 it self 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 it self 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 teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation; and it presumeth us taught otherwise, that it self 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 mens 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 it self 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 it self 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, 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 prin-

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 enlightning 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 alledge against them what the Spirit hath taught us, so likewise, that even to our own selves 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 undiscernable even to the very soul where they are, because their nature is of another and an 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 our selves 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 misconstrued, 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 paraphratically 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 it self 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. 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 ;

Acts 13. 36. & 2. 34. *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 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 ?

1 Pet. 3. 15. *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 self-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

by reason drawn from those effects which were apparently known amongst them: *God* AAs 15.
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.
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 Spi-
rit. The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which ques-
tion 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 it self there is no im-
pediment, 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 rea-
son, 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 hu-
man 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 rea-
son aided with the influence of divine grace: and for that cause, it is not said amiss touch-
ing ecclesiastical canons, *That by instinct of the Holy Ghost they have been made, and* Violatores,
consecrated by the reverend acception of the world. cap. 25. q. 1.

9. 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 prophane, impious, and irreligious to think.
For altho 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 concern-
eth 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. Scrip-
ture comprehending examples and laws; laws, some natural, and some positive; exam-
ples neither are there for all cases which require laws to be made; and when they 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, tho 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 con-*
duct of the light of nature, saith saint *Augustine,*
is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety.
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*

*Luminis naturalis dictatum repellere, non modo stultum est, sed &
impium.* August. lib. 4. de Trin. cap. 6.

Tho. Aqu. 12. q. 51. art. 3. *Ex preceptis legis naturalis, quasi ex
quibusdam principiis communibus & indemonstrabilibus, necesse est quod
ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda. Et
iste particulares dispositiones adveniunt secundum rationem humanam
dicuntur leges humane, observatis aliis conditionibus que pertinent ad
rationem legis.*

*precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common and undemonstrable principles,
man's reason doth necessarily proceed unto certain and 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 ma-
king of laws doth require,* 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

How laws for
the regiment
of the church
may be made
by the advice
of men follow-
ing therein the
light of rea-
son; and how
those laws be-
ing not repug-
nant to the
word of God
are approved
in his sight.

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 the scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of marriage to be so far forth abridged. The same *Thomas* therefore, whose definition of human laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this caution

121. Quest. 95.
Art. 3.

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. 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

1 Cor. 11. 22.

Prov. 6. 20.

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 our selves 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 lett, 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:

Rom. 8. 14.

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, are the sons of God*, and not such as live in thralldom 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 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 proceed from the light of nature, God himself doth acknowledge 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 farther 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 chuse 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.

John 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19.
& 2. 15.

10. 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 it self 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 expres'd, 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

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.

Adam

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 tree 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, it was both 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. Whether God be the author of laws, by authorising 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, maketh them also 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 surmisseth; because God himself was author of it; and for us to abolish what he hath established, were presumption most intolerable. 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 afterward become free.* 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 authorise it 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. 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 establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any thing is to lift up our selves 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 it self continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this law provideth 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 hu-

Deut. 22. 10.

17

*Quid pro re-
cessante tem-
poris statum
est, cessante
necessitate, de-
bet cessare pa-
rier quod urge-
bat. l. 1. q. 1.*

Acts 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

man laws often. But that which hath been once made sufficient, may wax otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath been sometime forcible to bridle sin, may grow afterward 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 antient judicials it doth; yet for as much 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, tho both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration 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 law-maker 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 chuse that, neither would now reject that to chuse 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 it self 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, and God being the author of the whole gospel, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cause. So that as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical

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. l. 2. p. 14. Terri. de veland. virg. mart. in 1 Sam 14.*

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 common-wealth or church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of faith, faith Tertullian, is but one, and that alone immovable, 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 judgement 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 times it did. Which kind of laws (for as much 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 stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, tho 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, tho 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 profess'd, 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 a 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 * for that very cause belongeth to all churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect our selves, 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 can possibly avail the patron and defender long, and that things most truly, are likewise most behovefully spoken.

* *Disciplina est christiana ecclesia politica, à Deo ejus rectè administranda causâ constituta, ac præterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ob eandem causam omnium ecclesiarum*

communis et omnium temporum. Lib. 3. de eccles. discip. in anal. † Ἐπίστασιν ἐκ οἱ ἀληθείας ἔχει λόγων, ἡ μόνον παρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χριστιανικοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὸς τὸ βίον. Συνεδρεῖ γὰρ οἷος ἐξουσία, πεισθύνεται. *Arif. Ethic. lib. 10. cap. 1.*

II. This we hold and grant for truth, that those very laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding incapable 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 for permanent and immutable, that in any sort to alter them, cannot but highly offend God; thus they reason, first, (a) if *Moses* being but a servant in the house of God, did therein establish laws of government for a 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 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 touch-stone 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

Whether Christ hath forbidden all change of those laws which are set down in scripture.

(a) Heb. 3. 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 main 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. *Demonstr. of discip. cap. 1.*

ous 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 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*, tho to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant* ; but *Christ over* this house as being *his own entire possession*.

(b) John 17.
Either God
hath left a
prescript form
of govern-
ment now, or
else he is less
careful under
the new testa-
ment, than
under the old.
*Demonstr. of
discrep. cap. 1.*

Our Lord and Saviour doth make protestation, (b) *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*. 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 antient 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 our selves 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 step-dame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious God towards his by such differences. For even herein shineth his wisdom, that tho 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 ; (c) *In the antient 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 law of civil regiment, and would not permit their common-weal 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 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 finally they make to this purpose. 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 publick 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 so even within the land whither ye go to possess it*. Which laws and ordinances positive, he plainly distinguished after-

(c) Ecclesiast.
discrep. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 17.
Ephes. 2. 12

Deut. 4. 5.

ver. 12, 13,
14.

Deut. 5. 22.

ver. 27

ver. 28, 29,
30, 31

ward from the laws of the two tables which were moral. *The Lord spake unto you out of the 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 : *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 receive them at the hands of *Moses*. Go thou nearer, 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 commendeth 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

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: finally, the latter termed ceremonies, judgments, ordinances, but no where covenants. The observation of the latter restrained 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* 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 hath utterly forbidden all alteration of his laws, in as much 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 course and frank speeches we are contented to let pass, without turning them to advantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be lifted unto, when they commend the kings of *Israel*, which attempted nothing in the government of the church without the express word of God; and when they urge, that God left nothing in his word undescribed, whether it concerned the worship of God or outward polity, nothing set 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 publick 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 *Sbelomith*, there was no law which did appoint any certain punishment for blasphemers: that wretched creature being therefore apprehended in that impiety was held in ward, till the mind of the Lord was 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 requireth to keep the sabbath-day; 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 into 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 *Zelophebad*, whose causes *Moses* having brought before the Lord, received laws to serve for the like in time to come. The *Jews* to this end had the oracle of God, they had the prophets. And

* T. C. lib. 1. p. 35. Whereas you say, That they (the *Jews*) had nothing, but 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. in the table to his second book.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 446. 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. Levit. 24. 14

Numb. 15. 3

Numb. 9. Numb. 27.

by

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 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 foretew. 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 that way to seek direction and counsel from him. Mens consultations are always perillous. And it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by tryal are found most opposite to publick safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by over-sight 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 league of peace, nor to wade thro 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 governours were such as none might presume to take exception 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 governours 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 altho they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, altho 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. And whereas it is farther alledged, *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 politick 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 faln, in leaving them to mens 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, saying 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 faln in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly; that more is left unto mens consultations in the

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Gen. 18. 18.
Gen. 43. 10.

T. C. l. 2.
p. 440.

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 altho not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws? Yea but the apostle saint *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 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 law 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 like; 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 serve 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 this I will, 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 your selves, 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 in that office, then was the credit and trust of this 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 time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved; according to that of saint *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.* 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, altho 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 found. 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 to comprehend what-

1 Tim. 6. 14.

John 18. 37.

John 21. 15.

Acts 20. 28.

2 Tim. 4. 1.

1 Tim. 6. 20.

την παρακα-

θησαν.

1 Tim. 4. 14.

2 Tim. 4. 7.

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, tho 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 delivered 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 inconvenience not the unlawfulness of popish apparel; 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 alledged against them, to whom of all men they attribute most; 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

T. C. lib. 3. p. 241. My reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them. And in the table. Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness of popish apparel and ceremonies in burial. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 32.* 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* hath 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 will 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.

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, in as much 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, which might also be cast away if all external discipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the church. 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 over-much 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; altho 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.* Besides, in the matter of external discipline or regiment it self, 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 it self 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 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 it self, and that they themselves do not think he hath so done.

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; 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 do with a great deal more truth) then must they cancel all that hath been before alledged, 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 ministred, 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 a narrow room: First, so far forth as the church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness, is it self alone sufficient for the church of God in that respect. But as the church is a visible society and body politick, laws of polity it cannot want. 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 her self, 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 it self 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.* Saint Augustine was of another mind, who speaking of fasts on the sabbath, saith, *That he which would chuse 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, for as much as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into mens 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 *Jephtha'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 dead, after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom) our Lord was contented that his own most precious body should be intombed. 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 it self 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 mens 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

T. C. lib. 1. p. 27. 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.

I.

II.

Isa. 29. 14. Col. 2. 22.

August. Epist. 95.

Josh. 22.

Judg. 11. 40. Joh. 10. 22.

Joh. 19. 40.

- 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 loth that the form of church-polity which they sought to bring in, should be otherwise than in the highest degree accounted of, took first an exception against the difference between church-polity and matters of 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 matters of polity, as of faith and salvation. Thirdly, Constrained thereby we have been, therefore, both to maintain that distinction as a thing not only true in it self, but by them likewise to acknowledged, tho unawares. Fourthly, And to make manifest that from scripture, we offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto doth claim, in as much as by us it is willingly confels'd, that the scripture of God is a store-houſe 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, altho 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, in as much 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 exaggerate, considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is 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. 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, tho perceiving it to be over extreme, are notwithstanding loth to acknowledge any oversight therein, and therefore labour what they may to save it up by construction; we have for the more perspicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the first. Sixthly, How injurious a thing it were unto all the churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning. Seventhly, And how unperfect 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. 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 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 her self 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 hath 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*) must needs have have set down in holy scripture some certain complete and unchangeable form of polity; and partly a coloured shew of some evidence, where change of that sort of laws may seem expressly forbidden, altho in truth nothing less be done. 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

* Nō resp.
ſus ſtatim om-
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tus ordinis
ſingularum in-
ter a poſſibi-
liumque diſcrip-
ſerit, quæ
necceſſariorum
ſororque ratio
habenda
quomodo et
non ſintenda
lites non ſum
mimus eccleſiæ
chriſtianiæ pro-
vidit, quæ
Mofes olim
Judæis, ſed
quæ à
Lycurgo,
Solone,
Numa,
civitatibus
ſuis pre-
ſcriptum ſit.

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 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 found 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 the 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 elderships, 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 publick 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 souls health. For where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders of others, and some to be led by others. *If Luke 6. 39. 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, they being *the lights of the world*, others (tho 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*

The defence, of godly ministers against Dr. Bridges, p. 133.

Math. 5. 14.

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 publick solemnity of the word, the sacraments and prayer ; the enlargement or abridgement of functions ministerial, depending upon those two principals before mentioned : to conclude, even whatsoever doth by way of formality and circumstance concern any publick action of the church. Now altho 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 what 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 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 chuse, 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. 11. 33.

OF THE
L A W S
OF
Ecclesiastical Polity.

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. **H**OW 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 antient 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 blame-worthy.*
 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.*
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SUCH was the antient simplicity and softness of spirit, which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publickly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully 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 where-
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How great use
ceremonies
have in the
church,

Math. 23. 23.
The doctrine
and discipline
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nies also, as
mint and *cum-
min*, ought not
to be neglect-
ed. T. C. l.
3. p. 171.

in 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 prophane 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 alledge against the outward received orders of this church. Which inasmuch as themselves do compare unto *mint* and *cummin*, 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 fitting 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 whereunto they serve may plainly appear, and so afterwards their quality the better be discerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main publick 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 sake in the sacraments, *unto the element let the word be added, and they both do make a sacrament*, saith saint *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 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 letting 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 alway been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensivesense 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 some publick 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 phantasy 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 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 antient 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 bond-man free, was it not wondered wherefore so great a-do 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 publick 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,

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 5.

judge, but for a visible token thereof have alſo his ear bored thro 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. (a) *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.* 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 (b) *to execute the work of their divine ſervice with their hands as far as to the fingers covered; thereby ſignifying that fidelity muſt be defended, and that mens right hands are the ſacred ſeat thereof.* 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, (c) *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 deſcendeth from God unto the ſoul that duly receiveth 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, *magnum ſignum hoc eſt quaſi ſacramentum uſurparunt*; they uſed this ſign, or as it were a ſacrament.

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 antient 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 foundeſt, 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 things unto the antient ſtate wherein at the firſt they were. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at leaſt wiſe unſufficient, if not both. For in caſe be it 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 apoſtolic, which is not found in the apoſtles writings, in what other records ſoever it be found. And therefore whereas ſaint *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be apoſtolic, altho they be not found written; this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here ſtand in defence of ſaint *Auguſtine's* opinion, which is, that ſuch things are indeed apoſtolic; 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, ſaint *Auguſtine* could imagine no other foundation ſave theſe two. But to let paſs ſaint *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. So that in tying the church to the orders of the apoſtles times they tye it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unleſs they

Therefore here is no ſufficient doctrine contained in ſcripture, whereby we may be ſaved. For all the commandments the apoſtles, are needful for our ſalvation. *Vide op. 118.*

require the observation of no orders but only those which are known to be apostolica by the apostles own writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should use it as a touch-stone 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 recal 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 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 possessors 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 the 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 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 antienter times. Such dissimilitude herefore between us and the apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

1 Sam. 7. 1.

2 Chron. 2. 5.

Our orders and ceremonies blained, in that so many of them are the same which the church of Rome useth. *1 ecclesi. Discip. fol. 12. T. C. lib. 1. p. 131. T. C. lib. 1. p. 70. T. C. lib. 1. p. 25.*

3. Yea, but we have fram'd our selves 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 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 altho it be lawful, altho agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying: *Altho the forms and ceremonies which they (the church of Rome) use were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agree-*

T. C. lib. 1. p. 131

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. 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 saint 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, *altho the forms and ceremonies of the church of Rome were not unlawful, neither did contain anything 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, they being hereticks 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 farther, 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, 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 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 antichristianity, 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 it self, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies. (a) 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 saint 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 had any entrance. (b) 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 antichristianity 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*

T. C. l. i. p. 30.

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

T. C. l. i. p. 132.

Tom. 2. Braca 73.

Con. Afric. cap. 27.

Lib. de idolat. 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.

(a) T. C. l. i. p. 178.

(b) T. C. l. i. p. 179.

T. C. l. i. p. 180.

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.

4. 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 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

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reason victeth that all such ceremonies are not to be abolish'd, make answer; That when they condemn popish ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies unprofitable, or ceremonies, instead wherof as good or better may be devised: they cannot hereby get out of the briars, but contradict and gainstay 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.

done worse; the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies as they require to be abolish'd, are retained by us to the hurt of the church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But so far 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 relicks 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 tho the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisom 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, altho 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 established. 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 oppole their me-thinketh 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 me-thinks 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 publick 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, and shew the po-

T. C. l. 3. p. 171. 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?

Fedef. disp. fol. 100.

T. C. l. 3. p. 174. 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. T. C. l. 3. p. 174.

very

verty of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen 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 changeable 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 left 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, altho 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. The clause is untrue which they add concerning the bishop of *Salisbury*, but the sentence 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 alledged.

5. 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 hereticks, 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, altho the same were but yesterday made by our selves 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*, altho 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?

6. The rites and orders wherein we follow the church of *Rome*, are of no other kind than such as the church of *Geneva* it self 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 the 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

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is just, in that we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any their ceremonies; and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do theirs away, forasmuch as they are their ceremonies, the reader may farther see in the bishop of *Salisbury*, who brings divers proofs thereof.

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, altho we do not account of them as of our fathers.

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, maketh not against our conformity with the church of *Rome* in such things.

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 it self 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. Hereticks 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

T.C. 1.1. p. 89.
& 131.
Levit. 18. 3.

Levit. 19. 27.
& 19. 19.
Deut. 22. 11.
& 14. 7.
Levit. 11.
Ephes. 2. 14.

Levit. 18. 3.

Levit. 19. 27.

Levit. 21. 5.

Deut. 14. 1.

1 Thes. 4. 13.

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 forbore; 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, swines-flesh, conies and such like, 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 saint 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. Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alledged 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, altho papists were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein you dwell, 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 for fear of infection by reason of nearness, forbad 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 it self, 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 hopeles 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 your selves, nor make you baldness between your eyes for the dead.* What is this but in effect the same which the apostle doth more plainly exprels, saying, *Sorrow not as they do who have no hope?*

The

The very light of nature it self was able to see herein a fault; that which those nations did use having been also in use with others, the antient *Roman* laws do forbid. That thaving therefore and cutting which the law doth mention, was not a matter in it self 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, tho 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 *swines-flesh* together with sundry other meats are forbidden; the use of these things had been indeed of it self harmles and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbad in some special consideration, such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even 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 swines-flesh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reason than dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads alledge 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 swines-flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of *eagles, hawks*, and the like? Wherefore altho 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.

Levit. 17. 19.
Deut. 22. 11.

Deut. 14. 7.
Levit. 11.
Levit. 19. 19.

Deut. 14.
Levit. 11.

Ephes. 2. 14.

7. 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. 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 offence is a stain to the beauty of nature, for which cause it blusheth 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 imbecillity and imperfection. Men being either led by reason, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their persons be odious whose example we chuse to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned hereticks think, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lies as an 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 objecteth against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the gentiles; but their temples, and oblations, and altars, and priesthoods, and all kind of ministry of holy things, they exercised even as the gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the catholick 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 you 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 kind of life ye*

That the example of the eldest churches is not herein against us.
T.C.H. 1. p. 132.
The councils altho they did not observe themselves always in making of decrees this rule, yet have kept this consideration continually in making of their laws, that they would have christians differ from others in their ceremonies.

Tom. 6. cont.
Faust. mon. 5.
lib. 20. cap. 4.

have

have utterly changed nothing. Saint *Augustine's* defence in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of action, Jews and catholick 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

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. 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.

men have at any time with sound judgment misliked conformity between the church of God and infidels, the cause whereof hath been somewhat else than only affectation of 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 tryal, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over infidelity but thro 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, or rest those festival days whereon the pagans rested, or celebrate such feasts as were tho not heathenish, yet, such as the simpler sort of heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for *Tertullian's* judgment concerning

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. *Tertullian* saith, O, faith he, better is the religion of the heathen for they use no solemnity of the christians, neither the Lord's day, neither, &c. but are not afraid to be called heathen. T. C. l. 1. p. 133. 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.

the rites and orders of the church, no man, having judgment can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it. His opinion touching the catholick church was as undifferent, 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-abstractly to fawn upon the heathens, and to curry favour with infidels; which as the catholick church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so *Tertullian* over often thro discontentment carpeeth injuriously at them, as tho they did it even when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so that either the judgment of those councils before alledged, 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 rebukeable if we now deck our houses with boughs, or send new-years 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 of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of spiritual condition it self between the servants of Christ and others, requireth such difference in ceremonies between them, altho 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. 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 our selves 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 *Cananites* did of old the jewish religion, even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us, might haply inforce in us a duty of greater separation from them than from those other mentioned. But so far as papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us than *Turks*, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will judge it meet 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 our selves (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 our selves 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 greater obduration in evil) that thro a froward or wanton desire of innovation, we did unconstrainedly those things for which conscience was pretended? Howsoever the cause doth stand, as *Juda* had been rather to chuse 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 farther 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 it self should be satisfied, and have no shift to fly unto.

8. 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 politick position is, That *evils must be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the church infected with the poison of antichristianity, must be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. 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 found belief, no, not concerning God himself; but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of antichristian 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 antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill is requisite to know what parts are found 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 amidst 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 mens 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 amidst, tho we use them unto somewhat less than is competent; and that a crooked stick is not straitned, unless it be bent as far on the clean contrary side, that so it may settle it self 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

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

T.C. l. i. p. 131. Common reason so doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries: Now christianity and antichristianity, the gospel and popery, be contraries; and therefore antichristianity must be cured; not by it self; but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it.

T.C. l. i. p. 135. 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 we ought. As we see, to bring a stick which is crooked to be strait, we do not only bow it so far until it come to be strait, but we bend it so far until we make it to be so crooked on the other side as it was before of the first side; to this end, that at the last it may stand strait, and as it were in the mid-way between both the crooks.

against

against the church of *Rome*, do they mean 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 amils 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 it self 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 were 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 flock, 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 reach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatsoever evil our swerings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the state of his church.

That we are not to 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.
T.C. l. 3. s. 178.
By using of these ceremonies, the papists take occasion to blaspheme, saying that our religion cannot stand by it self, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies.

T.C. l. 3. s. 179.
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 which they suborn.

9. That the church of *Rome* doth hereby take occasion to blaspheme, and to say our religion is not able to stand of it self, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies, 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 perillous 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 antient rites and customs of the church of Christ; whereof our selves 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 vain 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 wife 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 thy self. 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 triumph in these things; our answer hereunto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such ceremonies over-weigheth even 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 our selves, 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*; 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 an 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, altho 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, but hath not been able to re-establish it self in any 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 chuse 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 weakning 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 it self 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 offnest or is most earnest; he must have been both acquainted thorowly with the religion of such, and also privy to what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kind of notices are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alledge 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 fathered 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 to 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 store of 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.

10. In the mean while sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lyeth 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 forrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the con-

T.C. l. 3. p. 179. Thus they conceiving hope of having the rest of their popery in the end, it causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness, &c. For not the cause but the occasion also ought to be taken away, &c. Altho let the reader judge, whether they have cause given to hope, that the tail of popery yet remaining, they shall the easlier 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.

with the church of *Rome*. *T.C. l. 3. p. 180.* There be numbers which have antichristianity 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 their minds for ceremonies, which (to speak the best of them) are unprofitable.

trary,

trary, 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 farther 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 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 are 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, 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. 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 thro her wilfulness doth rest uncured*: let them consider into what straits the church might drive it self 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 it self, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened bread in their 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 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 alledged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, nor then when she hath the widest field to walk in and the greater store of choice.

11. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the church of *England* and of *Rome*, we see what hath been hitherto alledged. Albeit therefore we do not find received from the church of *Rome*, that church having taken them from the *Jews*,

T.C. l. 3. p. 171.
Altho the cor-
ruptions in
them strike
not strait to
the heart, yet
as gentle poi-
sons they con-
sume by little
and little.

Jer. 51. 9.

Their excep-
tion against
such ceremo-
nies as we have

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the 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. 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 shew, borrowing in that respect from the *Jews* fundry 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 afterward confirmed by the sixth general council, decreed, *That the christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety*. For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two 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, altho there be small cause wherefore the church should frame it self 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*; Acts 6. 13, 14. *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 *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, *For as much as we have heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbered your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised*

Eccles. Disc.
fol. 98. and
T.C. l. 3. p. 191.
Many of these
popish cere-
monies faulty
by reason of
the pomp in
them, where
they should be
agreeable to
the simplicity
of the gospel
of Christ cruci-
fied.
T.C. l. 1. p. 132.
Euseb. l. 3. c. 17.
Sozom. l. 1. c. 9.
To 1. concil.
Laod. can. 38.

Vide Niceph.
lib. 3. cap. 25.
& *Sulpit.*
Sever. p. 149.
in edit. Plant.

Acts 15.
Acts 21. 24.
Acts 15. 24.

riages, 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 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 fornication, 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, dishonest. *St. Paul* himself doth term incestuous marriage fornication. If any do rather think, that the christian gentiles themselves, thro 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. 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. 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 it self; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it, either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or farther 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 hereticks, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the church at *Jerusalem*; finally, some being herein resolute thro mere infidelity and with open profess'd enmity against Christ, as unbelieving *Jews*. To controul 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, clobeth 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 way of disdain, *mangling of the gospels and epistles.* 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 priests became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function? 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 afterward unlawful *so far*, that the very name of altar, of priests, of sacrifice it self, should be banished out of the world. For tho 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 thro-out all the writings of the ancient fathers, we see 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, tho it neither command us any particularity, as it did the Jews a

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Leo in *sejun.*
mens. Sept.
ser. 9.

Tertul. de
prescript. ad
vers. heret.
T.C. l. 3. p. 171.
What an abu-
sing 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. l. 1. p. 216.
Seeing that the
office and
function of
priests was af-
ter our Saviour
Christ's ascen-
sion naught
and ungodly;
the name
whereby they
were called,
which did exer-
cise that un-
godly func-
tion, cannot
be otherwise
taken, than in
the evil part.

number, and the weightiest which it did command them are unto us in the gospel prohibited. Touching such, as thro simplicity of error, did urge univerſal and perpetual obſervation of the law of *Moses* at the firſt, we have ſpoken already. Againſt jewiſh hereticks and falſe apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelf-ſame, ſaint *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; and after their eſtate was overthrowen, 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 hereticks 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 *Conſtantine*: *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 take phyſick at their hands, nor as much as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwiſe, being a clergy-man, 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 here 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 breſts he had drawn that food which gave him nourishment to eternal life; ſuch 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 to this end he uſeth ſundry perſuaſive ſpeeches. When *Stephen* biſhop of *Rome*, going about to ſhew what the catholic church ſhould do, had alledged what the hereticks themſelves did, namely, that they received ſuch as came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew; ſaint *Cyprian* being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether hereticks 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 hereticks; that to celebrate the ſacraments, which heavenly inſtruction hath delivered, light it ſelf 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 hereticks; and have taken advantage at the odiouſneſs of the Jews, as *Cyprian* of hereticks, becauſe the eaſtern church kept their feaſt of *Eaſter* always the fourteenth day of

Concil. Laod.
can. 37, 38.
T.C. l. 1. p. 132.
T.C. l. 3. p. 176.

Concil. Con-
ſtantinop. 6.
cap. 11.

Cypr. ad pomp.
lib. cont.
epiſt. Stephani.
m.

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 anything common with that spiteful nation of the Jews*; shall every motive or 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 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.

* Socr. eccle. hist. l. 5. c. 21. Plerique in Asia minore antiquitus 14. die mensis, nulla ratione diei sabbati habitâ hoc festum observarunt.

Quod dum faciebant cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequebantur, usque eo nequaquam disenserunt, quoad Victor episcopus Romanus supra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Asia qui erant reos agere kais edictis appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, Irenæus episcopus Lugduni per epistolam graviter inductus est. Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 17. Quid presbiterius, quidvis augustinus esse poterat, quam ut hoc festum per quod semper immortalitatis nobis ostentatam habemus, uno modo & ratione apud omnes integre sincereque observaretur? Ac primum omnium dignum planè videbatur ut ritum & consuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui quoniam suas ipsorum manus immanni scelere polluerunt, merito, ut sceleratos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) istud festum sanctissimum ageremus. In nostra enim sumum est potestate ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis sincero instituto (quod quidem usque à prima passionis die hæcenus recolimus) hujus festi celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobis cum Judæorum turba, omnium odiosa maxime.

12. 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 chuse 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 the name of that great and glorious *Messiah*, 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. 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 publick 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. 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 thro 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 shew 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* hereticks 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 afterward interpreted and wrested to the contrary; as those hereticks 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 drive an infant either thrice or but once in baptism, can be no way a thing reprovably; seeing that both in three times washing, the Trinity of persons, and in one the unity of the God-*

Their exception against such ceremonies as have been abused by the church of *Rome*, and are said in that respect to be scandalous.

Math. 18. 6.

1 Pet. 2. 8;

2 Sam. 12. 14.
Rom. 2. 24.
Ezek. 36. 20.

Tertul. lib. de virgin. veland.

Epist. ad Leandr. drum Hift.

head

head may be signified. So that of these two ceremonies, neither being hurtful in it self, both may serve unto good purpose, yet one was devised and the other converted unto evil. 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 our selves, 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

Hom. 11 de Pasch. *Idolatria consuetudo in tantum homines occurrat, ut Soli, Luna, Marti, atque Mercurio, Jovi, Veneri, Saturni, & diversis elementorum ac demonum appellationibus dies vocarentur, & lucitenebrarum nomen imponent.* Beda de ratione temp. cap. 4. *Octavus dies idem primus est, ad quem reditur, indeque rursus hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à pluvietis gentilitas indidit, habere se crentes à Sole spiritum, à Luna corpus, à Marte sanguinem, à Mercurio ingenium & linguam, à Jove temperantiam, à Venere voluptatem, à Saturno tarditatem.* Iisd. Hisp. lib. 5. Etymol. cap. 30. *Dies dicti à Diis, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam j. deribus sacraverunt.*

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. 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 hereticks, 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* hereticks. 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 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 our selves 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 publick 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 thro 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 tho 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 saint *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 imbecillity 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 nothim with thy meat for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for food's sake the work of God. We that are strong, must bear the imbecillity of the impotent, and not please our selves. It was a weakness in the christian Jews, and a main 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, altho we might lawfully else retain them. 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 imbecillity 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 it self by that which the apostle doth prescribe to the gentiles. Again, their 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 publick constitution for the ordering of the church: and we are not to look that the church should change her publick laws and ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, altho 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 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 him 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 tho 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. Those particular ceremonies which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next book have occasion more thoroughly to list, where other things also traduced in the publick 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 either against the one or the other. In the mean while, 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 wonder it is, that they 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 thro their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than thro 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 ceremonies. Wherein, for as much as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also, they farther 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.

Rom. 14.
& 15. 1.Vide Harme-
nop. lib. 1.
tit. 1. sect. 28.

T.C. l. 3. p. 178.

T.C. l. 3. p. 177.
It is not so
convenient,
that the mi-
nister having
so many ne-
cessary points
to bestow his
time in, should
be driven to
spend it in giv-
ing warning
of not abusing
them, of
which (altho
they were used
to the best)
there is no
profit.

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.

(a) T. C. l. 1. p. 133.

(b) 1 Cor. 16. 1.

(c) 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.

(d) T. C. l. 1. p. 182, 183.

(e) Rom. 16. 5, 7.

(f) 1 Cor. 14. 37.

13. 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. (a) *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 saint 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) alledgeth this for a reason, (b) That he had so ordained in other churches. Again, As children of one father, and servants of one family; so all churches should 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, (c) This rule did the great council of Nice follow, 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 thro-out 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. (d) 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 it self? 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, they ought to frame themselves to us; if they have better than we, then we ought to frame our selves to them: if the ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter churches should conform themselves to the first, as the younger daughter to the elder. (e) For as saint 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 it is, for the same cause, amongst the churches. (f) And in this respect he pincheth the Corinthians, 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. For as much 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. In this axiom, that preservation of peace and unity amongst 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. 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 manner 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 hindrance. 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 ecclesie sanctae consuetudo diversa. Where the faith of the holy church is one, a difference in customs of the church doth no harm.* That of saint Augustine to Cassianus, 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 it self, be always one, altho 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 leaveth it free unto all churches to receive their own custom. Yea, sometime it profiteth, and is expedient that**

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 dissention 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 dissention be avoided? Will they say, that there ought to be no dissention, 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 dissention, 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 dissention? 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 kind of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it. For proof whereof, it is not enough to alledge what saint *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, tho saint *Paul* did will them of the church

of *Corinth* (a), every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the sabbath, and to reserve it in store till himself did come thither to send it to 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 of you 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 chuse, them I may forthwith send away by letters, to carry your beneficence unto *Jerusalem*. Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity thro-out all churches, in all manner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over. But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, tho nothing else, yet the name of scripture to give it some kind of countenance more than the pretext of livery-coats afforded them. 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 it self in things indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather infer, That as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in fryers-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 antient use of the church thro-out all christendom was, for fifty days after *easter* (which fifty days were called *pentecost*, tho most commonly the last day of them, which is *whitsunday*, be so called) in like sort on all the sundays thro-out 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.* 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*

(a) T. C. l. i. p. 133. And therefore saint *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) alledgeth this for a reason, that he had so ordained in other churches.

1 Cor. 16. 1.

T. C. l. 3. p. 133: 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. 1. p. 133: This rule did the great council of *Nice* follow, *cyc. die dominico, ex per omnem pentecostem, nec de geniculis adorare, & jejunium solvere, &c.* De corr. milr. iii.

convenient custom be observed thro-out 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 publick 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. 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 particular 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 it self what is most convenient; the way to establish the same things indifferent thro-out 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 to 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, altho resolved in their own judgments what ceremonies are best, foreseeing that such as are addicted unto be not all so clearly and so incomparably best, but others there are, or may be at leastwise, when all things are well considered, as good; know 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. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much 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 her self 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. Saint *Paul*, they say, noteth it for a mark of special honour, that *Epaphroditus* was the first man in all *Achaia* which did embrace the christian faith; after the same sort he toucheth it also as a special preeminence of *Junius* and *Andronicus*, that in christianity they were his antients. The *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the word of God gone from out of 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 mens commendation; the two former speeches of saint *Paul* might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory as tho 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

T.C.H. p. 183.
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.

Rom. 16. 5.

1 Cor. 14. 36.

of

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 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 altho as *Epenetus* was the first man in all *Achaia*, so *Corinth* had been the first church in the whole world that received Christ; the apostles 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 tho they be many, saving only when they are the major part of a general assembly, and then their voices being more in number, must over-sway 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 it self, 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; 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, altho indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alledged 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 mens, even because they are their own, they must in equity allow 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 the 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.

T.C. l. 3. p. 183.
Our church either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault, that doth not conform her self in that which she cannot deny to be well abrogated.

14. 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, rites and ceremonies, as had been in former times an 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, tho it be from worse to better, hath in it inconveniencies, 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 our selves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it, with oversight and with error? Farther, 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 it self, 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

A declaration of the proceedings of the church of *England*, for establishment of things as they are.

laws,

laws, but the weight of so many mens 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 publick 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 publick superstition against apostolick endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their antient predecessors, that they must keep *religiones traditas*, the rights which from age to age had defended, 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 of 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, such 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 such 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 thro tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation; so touching the stint or measure thereof, rites 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 in as much 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 thorow alteration*; or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in publick affairs, whether of church or common-wealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings be it good or ill, they must before-hand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in it self 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 harmfuls 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

TC. I. 2. p. 29.
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.

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eased the church, as they thought of superfluity, they went 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 use, and so continued in use till that very time present? True it is; that neither councils nor customs, be they never so ancient and 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, do afterward in process of time wax otherwise; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, tho councils or customs general have received them. And therefore it is but a needless kind of opposition which they make, who thus dispute, *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 fore-fathers; then how can these things at any time be varied, which heretofore have been once ordained in such sort?* T.C. l. 3. p. 36. 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, 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?* Augusti Epist. 118. 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 fervor 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 common-wealth 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, 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 it self, 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 happily 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 chuse 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 fall'n out; so likewise, if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking it self to such practices

as men are commonly 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 wailes (because no other inducements will serve) may enforce them thro' 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 mean while 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 more 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 it self 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 sixth; 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 wiseman hath said concerning *Enoch* (whose days were, tho' 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, *Thou be departed this world soon, yet fulfilled be much time*. But what ensued? that work which the one in such sort had began, 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 our selves 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 it self, 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 it self to heaven for them; as that heaven it self hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or help having thereunto been ministred for performance of the work 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 it self, 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 leastwise by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he blesteth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot chuse 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 with life, even for ever and ever, unto that glorious and sacred instrument whereby he worketh.

OF THE
L A W S
O F
Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K V.

Concerning their fourth assertion, That touching several publick 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. **T**Rue 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 publick 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 publick 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 publick teaching or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechizing.
19. Of preaching, by reading publickly 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 publick 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 publick 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. *Eagerness 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 shreadings, 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 peoples saying after the minister.*
37. *Our manner of reading the psalms, otherwise than the rest of the scripture.*
38. *Of musick 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, Benediculus, and Nunc Dimittis.*
41. *Of the litany.*
42. *Of Athanasius 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 unto 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.*
52. *The mis-interpretations 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, tythes, all intended for perpetuity of religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the clergies certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church-livings be made frustrate.*
80. *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.*
81. *Of the learning that should be in ministers, their residence, and the number of their livings.*

FEW there are of so weak capacity, but publick evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniencies thereof work a 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 publick 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. Whercin 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 mens over-sights, imputing evils grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framing unto some forces unwholsome plaisters, and applying otherwise 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 publick regiment, as well in regard of that ^(a) P^{sa}l. 144. aid and protection 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 publick affairs the more serviceable; governors the apter to rule with conscience; inferiors for conscience sake the willing 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 ^(b) the course of politick affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues; Let policy acknowledge it self indebted to religion, godliness being the ^(c) 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 publick administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that ^(d) 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 vulgar folly, no less than *Solomon's* attention thereunto, was of natural fartherances 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 Godward 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 meer 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

True religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well ordered civill-morweale.

^(a) P^{sa}l. 144.
^(b) C. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. *Gaudere & gloriarī ex fide solum, per volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis laborare corporis vel sudore nostram rempublicam contineri.*
^(c) *Ἐστὶ δὲ αὖ ἐν τῇς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμειν ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀρετή, καὶ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος.*
^(d) *Ἐστὶ δὲ αὖ ἐν τῇς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμειν ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀρετή, καὶ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος.*

^(e) *Ἀρχὴ δὲ αὖ ἐν τῇς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμειν ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀρετή, καὶ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος.*
^(f) *Ἐστὶ δὲ αὖ ἐν τῇς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμειν ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀρετή, καὶ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος.*
^(g) *Ἐστὶ δὲ αὖ ἐν τῇς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμειν ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀρετή, καὶ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος, καὶ ἡ ἀντιπάλαιος.*

piety, could be but a spectacle of commiseration ; even as that body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanted 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 it self, 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 concurrerh ; 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

Psaln 1. 3.

Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀ-
ληθὲς ἀγα-
θὸν καὶ ἐμφο-
νὰ πᾶσι τοῖς
ἰσχυροῖς τοῖς
κατασκευασ-
ταῖς τοῦ πο-
λέμου ἀπὸ τοῦ
καλλίστου ἀρε-
τῆς.
Arist. Ethic.
lib. 1. cap. 10.

down as an 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. But lest any man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turks and Infidels, impute to religion a great part of the same effects which our selves 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 farthest 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 of so important contrariety between it and the true religion. Nevertheless, in as much 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

Ces. de Bell.
Gall. lib. 6.

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 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 before hand 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 farthered so great attempts, without the mixture of a true persuasion concerning the irresistible force of divine power ? Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blasphemy, and like contempts, offered by deriders of religion even unto false gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrences 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

Wisd. 14. 31.

not. In this they erred. For (as the *wise man* rightly noteth concerning such) it was not the power of them by whom they swore, 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 infal-

lible

lible 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. 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 their kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate (as they thought) left their own and their peoples ghostly condition uncar'd 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. 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 commonwealths to love her as their chiefest stay.

2. 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. 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 their 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 souls 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 prevaieth little. For how should the brightness of wisdom shine, where the windows of the soul are of very set purpose closed? True religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth that enquiry 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, inasmuch as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall always condemn it self, 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 shew 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

1 Chr. 29. 17;

The most extreme opposite to true religion, is affected atheism.

Wisd. 2. 21. Such things they imagine, and go astray, because their own wickedness hath blinded them.
'Есть же и не-кая ослепленіе астрій.
Arist. Eth. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Susan. ver. 9. They turned away their mind, and cast down their eyes, that they might not see heaven, nor remember just judgments.

*Hæc est summa
delicti, nolle
agnoscere quem
ignoscere non
possumus. Cyp.
de Idol. Vanit.
2 Pet. 3. 3.
Jude Verſ. 18.*

Dan. 3. 29.

fear of the contrary. 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 were long since forewarn'd 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 confess) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, *Babylon* hath exceeded *Sion*. We want that decree of *Nebuchodonosor*; the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty; their tongues walk at large; the spit-venom of their poison'd hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others; what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same their licentious mouths do every where set abroad. 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 oppugn'd, 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 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 receiv'd, that although in themselves they be most certain; yet because men presume them granted of all, we are hardiest able to bring such proof of their certainty as may satisfy gainfayers, when suddenly and besides expectation they require the same at our hands. Which im preparation and unreadiness when they find in us, they turn it to 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 confirm'd in them by the sleights of wiser men. For a politick use of religion they see there is, and by it they would also gather that religion it self is a meer politick device, forged purposely to serve for that use. Men fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually, than by positive laws, restrain'd from doing evil; in as much as those laws have

*(a) Vos scelera
admissa puni-
tis, apud nos
& cogitare
peccare est;
vos confcios tri-
metis, nos eti-
am conscientiam
solam, si-
ne qua esse non
possumus. Mi-
nu. Fel. in
Octav.*

*Summum præ-
sidium regni
est justitia ob
aperitos tumultus,
& religio
ob occultos.*
*Carda. de Sa-
pien. lib. 3.
(b) Mach.
Disc. 1. 1. c.*

11, 12, 13, 14.

no farther 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 becometh that the world should be held in awe, not by a vain fummise, but a true apprehension of somewhat, which no man may think himself able to withstand. This is the politick use of religion. In which respect there are, of these wise malignants, ^(b) some who have vouchsafed it their marvelous 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 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 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 chuse 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 falshood of oracles, whereupon all gentiilism was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithstanding counsel

fel, 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 politrick devillers, able to create God in man by art.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whercof, as they bear the greater or lesser sway in man's heart, frame accordingly to 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, found and discreet, as *Abraham* 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 it self unto conflict with all 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 it self 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. 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 whercof, 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 voluntariness, either niceness or superfluity in religion. The christian world it self being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with 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 chiefeft cause whercof doth seem to have lien in the restless wits of the *Grecians*, evermore proud of their own curious and subtle 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. 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 it self with the rites even of divine service done to the only true God, must be considered of as a creeping and inroaching evil; an evil, the first beginnings whercof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil, when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or it self come unto farther growth. For in the church of God, sometimes it cometh to pass, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile disposition whercof 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;

Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.

2 Chron. 20. 7. *Abraham* thy friend.

Wisd. 17. 12

Mark 7. 9.

world; which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of vertuous, 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.

4. 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 meer deceitful pleasing of our selves 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 publick 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 the 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 caviel, 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 lye 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 least for their sakes, very meet, 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 Godward oweth. Solemn and serviceable worship we name for distinction sake, whatsoever belongeth to the church or publick 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 only 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 becometh, and that our customs are either superstitious, or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of publick 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.

5. 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 before-hand 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 farther 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 commanded of God, have been either devised or abused unto superstition*. These and the rest of the same sort we have in the book going before examined. Other canons they alledge, and rules not unworthy

thy 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 unwor- derly 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 pur- pose, 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.

6. The first thing therefore which is of force to cause approbation with good consci- ence towards such customs and rites as publickly are established, is, when there ariseth from the due consideration of those customs and rites in themselves apparent reason, al- though not always to prove them better than any other that might possibly be devi- sed, (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 would 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 digni- ty 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 compara- ble unto the publick 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 ex- cellent 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 it, unless we esteem it even according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive, when divine sublimity it self is rightly consi- dered. In the powers and faculties of our souls God requireth the uttermost 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 out- ward 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 maje- sty of him whom we worship. Yea, then are the publick duties of religion best order- ed, when the militant church doth resemble by sensible means, 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 it self, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the desert a grievous annoiance, for ease whereof his ex- traordinary providence ordained a cloudy pillar to over-shadow them : So things of ge- neral 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 publick ordinan- ces, wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred. Let our first demand be therefore, 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 be- tokening the greatness of God, or as becoming the dignity of religion, or as concur- ring with celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of ; some few, rare, casual, and tolerable, or otherwise curable inconveniences, notwith- standing.

7. 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 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 gray hair, and the virtues old age.* But because wisdom and youth are seldom join- ed in one, and the ordinary course of the world is more according to *Job's* Observati- on, who giveth men advice to seek wisdom *amongst the ancient, and in the length of*

The first pro- position touching judgment, what things are conveni- ent in the outward pub- lick ordering of church affairs.

John 4. 24.
Wisd 6. 10.
1 Chron. 29.
17.

2 Chron. 2. 5.

Εὐχὰς δὲ
ἔχον ὁμῶς καὶ
ἀγαθὸς, Ger-
ma. *et* *ut*
consequatur v.
Delectatio Do-
mini in eccle-
sia vera, est
imago celesti-
um. Ambros.
de interpel.
Dav.
Fruit in terris
opera celorum,
Sidon. Apol.
Epist. lib. 6.

The second Proposition.

Wisdom 4. 9.
Job 12. 12.

8. 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, as a queen or sovereign commandeth over other virtues. This in every several man's actions of common life appertaineth unto *moral*; in publick and politick secular affairs, unto *civil* wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain form for the outward administration of publick 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, *Why we should hang our judgment upon our churches 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 recal, 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 catholick 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, tho' an angel from heaven should preach unto us, we would not believe*. But did we ever in any of them read touching matters of meer 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 over-rule all other inferior judgments whatsoever. To them which ask, why we thus hang our judgments on the churches sleeve, I answer with Solomon, because *two are better than one*. Yea simply (saith Basil)^a *Ecclef. 4. and universally, whether it be in works of nature, or voluntary choice and counsel: 1^o see not any thing done as it should be, if it be wrought by an agent singling it self 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 it self in these things stop their mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. There is (saith Cassian)^d *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 over-rule 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 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 authorities sake be bound to obey? 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 meer 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 injoin gainsayers silence, giving them 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 third proposition.

^a *Ἡ μὲν ὁδοῦσα
στὴν μέν τε
ποιντῆρα
ἔστιν ἀντι-
πῶσα. Phi-
lo. Pag. 35.*

^b *C. 1. 3.
P. 171.*

^a *Ecclef. 4.
Basil. Ep.
68. d. 8. c.
Qua contra.
Turpis est om-
nis pars uni-
verso suo non
congruens.
c. R. Ismael
in Cap. Patr.
d. Cassian. de
Incarn. l. 1.
c. 6.*

the evidence of any law divine, nor the strength of any invincible argument otherwise found out by the light of reason, nor any notable publick 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 it self, 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.

9. There are ancient ordinances, laws (which on all sides are allowed to be just and good, yea divine and apostolick 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

Numb. 22.
28.

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. This necessity excuseth him; so that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his works perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs, who alledge 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 potentially 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, the same in this case it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed simply in it self 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

*Necessitas,
quicquid co-
git, defendit.
Senec. Con-
trov. l. 9.*

Acts 27. 38.

all that, did not hinder St. Paul from throwing corn into the Sea, when care of saving mens 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 it self inhumane 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 oftner condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases of necessity, that which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases

Luke 6. 4.

*Causa necessi-
tatis & utili-
tatis equipa-
rantur in juve.
Ab. Panor. ad
c. ut super
nu. 15. de.
Reb. Ecclef.
non alien.*

of necessity being sometime but urgent, sometime extrem, the consideration of publick 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 maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is that very just regard hath been had of the publick good; That which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present controversy, hath inflamed the judgments both of sundry good, and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certain general principles whereup-

ed, 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 utilities sake, certain profitable ordinances sometimes be released, rather than all men always strictly bound to the general rigor thereof.

The rule of men's private spirits not safe in in these Cases to be followed.

10. 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 it self devised for the publick good, or against the discretion of the church in mitigating sometimes with favourable equity that rigor 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 enlighthened from above than many thousands, the church did give every man license 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; in as much 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 unsufficiency 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 publick service of God.

^a Gen. 3. 8.

^b Gen. 4. 3.

^c Gen. 13. 4.

^d 22. 1.

^e 21. 33.

^f Exod. 26.

^g Deut. 12. 5.

^h 2 Chron. 3. 1.

ⁱ 2 Chron.

6. 7.

^j Psa. 132. 5.

^k 2 Chron.

25. 9.

^l 2 Chron.

29. 3.

^m Ezr. 3. 12.

Agge. 2. 4.

11. Solemn duties of publick service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort as becometh actions of that regard. *Adam*, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had ^a where to present himself before the Lord. *Adam's* sons had out of Paradise in like sort ^b whither to bring their Sacrifices. The patriarchs used ^c altars, and ^d mountains, and ^e groves, to the self-same purpose. In the vast wilderness, when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable ^f 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, ^g *Ye shall seek that place which the Lord your God shall choose*. When God had chosen *Jerusalem*, and in *Jerusalem* mount ^h *Moriah*, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of ⁱ *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 majestic and stately was no small charge. Therefore he ^k 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, ^l *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 ^m 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 sy-

malicious persons, both of suspecting, and of traducing with more colourable shew 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 publick 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 publick; 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, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place publick, is the publick 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 publick, but farther 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 creation 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 wherunto it is intended such houses shall be put. 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 wherunto 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.

Exod. 40. 34.
1 Reg. 8. 11.

Exod. 40. 9.
1 Reg. 8.

Levit. 16. 2.
The place
named holy.

Ezr. 6. 16.

Mat. 21. 13.
Jer. 17. 24.

Mark 11. 16.

Levit. 26. 2.
1 Cor. 11. 22.

Pet. Cluniac.

The argument which our Saviour useth against prophaners of the temple, he taketh from the use wherunto 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, nor not the carriage of a vessel through the temple. These two commandments therefore are in the law conjoined, *Ye shall keep my sabbaths, 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 christian religion, it hath been nevertheless nor 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; 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; the 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 mirth, nor the apostle of Christ that the church should be made an inn. When therefore we sanctify and hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify, that we make them places of publick 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 wherunto 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, if 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 therefore 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.

13. 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 it self doth sufficiently shew, in as much as by plain grammatical construction, *Church* doth

doth signify no other thing than *the Lord's house*. 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 it self, some of Christ under sundry titles, of the blessed virgin not a few, many of one apostle, saint, or martyr, many of all. 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*. Divers considerations there are, for which christian churches 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 enquiry 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 *Beltisbazzar*, 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.

14. 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 order. 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 their 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 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, wherinto there might not any but the high priest alone enter, according to the custom of the *Jews*.

15. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are employed: *The mother of such magnificence* (they think) *is but a proud ambitious desire to be*

From *Kuza-*
ri's, *Xyrr*, and
by adding
letters of as-
piration,
Chyrb.

Vid. Socr. 1.
1. c. 16. Ev.
lib. 4. c. 30.
Hist. trip. 1. 4.
c. 18.

V. Ang. 18. de
civ. Dei c.
27. l. 22.
c. 10. Epist.
49. ad Deo
gra.

The duty
which chris-
tian men
performed
in keeping
Festival do-
dications,
St. Basil
termeth *α-
ρεσκ* *α* *θε*,
acknowledg-
ing the same
to have been
withal *παρ*
α *της* *αρεσκ* *α* *θε*
c. 1. Basil in
Psal. 114.

Ast. 28. 11.

Dan. 4. 5.
Vide Scal. de
emendat.
temp. l. 6.
p. 277.

Of the fashi-
on of our
churches.

The sumptu-
ousness of
Churches.

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 our selves, 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 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 sui-

^a Ἐργον τὸ μέγα, καὶ καλὰ ἥμισυ. ὅτι γὰρ τοῦτον ἡ θεοεία διανοήσῃ. *Arif. Eth. l. 4. c. 2. πρὸ αἰσθήσεως καλὰ καὶ νοῦσι καλῶν εἶναι.* Philo. Jud.

^b Felix, thesauri imperialis questor, conspicuus sacrorum onforum pretia; *En, inquit, qualibus vastis ministratur Maria filio!* Theodoret. hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 12.

^c Eccles. 39. 34.

table, decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his gospel, except we think of Christ and his gospel, as ^b the officers of *Julian* did. As therefore the Son of *Syrach* giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, ^c *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,

^d Agge 2. 5, 10.

the tears of their grieved eyes the prophets ^d 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 ^e *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 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.

^e Minut. Fel. in Octav.

^f Euseb. l. 8. c. 1.

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 hindrance, 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 *Diocletian* caused by solemn edict to be afterwards overthrown. *Maximinus* with like authority giving them leave to erect them, the hearts of 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, alledge 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 travel 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

^f Euseb. l. 10. c. 2.

Book V. ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

Christ being long sithence entred, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also our selves would grant, if the use thereof had been meerly and only mystical. But sith the prophet *David* doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expences have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our chearful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture 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. 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 expences upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the mean while charity cold: We have in such case just occasion to make complaint as St. *Jerom* did, *The walls of the church there are enow contented to build, and to under-set it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the roofs shene with gold, the altar hath precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's ministers no choice at all.* The same *Jerom*, 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 wko requireth the one as necessary, accepteth the other also as being an honourable work.*

16. 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 publick 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 preeminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the service of God hath not then it self *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 it self 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, *Ezekiah's* 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.*

17. 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*, *Jehosaphat*, *Ezechia*, *Josiah*, destroyed all the high places, altars and groves, which had been erected in *Juda* 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 willet 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. The truth is, that as no man serveth God, and loveth him not; so neither can any man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin which is the highest degree of treason

Chron. 28.
14

Chron. 2. 3.

Marth. 6. 29.

Malac. 1. 8.

Ad Nepotian.
de vita Cle-
ric.

Ad Demetr.
Epist. 12. ad
Gaudentium.

What holi-
ness and vir-
tue we as-
cribe to the
church, more
than other
places.

Exhort ad
bap. & peni-
tent

Psal. 96. 9.

Their pre-
tence that
would have
churches ut-
terly raz'd.

Psal. 137.

Deut. 12. 2.

Chron.

Chron. 29.

Chron. 5.

^a Isa. 8. 21.⁴⁵ 20.

Hof. 14. 4.

Isa. 41. 24.

^b Psal. 115. 8.

81. 13.

Rom. 1. 24.

^c Judic. 6. 13.^d Apoc. 21. 8.

Isa. 2. 21.

^e Act. 14. 14.^f Deut. 28.

20.

^g Jer. 2. 17.

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 ^a 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 ^b withdrawing of grace, ^c dereliction in this world, and in the world to come ^d confusion. ^e 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 thorough the press of the people, *O men, wherefore do ye these things?* They knew the force of that dreadful ^f 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, ^g themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it. 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 loath it self, 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 farther, 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 manner *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 chuse 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 chuse 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 ido-

latry

latry 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.

18. Places of publick 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 ^a of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst men, as contrariwise the 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, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious offices wherewith we publickly 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*. For otherwise there is not any thing *publickly 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 ac-

Of publick teaching, or preaching; and the first kind thereof, catechizing.

^a *Contraria fortis in quibus homines sibi invicem opponuntur secundum exercitia & desideria & opiniones, omnia procedunt ex ignorantia: sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubique & laeditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam & odium. Hoc promittit sancta Theologia dicens, Habebitis agnus cum lupo. Et assignat rationem, repleta est terra sapientia Domini. Moyses Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

cordingly 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 publickly 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 churches care for the endless good of her children. 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. With religion it fareth as with other sciences, the first delivery of the

Luc 8. 39.
12. 3.

Vide Tertul.
de præscr.
advers. hæc.

The Jews
Catech. called
Lekach Tob.

elements thereof must, for like consideration, 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 therefore, 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 ^c christian belief compendiously

^b *Incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosa atque perplexa deterret solent, aut eo tempore cito præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam evitanda sunt, asperorum rerum tractatu atteruntur. Fab. præm. l. 8. Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioquin si statim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum studiosi multitudinem ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, disorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (que plerumque juvenes avertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviori via ductus sine magno labore & sine ulla diffidentia maturius perducere potuisset. Institut. Imper. l. 1. tit. 1.*

^c Vide Ruffi. in Symb.

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 their rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterward by baptism received into the church, the fathers usually in their writings do term ^d *Hearers*; 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. Catechizing may be in schools, it may be in private families; but when we make it a kind of preaching, we mean always the publick performance thereof in the open hearing of men, because things are preached, not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

^d Tert. de penitent. *An alius est in fide Christi? Alius auditibus? Audientes optare in iudicium, non presumere oportet. Cypprian. Epist. 17. l. 3. Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit. Rupert. de divin. Offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. Audientis quisque regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque auditor interpretatur.*

Of preach-
ing, by read-
ing publick-
ly the books
of holy scrip-
ture, and
concerning
supposed un-
truths in
those tran-
slations of
scripture,
which we al-
low to be
read; as also
of the choice
which we
make in
reading.
* Acts 15. 21.

19. *Moses* and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, were in their times all preach-ers 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 *publickly* 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 examples 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 *Gentiles* them that preached him, *in that* he was read every sabbath-day. For so of necessity it must be meant, in as much 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 no where find. Howbeit still we must here remember, that the church, by her publick 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 publick audience are such, as following a middle course between the rigor 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 scripture* it self there be *contradiction*, every little difference should not seem an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out.

Psal. 105. 28. 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 gainfayers of scripture, even in that which we read for scripture unto the people. But for as much 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 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, *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 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 shew of jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might have both 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 *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the least? And doth not the very evangelist translate these words, Thou *Bethleem* not the least? The one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. *Micheas* 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 gain-say 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 under-

derstanding *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 it self will easily enough likewise suffer) if the *Egyptians* being meant by both, it be so 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, in as much as the sheep and cattle at the self-same time they with-held. 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 péril at all of gain-saying 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 gain-said or cross'd, 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 ^a to his disciples, That which the gospel declareth he spake ^b 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. Further-

more, somewhat they are displeased, in that we follow not the method of reading which ^c in their judgment is most commendable; 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 will vouchsafe us some just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retain the ^d ancient received custom which we now observe.

For with us the reading of the scripture in the church is a part of our church-liturgie, a special portion of the service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth wait for anothers coming, till the assembly of them which shall afterwards worship him be compleat. Wherefore; as the form of our publick 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.

20. Other publick 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 ^e plead, 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* ^f polity, 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 understood; That before and after our Saviour's coming, they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Jonathan's* paraphrase, though having both; but contented themselves ^g with the reading only of scriptures; that if in the primitive church there had been any thing read besides the mo-

^a T. C. l. 2. p. 381. Altho' 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 publick reading in the church necessary. h. d.

^d Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. *Facto silentio, scripturarum sunt lecta divina solemniter.* That for several times several pieces of scriptures 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.

Of preaching by the publick reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning books A. pocryphal.

^e T. C. l. 1. 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. 30. 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. 10. 2.*

^f T. C. l. 1. p. 197. Besides this, the Polity of the church of God in times past is to be followed, &c.

^g Acts 15. 21.

^a Justin. Apol. 2. Origen. Hom. 1. super Exod. & in Judic. ^b Concil. Laod. c. 59. ^c Concil. Valens. 2. ^a Concil. Colon. par. 2.

^c Exod. 30. 25, 32. ^f Ex. 40. 15.

^g Num. 10. 2. ^h Exod. 27. 3. & 30. 26, 27, 28.

ⁱ T. C. l. 1. p. 127. The Lord would by these Rudiments and Pedagogies teach, that he would have nothing brought into the church, but that which he appointed.

^k Elias Thesb. in verbo patar.

^l Acts 15. 21. ^m Acts 13. 15.

ⁿ T. C. l. 1. 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. Afterwards, 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 controuled, 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.

The Apocryphse.

^o T. C. l. 2. 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.]

numents of the prophets and apostles, ^a *Justin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention these, would have spoken of the other likewise: That ^b the most ancient and best councils forbid any thing to be read in churches, saving canonical scripture only. That when ^c other things were afterwards permitted, ^d fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the bible it self was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the authors good will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted 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, ^e appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uses. Thus the ^f anointing of *Aaron* and his Sons tied them to the office of the priesthood for ever; the anointing not of those silver trumpets (which ^g *Moses* as well for secular as sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctify) but the unction of the ^h 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 ⁱ those rudiments, they say, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which the church by her authority hath appointed; and conse-

quently all positive Ordinances that ever were made by ecclesiastical power touching spiritual affairs, are prophane, 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 ^k *Elias* the Levite (out of whom it doth seem borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the publick 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 session of their law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the law ^l was restored, the self-same custom ^m as touching the prophets did continue still. If neither the *Jews* have used publickly to read their paraphrases, nor ⁿ the primitive church for a long time any other writings than scripture, 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. We have by thus many years experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the custom which we now 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 ^o so indifferent, whether the same be by solemn appointment read publickly or not read, the bare text excepted, which the preacher happily chuseth 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

^a Concil. Carthage. 3. Can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria. mart. ca. 86. & Hadria epist. ad Carol. Magn. ^b Gelas. circa An. Dom. 492. to. Concil. 2. p. 461.

^c Concil. Col. celebrat. An. D. 1536. par. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. 11. Viv. de trad. disc. lib. 5.

^d In errorum barathrum facilliter ruunt, qui conceptus propriis patrum definitionibus anteposuerunt. c. unde Relig. d. in extra.

^e Hieron. pref. ad lib. brosalom. Aug. de pred. Sand. L. 1. c. 14. Pref. gloss. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.

T. C. 1. 2. p. 400, 401.

Harm. Confess. sect. 1. Bel. con art. 6. Lubert. de princip. Christi. dogm. l. 1. c. 5.

tues of some being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the rest, this brought ^a in a fourth kind of publick reading, whereby the lives of such saints and martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials solemn recognition in the church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable custom being in latter 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 aflamed of nothing more than of saints. If therefore Pope ^b *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 forborn in the church of *Rome*; we are not to marvel, that afterwards 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 ^c very nests which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one suite, as if they who abolish legends could not without incongruity retain in the church either homilies or those ecclesiastical books. Which books in case my self did think, as some others do, safer and better to be left publickly unread; nevertheless in other things of like nature, even so in this, ^d 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 publickly read, have thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginal border unto the old testament, and tho' with divine, yet as human compositions, to grant at the least unto certain of them publick audience in the house of God. For in as much as the due estimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of those famous oracles of God, it greatly becometh 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 churches certain books besides the scripture, yet as the scripture we read them not. All men know our professed opinion, 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 lett, but that as often as those books are read, and need so requireth, the stile of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to bar even all possibility of error. 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 publickly, 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 publick 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 it self 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 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 what 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 publick 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 their fitness for the publick 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

there cannot greater be given to writings, the authors whereof are men. As in truth if the scripture it self, 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 for that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able discernedly 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 ^a *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, in as much as the *Jews* sithence that time had not the like exact succession of prophets; the ^c other acknowledging that they are profitable, although denying them to be divine, in such construction and sense as the scripture it self is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the ^d 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 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 *Ecclesiastical* 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 it self 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 her self 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. Jerom* giveth *Leta*, 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 publickly at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

21. 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 it self, 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 publickly 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 publick 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 uneffectual 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 it self 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 publick audience but once; for this cause, to avoid ambiguities wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the word of God it self, 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. Apostolick 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 exposi-

tions 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 it self 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; left 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 it self 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 it self 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* therunto? 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 it self 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 publickly (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 insit so much, and so proudly insult thereon, 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. ^a *Justin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the *Grecians*, That even in certain of their *writings* the very judgment to come is preached; nor the ^b 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 ^c council of *Toledo*, to call the usual publick reading of the *Gospels* in the church, preaching; nor ^d 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 ^e outcries which we do, 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 unjustly 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 ^f *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it spoken, the apostles *preached* as well when they *wrote*, as when they *spoke* the gospel of Christ; and our usual

^a Paraneet.
ad Gent. p.

¹⁷.
^b Concil. V.
sen. 2. c. 2.
^c Concil. Tol.

^d c. 11.
^e Rupert. de
Divin. Offic.
l. 1. c. 12, 13.
^f Id. de Ec-
cles. Offic.
l. 1. c. 10.
^g The Libel
of Schoolp. art.

11.
^h T. C. lib. 2.
p. 588.

St. Paul's
writing is no
more preach-
ing, than his
pen or his
hand is his
tongue: see-
ing they can-
not be the
same, which
cannot be
made by the
same instru-
ments.

ⁱ Evangeliza-
manu & scri-
ptione. Rainol.
de Rom. Ec-
cles. Idolola.
pref. ad Co.
Ejss.

public reading of the word of God for the peoples instruction is *preaching*. 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 confess'd, that the word of God outwardly administred (his Spirit inwardly 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.

22. 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 physick 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 wherof thereby manifesting it self 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. 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 churches 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, in as much 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 it self at large to the people, which caused churches throughout the world to have publick 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 hereticks 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 mens 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 since 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 with a proof more palpable, than this manifest received and every where continued custom of reading them publickly 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 churches *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 peoples 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 it self is one of the ordinary means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to insill that celestial verity, which being *but so* received, is nevertheless effectual

John 6. 46.
Matth. 16.
17.
2 Cor. 4. 6.
1 Cor. 12. 3.
Acts 16. 14.

What they attribute to sermons only, and what we to reading also.

1 Thes. 5.
Colos. 4. 16.

John 5. 39.
Isa. 8. 20.

to *save souls*? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the word of God, as the manner is in our churches. 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 mens attention to the scriptures, and the 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. 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 cloaths, 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 farther 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 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 toward them, but to the wilfull 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 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 meer 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 mens salvation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not apt to notify. Effects are mira-

T. C. l. 2. p.
376, 377,
395.
Page. 378.
Pag. 383.

2 Chron. 34.
18.

2 Chron. 34.
3.

Deut. 31. 13.

Luke 16. 20.

culous 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 with-
Exod. 24. 7.
out 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 *John* 20. 31. that moſt divine Goſpel, namely *faith*, and through faith ſalvation. Yea, all ſcripture is to this effect in it ſelf available, as they which wrote it were perſuaded; unleſs we
Prov. 1. 2, 3.
ſuppoſe that the evangelists, or others, in ſpeaking of their own intent to inſtruct
Rom. 1. 16.
and to ſave by writing, had a ſecret conceit, which they never opened to any; and
2 Tim. 3. 15.
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 alledged at the leaſt in a ſermon. Otherwiſe, if he which writeth doth that which is forcible in it ſelf, how ſhould he which readeth, be thought to do that which in it ſelf is of no force to work belief, and to ſave believers? Now, altho' we have very juſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome jealousy and fear, leſt by thus overvaluing 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 mens 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 ſake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietneſs with it; they answer ſumingly, that they are *afhamed to deſile their pens with making answer to ſuch idle queſtions*:
T. C. l. 2. p. 376.
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, which ſermons have once ingendred; 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 ghoully food at the preachers hands. But the principal cauſe of writing the goſpel was, that it might be preached upon, or interpreted by publick miniſters apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning ſermons, ſhould in ſuch fort 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 ſuſmied to have been, leſt the preacher ſhould want a text whereupon 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 kind of teachings, 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 mans 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 becometh? 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 inſallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what fort 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 πρῶτον ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς σωτηρίας, the firſt ſtep wherewith his race
towards

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 mens 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? Fain they would have

T. C. l. 2. p. 375. 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

2 Cor. 1. 21. 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

Rom. 10. 14. 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 *Pagans* themselves unto christian belief, willethe 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

* *Apolog. c. 11. in fine.* 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 the *Greek* translations of the seventy interpreters in their synagogues, as their custom before had been. *Authent. 146. Col. 10. incipit. Bquam sane.*

scriptures; and whosoever will hear, (saith * *Tertullian*) 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 it self must seek them; it behoveth God to send them preach-

ers, 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 their 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 do 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. 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 mens 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 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 other 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 hearkning and attending to the word of life, which word sometime proposeth and preacheth it self to the hearer; sometime they deliver it, whom privately zeal and piety moveth to be instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught, whom the church hath called to the publick 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 teachings as theirs was, or of sending such as they were, for that purpose, unto the *Gentiles*, prejudice the

The apostle useth the word κηρυγμα and not κηρυξις.

the efficacy of any other way of publick instruction; or inforce the utter disability of any other mens 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 no where found but in sermons, maketh them effectually 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 it self 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 ^a fall upon their poor brethren ^a T. C. l. 2. which can but read, and against them they are bitterly eloquent. If we alledge 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 ^b 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 alledged in sermons. Furthermore, having received apostolical doctrine, ^d 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 in as much 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 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 wait. For, sith speech is the very image whereby the mind and soul of the speaker conveyeth it self into the bosom of him which heareth, we cannot chuse 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. 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

T. C. L. 2. p. 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. ^a Another usual point of their art in this present question, is to make very large and plentiful discourses how Christ is by sermons ^b lifted up higher and more ^c apparent to the eyes of faith, how the ^d 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 ^e 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 ^f impossibility 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.

^g T. C. L. 2. p. 380. No salvation to be looked for, where no preaching is.

^h T. C. L. 2. p. 395. 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 inconveniencies 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. 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 it self 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 blest with happy success those things which himself appointeth; so his church, we persuade our selves, 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 mans private discretion in publick sermons, and to withdraw it self from concurring with the publick delivery thereof, by such selected portions of scriptures, as the whole church hath solemnly appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinary course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of special occasions? Reading (saith ^h *Isidore*) is to the hearers no small edifying. To them whose ⁱ 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 ^k joy, and afterwards their study that hear it. ^l St. *Augustin*, speaking of devout men, noteth how they daily frequented the church, how attentive ear they gave unto the lessons and chapters read, how careful they were to remember the same, and to muse thereupon by themselves. ^m St. *Cyprian* observeth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity was 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 ⁿ *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

reading of the other. In this therefore preaching and reading are equal, that both are approved as his ordinances, 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. Touching *hardness*, which is T. C. l. 2. p. 383, 384, 392. 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 mens salvation, we have been hitherto accustomed to hold (especially since the publishing of the gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the simplest having now a key unto knowledge, which the church in the Acts 8. 31. 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. 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 learned 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 it self 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 fought; 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. But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can chuse but think them cruel, which do 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 mans 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 whercof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectual manner. The principal churches throughout the land, 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 extream destitution, that

justly any man should think the ordinary means of eternal life taken from them, because their teaching is in publick 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 ^a encouragement; to put them in mind, that it is not the deepness of their knowledge, but the ^b singleness of their belief which God accepteth: That they which ^c hunger and thirst after righteousness, shall be satisfied: That no ^d imbecillity 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 ^e industry; and that ^f plainness by feeble means, shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments, is, through sloth and negligence, lost. 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 it self, 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 kind of blind uses whereunto they may answer that reading doth serve, yet the reading of the word of God in publick, 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 since 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 gainsaid; 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 an 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. 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 wherefore 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 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 shew of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himself to the capacity of the simple. But let them exclude and inclose 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 vigor 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-cager adversaries hath constrained 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 uneffectual 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 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, such 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 rigor 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.

23. 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 upwards? 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 dependant; 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 ^a *calves of men's lips*; those most gracious and sweet ^b odours; those rich presents and gifts, which being ^c 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 it self as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient: When we are not able to do any other things for mens 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.

24. 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 occasions in private: But the service which we do as members of a publick body, is publick, and for that cause must needs be accounted 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 publick prayer in the church of God, than before me *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by troops to the place of assembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be supplicants enough to besiege God with our prayers: These forces are unto him acceptable*. When we publickly make our prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we ask publickly are approved as needful and good in the judgment of all, we hear them fought 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 God-ward be slack, the alacrity and fervour of others serveth as a present spur. *For even prayer it self* (saith *St. Basil*) *when it hath not the consort of many voices to strengthen it, is not it self*. Finally, the good which we do by publick prayer, is more than in private can be done, for that besides the benefit which is here, is no less procured to our selves, 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

^a Ose. 14. 3.
^b Rev. 5. 8.
^c Acts 10. 4.

Rom. 1. 9.
 1 Thes. 5. 17.
 Luke 18. 1.

1 Sam. 12. 23.

Dan. 9. 20.
 Acts 10. 30.
 Of publick
 prayer.
 Psal. 55. 13.
 Dan. 9. 3.
 Acts 10. 9.

Mat. 18. 20.
 2 Cor. 1. 11.

Jonah 4. 11.

Apolog. 1. 39.
 Ambros. 1. de
 Pen. Multi
 minimi dum
 congregantur
 unanimis, sunt
 magni; et
 multorum pro-
 ces impossibilis
 est contemni.
 Psal. 122. 11.

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 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 publick assemblies, and the happiness of such as had free access thereunto.

25. A great part of the cause wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the love of publick 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 imbecillity and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of our selves 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 publick as with private prayer. In this, rather secrecy is commanded, than outward shew; whereas that being the publick 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. 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 of the place it self, so to frame our affections praying, as doth best become 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 his publick prayer. The warning-sound was no sooner heard, but the churches were presently filled; the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and wash'd with their tears of devout joy. And as the place of publick 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 god-

Καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
ἐκείνου τῆς
συνευρέσεως
ἀναμνηστικῶς
τοῦ αὐτοῦ.
Basil. Epist.
68.
Psal. 26. 12.
34. 18.
Psal. 50. 4.
& 95. 9.
Psal. 27. 4.
& 42. 4. &c
84. 1.
Of the form
of common-
prayer.
Matth. 8. 5.
6.
Matth. 21. 13.
Cbrys. Hom.
15. ad Hebræi
Ep. 24. in Acta
1 Cor. 11. 10.
Psal. 96. 6.
Power and
beauty are in
his sanctu-
ary.
Ad domos san-
ctim Dominicas
currimus, cor-
pora huius ste-
nimus, mixti
cum fetu gau-
dii supplica-
mus. Salvian.
de Prov. l. 7.
Numb. 6. 24.
2 Chron. 30.
27.
Cód. l. i. tit.
3. de Ep. &c
Cler. 43. &c
44. scilicet.

1 Tim. 2. 8.
John. 9. 31.
Jer. 11. 11.
Ezech. 8. 18.

Pfal. 152. 9.

2 Chron. 6.
20.
Joel 2. 17.
2 Chron. 29.
30.

Of them
which like
not to have
any set form
of common-
prayer.

Num. 6. 23.

lines of life are 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 fwereth 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 loath and abhor the sanctuary, when they which perform the service thereof, are such which the sons of *Heli* 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!* But of all helps for due performance of this service, the greatest is that very set and standing order it self, 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 everywhere 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 mold, 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 inconveniencies 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 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 publick 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.

26. 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 publick 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 mens 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. 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 loath 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 molds, 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 com-

mon-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, ^a they sung, 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, ^b *I will pray and sing with the spirit*. Again; ^c *in Psalms, Hymns, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily*. Hymns and Psalms are ^d such kinds of prayer, as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by meditation before-hand, or else by prophetic 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.

^a Matth. 26. 30. *ὕμνοις*; 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 *Psalm* 112. edit. 1. and *Sealiger de emendat. tempore*

^b 1 Cor. 14.
^c Ephes. 5.
^d 19.

27. 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 since proposed to the world a form, such as themselves like, and, to shew their dislike of 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 chuse 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 ^a many things in it they say are amiss; 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; or attire disagreeeth it; it is not orderly read nor gestured as becometh: It requireth nothing to be done, which a child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cuts or shreadings, 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 from sudden death, riddance from all adversity, and the extent of saving mercy towards all men. These, and such like, ate 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, 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

Of them who allowing a set form of prayer, yet allow not ours.

^a T. C. l. 1. p. 131. afterwards p. 135. Whereas Mr. Doffor 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.

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 contrive things doubtful to the better, those very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever hath but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to favour 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 confess'd 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 skillful 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.

T. C. l. 1. p. 135. A book of the form of common-prayer tendered to the parliament, p. 46.

Page, 22.

Page, 24.

28. 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 extream. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and christian men some things, some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow 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. 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 publick prayer is a duty entire in it self, a duty requisite to be performed much oftner than sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a publick 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 *upon the days appointed for the preaching of the word*; with what words the minister shall begin, *when the hour appointed for 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 meer 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.

* Attire belonging to the service of God.

b T. C. l. 1. p. 71. We think the surplice especially unmeet for a minister of the gospel to wear. p. 75. It is easily seen by *Solomon, Eccles. 8. 9.* 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.

29. The ^a attire which the minister of God is by order to use at times of divine service, being but a matter of meer formality, yet, such as for comeliness-like, 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 our selves 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 our selves unto

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? *Divine religion*, saith St. *Jerom*, (he speaketh of the prickly 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 carpied at the curious neatness of men's apparel in those days, and through the sowness of his disposition, spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, that the *glory of cloaths and ornaments, was a thing contrary to God and godliness*; St. *Jerom*, 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*, 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 cloaths. 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 cloaths.* By which words of *Jerom*, we may take it at the least for a probable conjecture, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning, by so general a speech, even the neatness of that very garment it self, where- in the clergy did then use to administer publickly 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.* Now, whereas these speeches of *Jerom* and *Chrysostom*, do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial garments as were then in use: To this they answer, that by *Jerom* nothing can be gathered, but only that the ministers came to church in handsome holy-day 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 the same which we defend, but seemeth rather to reprehend, than allow it as we do. Which answer wringeth out of *Jerom* 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 it self to be different whereof they speak, or their judgment 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 it self, if they which wear it do nothing else but wear 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 *Jerom'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. The wife 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 most 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 ser-

Hierom. in 44. Ezech. Hiero. Advcr. Pelag. l. 1. c. 9. T. C. l. 1. p. 77. By a white garment is meant a comely Apparel, and not slovenly.

Chrysost. ad popul. Antioch. tom. 5. Sermon. 67.

T. C. l. 1. p. 75. 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.

Ecc. 45. 7.

vice 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. 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 hardneth papists, hindreth 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 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 common-wealth can make void; therefore neither may the one, nor the other, lawfully ordain this ceremony, which hath great incommody, 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 Ezekiah beating to powder the brazen serpent, and of Paul abrogating those abused feasts of charity, inforceth 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 publick 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 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 chuse any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a service. 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 rayment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniencies, 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 born 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 incommody of the thing it self, 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 confess'd, 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 both born and used with a very good conscience; before, he which by wearing it, were he 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. The examples of *Ezekias* and of *Paul*, the charge which was given to the *Jews* by *Esay*, 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 common-wealth 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 soder 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 alledged 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 controul 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 it self 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 hearts 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 burthen. 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 Ezechias 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 moved 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, Woe be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh; on the other side, at the apostles speech we cannot but quake and tremble, if I preach not the Gospel, woe 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 silt and 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

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 men which gave the first directions 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 fails 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 reprov'd, and the men themselves worse which reprove it, and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound, by making protections in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair intreaty 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 neighbours 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 λόγος 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 profess'd unwillingness to obey, is no better than manifest disobedience.

Basil. Ascet. respons. ad in-
ter. 47.

Of gesture in
praying, and
of different
places chosen
to that pur-
pose.
T. C. l. i. p.
154.

30. Having thus disputed, whether the surplice be a fit garment to be used in the service of God, the next question whereinto 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 these doubts, we would more willingly be resolv'd 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 to 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 unsufferable evil. It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other messengers, altho' 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 the Son *above the Father and the holy Ghost*, seeing that the truth of his equiunity with them, is a mystery so hard for the wits of mortal men to rise un-

T. C. l. i. p.
203.

Mark 12. 6.

T. C. l. 3.
p. 215.

to, of all heresies; that which may give him superiority above them, is least to be feared. 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 peoples 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 leuitical, absurd, and such as hindreth 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 meer fancy objecteth; and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy, is *Isaac's* apology to his brother *Ismael*, the apology which patience and silence maketh. Our answer therefore to their reasons is, no; to their scoffs, nothing.

31. 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 it self: 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 unsuitness 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 it self, 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 publick 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 childrens 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 publick 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 it self. The book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what should any pre-script form of prayer framed to the minister's hand require, but only so to be read as becometh? 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 expresse or include any thing, more than doth properly concern prayer. The ministers greatness

Easiness of praying after our form.

T. C. l. 1. p. 133. & l. 3. p. 184. Another fault in the whole service or liturgy of England is, for that it main-taineth 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 it self.

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 enquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass, that the church should every where have 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 mens 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 ser-
vice.
T. C. l. i.
p. 133. & l.
3. p. 184.

32. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reproveth in prayer; the one, when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when superfluous made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faulty, not when forever 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. *Augustin*) 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. Notwithstanding soasmuch as in publick 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 overquick dispatch of a duty so important, should give the world occasion to deem that the thing it self 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 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

Aug. Ep. 121.

Luke 6. 12.

1 Tim. 2. 1.

are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which speaketh no more than edifieth, is undeservedly reprehended for much speaking. That as *the Devil under the colour of long prayer drive preaching out of the church* heretofore, T. C. l. 3. p. 184. *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 it self 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 it self, 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, Augustin, Leo*, and the rest whose homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part than our sermons are, did then not preach when their speeches were not long. The necessity of shortness caused men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprize 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 an half* is, they say, in reformed churches ordinarily thought reasonable *for their whole Liturgy or service*. Neh. 8. 3. 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 imbecillity, 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.

33. The Brethren in *Egypt* (saith *St. Augustin, 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. Augustin* 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 become Men of their gravity. Such speeches are scandalous, that 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 were in his sight so vile and despicable, as men's disdainful speech would make it.

34. Again, for as much 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

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 shreadings, rather wishes than prayers. *T. C. l. 1. p. 138. & l. 3. p. 210, 211.*

Lesser intermingled with our prayers.

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

^a We have no such forms in scripture, as that we should pray in two or three lines, and then after having read a while 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 were distracted in his understanding, or some other like cause of the disorder of his supplication. *T. C. l. 1. p. 138.* This kind of reason the prophet in the matter of sacrifices doth use. *T. C. l. 3. p. 210.*

cause forever we do it, this intermingling of lessons with prayers is, ^a in their taste a thing as unfavoury, 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 before-hand, 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 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 publick 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 the 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 mens 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*

^a Μὴν πρὸς τὰ δῶρε, τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνων ἴματα. Καὶ ὃ τὸ δῶρον ἐν κήμασι δόξαι καὶ πρὸς σήμερον. Διὰ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλόπλουτοι ἐρίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέρους ὃ ἔχει ὃν δέονται. Καὶ ὃ τὸ κτήμα ἐν ὃν ἐρίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ πρὸς ἔχει ὃν οἱ φιλόπλουτοι. *Arist. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

quality and choice of those presents which we bring them for honours 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 *Mal. 1. 8, 14.* 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 bath 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, or speech, or behaviour forever is fit for suiters in a princes court, the same, and no other, becometh us in our prayers to almighty God?

35. 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; the people's praying after the minister, they say, both wasteth time, and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the *Psalms* they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common-Prayer, not to be sung or said by turns; nor such musick 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 becometh 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 to heavenward 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 publick prayer wherein their own particular is moved. And 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 under-hand, 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 whereto we are able to aim.

² For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our prayers as a guide, and to add it in the end of some principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective

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 incommunities 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. 1. 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. 1. p. 219.*

² *Premissa legitima & ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.*

Luke 11. 1.

Cypr. in O-
rat. Dom.The people's
saying after
the minister.

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. 14. 16. and otherwise than *Justin Martyr* sheweth the custom of the Churches to have been in his time. *T. C. l. 1. p. 139. & l. 3. p. 211, 212, 213.*

give in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftner 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 it self 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 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 saying 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. *Augustin* do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*, the prayer which Christ's own law hath tied his church to use in the same precript 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 alledge 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 precript 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 oftner 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.

36. 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 into the Liturgy. Twice we appoint that the words which the minister first pronounceth, the whole congregation shall repeat after him. As first in the publick 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 oftner 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 our selves? 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 com-

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 testimony 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 our selves united as brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues, that most effectual supplication, 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. The reasons which we have alledged, 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 mens 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 subtil opinions, as few but *Utopians* are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

37. 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; sometimes displeased they are at the artificial musick which we add unto psalms of this kind, or of any nature else; sometimes the plainest and the most intelligible rehearsal of them yet they favour not, because it is done by inter-location, 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, the psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by

Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the scripture.

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. 7. C. 1. 3. p. 206.

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, an 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 entred 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 oftner than any other part of scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their

Tit. 3. 7. 7.
ἐχθροὺς ἡ-
γισσάμενος ἡ-
μᾶς αὐτοῦ ὁ
κύριος ἀποκα-
ταστήσει ἡμᾶς
ἑαυτοῦ ἑ-
αυτοῦ.
Basil. Pref. in
Psalm.
1 Cor. 14. 16.

* ἡ ἀρεσκυλὴ τοῦ πανόρου ὑμολογία. Dionys. Hierar. Ec-
cles. cap. 3.

minister, and not the minister alone, to read them as other parts of scripture he doth.

Of musick
with psalms.

38. 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 it self by Nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all ages, and befeemeth 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 musick 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, in as much 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 extasies, filling the mind with an 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, forceable to draw 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 musick 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 publick prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental for the raising up of mens hearts, and the sweetning 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 an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental musick, 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 musick 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 mens 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 efficacy of the thing it self, 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 the *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 cause of good things into man's mind. To this of Psalms devised for us, that they which are in perfection of virtue as yet not grown to rising, learn. O the wise conceit of that heavenly found out a way, that doing those things whereby we profit!

39. 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.* 54. 14. 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 prayers, petitions, songs of comfort, psalms of particulars, as when the pastor maketh their first a general assent thereunto; or when he joyful unity follow, dividing between them the sense shall most shew his own, and stir up others to name they magnify; or when he proposeth unto own requests for relief in every of them; or trumpet, to proclaim unto them the laws of *Israel* did, by way of generality a cheerful command, *we will do*; yet that which God doth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, grace at the merciful hands of God, to perfect or when they with reciprocally each others glorification raiseth them up, and they by protestation eth not in vain unto them: These interlocutions, but most effectual, partly testifications, When, and how this custom of singing by concert is certainly known. ^c *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius* the first beginner thereof, even under the apostles; ^d *Theodoret*, who draweth the authority of ^e *Socrates* doth; howbeit, ascribing the invention men which constantly stood in defence of the that church, *Leontius*, a favourer of the *Arian* *doret*, ^e *Platina* is brought as a witness, to that began it in his time. Of the *Latin* church, And therefore the eldest of that church was *St. Ambrose*, ^f bishop of *Milan*, at the 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 heretick, and *Marcellus* took occasion thereat to incense the churches

[illegible]

Of finging or saying *Psalms*, and other parts of common-prayer, wherein the people and minister answer one another by courie. For the finging of *Psalms* by courie, and fide after fide, 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 meer fable, so it is confuted by historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to *Damajus*, some other unto *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. T. C. l. i. s. e. 203.

Israel did, by way of generality a cheerful promise, ^b *All that the Lord hath com-* ^{b Exod. 19.}
manded, we will do; yet that which God doth no less approve, that which favourerth ^{8. & 24. 3-}
 more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common ^{Deut. 5. 27.}
 imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several lowly and humble requests for ^{& 26. 17.}
 grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; ^{Josh. 24. 16.}
 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? When, and how this custom of singing by course, came up in the church, it is not certainly known. ^c *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius*, the bishop of *Antioch* in *Syria*, the ^{c Socrat. Hist.}
 first beginner thereof, even under the apostles themselves. But against *Socrates* they ^{Eccl. lib. 6.}
 set the authority of ^d *Theodore*t, who draweth the original of it from *Antioch*, as ^{c 8.}
^a *Socrates* doth; howbeit, ascribing the invention to others, *Flavian* and *Diodore*, ^{a Theod. lib. 2, cap. 24-}
 men which constantly stood in defence of the apostolick faith, against the bishop of that church, *Leontius*, a favourer of the *Arians*. Against both *Socrates* and *Theodore*t, ^e *Platina* is brought as a witness, to testify that *Damasus*, bishop of *Rome*, ^{e Plat. in vita Damasci}
 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

^f Bene mari plerumque comparatur ecclesia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vestibulis undas comit: deinde in oratione totius plebis itaque undam resistentibus stridet; tum perperis foris Psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, cithararum, partiumque confusorum undarum fragor resultat. Hexam. lib. 2. cap. 5.

against

against him, as being an author of new devices in the service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and singularity, he alledgeth for that which he himself did, the example of the churches of *Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians*, and, in a manner, all that revered 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 *Damascus*. 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 Judeus* 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 an high throne, the Seraphims 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, whensoever 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 very unseasonable, who advise men now 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 lawful 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

^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 soffered after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, those other two inconveniencies come of this form of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed churches. T. C. l. i. p. 203.

our manner. Of which three, soasmuch 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 inforce 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 counsels and laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which 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 wherunto 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

ways 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 your selves Eph. 5. 19. 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. 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 our selves 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.

40. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency and use of reading the psalms oftner than other scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner 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 oftner repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitted not any oftner 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 imprinteth 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 ancient 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 hundred psalm; with *Magnificat* the ninety eight; the sixty seventh 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 propheticall discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other psalms did but foreshew; 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 it self; 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 *Simon* and *Zachary*, and the blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit; 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 publick divine service, the songs of *David* and *Asaph* unto that very end? 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

Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.

These thanksgivings 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 alledged of the psalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary prayers of them. T. C. lib. 3. p. 208.

^{2 Chron. 23:1}
^{30.1}

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 beset: 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 shew of any resemblance; nevertheless by often using their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the litany. 41. The publick estate of the church of God amongst the *Jews* hath had many rare

^a We pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us; as from lightning and thundring in the midst of winter; from storms and tempest, 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 cause 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. 1. p. 137. Exod. 15. 20. Wisd. 10. 20. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 1 Chron. 13. 5. 2 Chron. 20. 3. Joel 2. 15.*

^b *Tertul. lib. 2. ad Uxor.*

^c *Tertul. Andr.*

^d *Hier. Epist. 22. ad Eust. Martyres tibi querantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper quando necesse est, progressura sis.*

^e *Socrat. l. 6.*

^f *c. 8. Sozom.*

^g *Theod. l. 16.*

^h *l. 30. l. 3.*

ⁱ *c. 10. Novel.*

^j *68. 51.*

^k *Basil. Epist.*

^l *63. Niceph.*

^m *l. 14. c. 3.*

ⁿ *Cedren. in*

^o *Theodos.*

^p *Sidon. l. 7.*

^q *Epist. 1.*

and extraordinary occurrences; which also were occasions of sundry ^a open solemnities and offices, whereby the people did with general consent make shew of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appear usual in the ancient church of Christ, by that which ^b *Tertullian* speaketh of christian women marching 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.* 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 it self applied by ^c heathens unto the office of exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the ancients delivered concerning ^d christian processions, partly also the very dross which superstition thereunto added, I mean, the custom of invoking saints

in processions, heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose are by use easily converted to more, ^e it grew, that supplications with this solemnity for the appeasing of God's wrath, and the averting of publick 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 befel 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 befel 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

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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 five hundred and six, 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 proceffionary service. About half an 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. But this Iron began at length to gather rust; which thing the synod of *Colen* saw, and in part redress'd within that province; neither denying the necessary use for which such *Litanies* serve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is desired by publick 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 no where used, but only within the walls of the house of God, the place sanctified unto prayer. And by us not only such inconveniencies 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 our selves, 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.

42. 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: ^a *This faith, received from the apostles, and their disciples, (saith Iræneus) 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.*

^b *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.* ^c Under *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

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Of Athanasius's Creed, and Gloria Patri.
^a Iren. lib. 1. cap. 3.
^b Tertul. de Præfer. adverb. Hæret. & adverb. Prax.

^c 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. 1. p. 137.

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 intangle unwary minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. *Arius* in a short time had won to himself 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 from many things which seemed to need redress, there was with common consent, for the settling of all mens 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 indeed 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 mean while to strengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infect 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* stoln 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 Catholick cause, and of the contrary part most feared; that very *Osius*, with whose hand the *Nicene* Creed it self 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

2 Mac. 6. 24. have been the same that *Eleazar's* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Osius an 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,

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which

Major centenario, Sulpit. Sever. hist. 1. 2.

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 that advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error. 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 acceptance, and neglected it. In *Constantine's* life time, 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, in as much 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 four score ; 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 catholick side, ^a such 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 Emperor 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, ^b ambiguously 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, surprized 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 mens writings, who spared him little for honours 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 an 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

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^a Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parum docti, parum cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi & ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores existerunt. Sulpit. lib. 2.

^b Eisdemque conscripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quo Catholicam disciplinam perfidia lente loqueretur. Ib.

Ταύτην μὲν
δοκῶν αὐτῷ
μὲν ὁ δὲ
δογμὰν οὕτως
ἵσμεν, ὡς
ἐκείνους ὅροις
ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν.
Nazian. Greg.
Athan.

That Creed
which in the
book of com-
mon-prayer,
followeth
immediately
after the
reading of
the Gospel.

Hilar. Arela.
Epist. ad Aug.

1 Cor. 15. 40.
Exod. 33. 18.
Heb. 1. 3.
Matth. 18.
13-

Joſt. 7. 19.
Pſal. 22. 23-

Basil. Ep. 78.

Fæbad. lib.
contr. Arian.

Theod. lib. 1.
cap. 24.
Sozom. lib. 4.
cap. 19.

given up even the very ghost of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanasius* written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publickly used, as now in the church of God; because while the heat of division lasteth, truth it self enduring opposition, doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all mens hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in it self, 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 catholick 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 our selves, 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 mens names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the hymn of glory, or 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; 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 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 ἀποδείξις τῆς ἐκθῆς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, 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. 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 alledged at that time, as an argument for the truth. *If* (saith *Fæbadius*) *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 Choirs, 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.* *Leontius*, their bishop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arians* faction are, could at no time be heard to use either form, perhaps, lest his open contradiction of them whom he favoured

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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 Son, not only unequal, but unlike, as *Aetius* 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. But in truth, even that very form which the *Arians* did then use (saying that they chose it to serve as their special mark of recognisance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the shew of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we respect God's glory within it self, 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 it self 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 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 publick 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 enured them unto the former kind alone, by means whereof the latter was new and strange in their ears; this needles 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, an arch-bishop 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 *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 needles to be so oftentimes mentioned, and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our publick prayer? Hath the church of Christ, from the first beginning, by a secret universal instruction of God's good Spirit, always tied it self 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? 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 plaster? When the cause why any thing was ordained doth once cease, the thing it self 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 it self, 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, left by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessary, the removal of the one should indamage 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 an 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 our selves 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*, *Tritheists*, *Eutychians* and *Macedonians*, are renewed by them, who to hatch their heresy, have chosen those churches as fittest nests, where *Athanasius's* Creed is not heard; by them, I say, renewed, who following the course of extream reformation, were wont, in the pride of their own proceedings, to glory that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the Roof, and *Zuinglius* barter 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.

*Faciad, contra
Ar.*

Our want of particular thanksgiving.

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. 128*. 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 that upon the deliverance there should be an express thanksgiving. *T. C. l. 3. p. 209*.

43. 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*. This they have thought 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 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. For concerning the blessings of God,

The default of the Book, for that there are no forms of thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered. T. C. I. 3. p. 268.

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, in as much 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 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 diversly 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 oftner 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 chuse 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. 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.

Ephes. 5. 9. Colos. 3. 16.

T. C. I. 1. p. 138.

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 publick 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 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 publick 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 *plagues, 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 deliver'd, 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 arguments 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, as they affirm, unsound.

44. 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, *When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers*. Which maketh some shew 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 reverent familiarity that the of children 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 our selves 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.

John 14. 2.
& 17. 24.

Hieron. contra Helvid. August. Her. 84.

45. 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. In what estate the fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that 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 alledged before do attribute to Christ's ascension, there

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 thereunto, was not only to his own use, but for the benefit of all believers.

Lyr. super
Gen. 29.
Th. P. 3. q.
52.
Leo. Ser. 1.
de Ascens.

46. 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 snatch'd 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 deserts 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 of all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit our selves (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 *Memento moriuntur*, Job 34. 20. there is scarce an instant between their flourishing and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die as *Abfalon*, or *Ananias* and *Saphira* 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. To such as judge things according to the sense of natural men, and ascend no higher, suddenness, because it shortneth 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 sensual inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the soul may have time to call it self 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 centured 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, a leisuable 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. And besides, for as much as death howsoever is a general effect of the wrath of God against sin, and the suddenness thereof a thing which hapneth 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 life is of all mens the most certain, should especially wish that no such accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occasion of rash, sinister,

Touching
prayer for
deliverance
from sudden
death.

Heb. 11. 21.
Deut. 33.
Josh. 24.
1 Kings 2.

Cypr. de
Mortal.

with the sense of our own wretchedness ; nor, while we trust in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, fear be able to tyrannize over us ! As therefore our fear excludeth not that boldness which becometh saints ; so if our familiarity with God do not favour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence wherewith true humility can never stand.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the world from all adversity, their conceit is that we ought not to ask it of God by prayer, for as much as in scripture there is no promise that we shall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. 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 it self 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 therefore 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 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 be joined with belief in Christ. 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 it self which we make is a pleasing sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners, in ver-ry truth, are denied when they seem to prevail in their supplications, because it is not for their sakes, or to their good that their suits 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 apostles suit he hath of favour and mercy not granted* (saith St. *Augustin.*) 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 un-

Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.

For as much 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 our selves that we shall obtain it. T. C. A. 1. p. 156.

Oratio, quæ non fit per Christum, non solum non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum. Aug. Enar. 1. in Psal. 108.

Numb. 11. 53.
1 Sam. 8. 7.
Job 1. 12. &c
2. 8.
Luke 8. 52.
2 Cor. 12. 7.
8. 9.
Aug. Ep. 121.
Ad Probam
c. 12. 11.

holy

holy 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 no where by promise assured us of that particular which our prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in it self, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impossible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though men do, without offence, with daily that the affairs which with civil 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 it self, 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 beseech 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

Psal. 2. 8.

John 17. 1, 2.

Psal 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

Matth. 26. 39. Mark 14. 36. Luke 22. 42. 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. 3. p. 200.

not be promised. And we know in what sort he prayed for removal of that bitter cup, which cup he tasted, notwithstanding his prayer. To shift off this example, they answer first, *That as other children of God, so Christ had a promise of deliverance,* as far as *the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation*

would suffer. And if we our selves have not also in that sort the promise of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity, what meaneth the sacred scripture to

Deut. 30. 9.

speak in so large terms, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plentiful 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

Deut. 7. 15.

Psal. 1. 4.

Psal. 32. 11.

17.

T. C. l. 5.

p. 201.

man whose delight is in the law of God, *whatsoever he doth, 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 oppress'd, but mercy which saveth from being touched with grievous miseries, mercy which turneth away the course of *the great water floods,*

and permitteth them not to *come near.* 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.* 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 our selves that this will be granted. Now we have license 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. Seeing therefore neither of these two answers will

serve the turn, they have a third; which is, that to pray in such 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,

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. 5. p. 201.

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 exprels 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 it self 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 publick 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 slipst 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 Nurfes, 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 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. To what intent then was his prayer, which plainly testifieth 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 God-head 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 an human will, otherwise he were not both God and man. Hereupon the church hath of old condemned *Monothelites* as Hereticks, 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 it self, 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 it self we desire health, physick only for health's sake. And in this sort special reason often times 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 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 I am 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 within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more than is either possible or needful for the wit of man

a Matth. 27. 46. *Non potuit divinitas humanitatem & secundum aliquid deferuisse, & secundum aliquid non deferuisse? Embraxit protectionem, sed non separavit 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 requirit, non quasi adversus Deum, de pœna murmurans, sed nobis innocentiam suam in pœna demonstrans. Hug. de sacra. lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 10. Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me? Vox est nec ignorantie, nec dissidentie, nec querelæ, sed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis investiganda causa ardorem & diligentiam acuat.*

man to find out; finally, himself flesh and blood^a left 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 endured?* 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. 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 it self 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 it self, 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 shew 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 publick example to others, virtuously will the execution of that party whose pardon another for confanginities sake as virtuously may desire. Consider death in it self, 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

Isa. 53. 10.

John 10. 15.

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. Nor so his will, as if the torment of innocency did in it self 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 it self 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. 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

fore taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds most perfect, may as clouds over-cast 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 burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection it self, 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 over-ruled 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 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. *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*. 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 pray that what occasion of sin soever do offer it self, 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, altho' 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 it self from all adversity, we use not to say men are in adversity whensoever they feel any small hindrance 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 it self 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 sometimes; sometime as a rod of his just, yet moderate ire and displeasure; sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate us to exercise their profound malice; sometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to shew it self, 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 alledgeth 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 Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution*, and, *by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven*; because in a forest of many wolves, sheep cannot chuse 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. Augustin*, *which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the prophet, What we should ask as we ought*

Luke 22. 43.

2 Cor. 13. 7.

We may not pray in this life, to be free from all sin, because we must always pray, *Forgive us our sins*. T. C. 1. 3. p. 200.

Psal. 119. 71.
2 Tim. 3. 12.
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. 1. 3. p. 200.
1 Jam. 1. 3.
b Ps. 119. 22.
c Aug. Epist. 121. cap. 14.

we know not; yet because they are tough, because they are grievous, because the sense of our weakness's fieth them, we pray according to the general desire of the will of man, that God would turn them away from us: owing in the mean while this devotion to the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine our selves 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 it self 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 with peace and prosperity always where they love, because they consider that this in it self is a thing naturally desired: So because all adversity is in it self against nature, what should 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 dispositions 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.

Prov. i. 32.

Prayer, that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God that all men might be saved.

* 1 Tim. 2. 3.

49. In praying for deliverance from all adversity, we seek that which nature doth wish to it self; but by intreating 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 shew 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 whosoever 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 have 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 worlds 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 it self 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 yet cut off by death. And therefore charity which hopeth all things, prayeth also for all men. Wherefore to let go personal knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skillerth not; for us there is cause sufficient in all men, whercupon 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 *εὐχὰς*, a work commendable

Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epist.

1 Cor. 14. 7.

dable 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 of their own souls; drowning, as it were, and over-whelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections *σπάνιον*, 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 prevaieth with God daily. For as it is in it self 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 mis- instruct 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* offend- ed 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, for as much as there is in God sometimes a more private *occasioned will* which determineth the contrary. So that the other be- ing 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. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwise in what- soever we do we sin. For of our selves, being so apt to err, the only way which we have to strengthen our paths is, by following the rule of his will, whose footsteps natural- ly 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 commanders 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 becometh 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 directi- on 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 there- fore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of it self, 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 born, who knowing only as God who are his, did as man taste death for the good of all men; sure- ly, to that will of God which ought to be, and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose our selves, although his secret de- termination 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 our selves, 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 plea- sure. 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* *Prosper. de Vo-*
for all men (saith he) *the devout zeal of all priests, and of all faithful men,* *cat. Gen. l. 1.*
doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world, *c. 4. inter*
where christian people do not use to pray in the same manner. The church eve- *opera Am-*
ry where maketh prayers unto God, and not only for saints, and such as already in *brof.*
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

Rom. 9. 3, 8.
10. 1.

Math. 10. 11,
12.
Jer. 15. 1.

Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpsit, aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum Patre omnia disponebat, futurum non esse præsciebat; quia hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut à sua dispositione non moveretur. Hug. de Quat. Christi Volunt.

Prosper. de Vo-
cat. Gen. l. 1.
c. 4. inter
opera Am-
brof.

to whose blindness the light of the gospel doth not yet shine; for hereticks 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 over-beareth 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 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) over-pass 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.

* Gal. 4. 26. *Ihū.* 54. 3.

50. Instruction and prayer, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts or principals 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. 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 it self 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 it self 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 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 for as much as there is no union of God with man, 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.

Opotebat Deum carnem fieri, ut in se met-ipsō cordiam confabularer Terræ; nunc pariter et aque celestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens signora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularer. Tertul. de Trinit.

51. The Lord our God is but one God. In which indivisible 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 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 *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 God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God.
Ista. 9. 6.
Jer. 23. 6.
Rom. 9. 5.
John 16. 15.
1 John 5. 21.
Col. 2. 9.
John 5. 20.

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 besides hath, although there be others besides that 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 indivisible spirits, but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a dream to *Joseph*. Now when God became

Παλιαντον ἡμεῖς ὑποστασις ἐστὶ καὶ τὰς ἀρίους παύσεις τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εὐθεία ἐκείνη πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἢ εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστασεις, *Suid.* Ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἐκείνη ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστασεσὶ διαφέρει. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μέγα τὸ ἰδιό-
τετον ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καὶ ἐκείνη ὑποστασις, *Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, lib. 3. cap. 6.*

man, left 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 made plain, that it is the word which was made

Matth. 16.
John 1. 14.
Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes.

flesh. ^a *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, so far as much 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, ^b even the nature of God it self in the only person of the Son is incarnate, and hath taken to it self flesh. Wherefore, incarnation 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,

^a "Ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸς λόγος, οὐ ῥητορὶς, ἀλλὰ οὐσιώδης. Ὁὐδ' ἐστὶν λαλιάς ἐκείνης φωνή, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γεννητὴ.

^b Κατ' οὐδέναν λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον τῇ σαρκώτι τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀπόκλιναν καὶ βέλῃσι. *Damasc.*

In illo Divinitas est Unigeniti facta participes mortalitatis nostre, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis essemus. *Aug. Epist. 57.*

for as much 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 divine nature should assume humane, that so ^c God might be in Christ reconciling to himself the world. And if some cause ^e 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 adopted the Sons of God, through grace, any other than the natural Son of God being mediator between God and us? It ^d became therefore him, ^e 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, wherewith he humbled himself; so because manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the scepter 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.

tion 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. This admirable union of God with man can inforce in that higher nature no alteration, because unto God there is nothing more natural, than not to be sub-

^a Ὡςπερ ἔστι ἀνθρώπου κοινόν ἐστὶ τὸ θνήσκειν, ὅπου δ' ἀγίας ὑπολαμβάνει τὸ ἀτρέπτον τε καὶ ἀναισώτεον. Theod. Dial. Ἀτρέπ[η]τον.

^b Periculum status sui deo nullum est. Tertul. de Car. Chr. Majestati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abstulit, Leo de Nativit. Ser. 8. Μὴνεν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρχῆς, θεός μὲνεν, καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ πασχοντων ὁ παθεῖν. Theophil. in formam servi transisse non est naturam perdidisse Dei. Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12.

ject to any ^a change. 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 ^b no alter-

ation at all. If therefore it be demanded what the 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 mens, 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 suprem 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 meer 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

cil of *Ephesus* against *Nestorians*; against *Eutychians* the *Chalcedon* council. In four words, ἀληθώς, τέλει, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγγεώς, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*: The first apply 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 continuing in that one both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprize whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of christian belief, or in refutation of the aforefaid 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 later 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.

55. 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; sixth God in Christ is generally the medicine whereby we are every one particularly cured: In as much 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 of him without 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 finited; 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 whole unto every particular thing, yet his presence with us we no way discern further than only that God is present; which partly by 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 enquire whether Christ be every where, is to enquire 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 the 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

Psal. 139. 7, 8.
Jer. 23. 24.

Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem sui presentem prebet, & alteri parti alteram partem, sed non solum universitati Creaturae, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest. Aug. Epist. 57.

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 to be; we acknowledge that of St. Augu-

stin 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*; and it doth not appear that any one creature hath power to be present with all

Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem, creatura est. Aug. Epist. 57. *Deus qui semper est, & 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. 2.

Creatures. Whereupon nevertheless it will not follow, that Christ cannot therefore be thus present because he is himself a creature; for as much 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 it self, 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 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 majestic body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really even *in substance* present it self, or may at once be in many places; then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his nature. *Make then no doubt or question of it (saith St. Augustin) 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 becometh 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. Augustin's opinion therefore, that majestic body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the substance of a true body. 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 it self 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 it self univer-

sal presence, hath it *after a sort*, by being *no where severed* from that which every where is present. For in as much as that infinite word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly incarnate ; and consequently whereforever 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, whereforever ; altho' 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, 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 no where severed ; so the same universality of presence may likewise seem in another respect applicable thereunto, namely, by co-operation with deity, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning, did first by it self illuminate the world ; but after that the sun and moon were created, the world thence 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 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 vail 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 scepter of which spiritual regiment over us in this present world is at the 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 co-operation 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. And even the body of Christ it self, 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

Matth. 28.
Rom. 14. 8.

Phil. 2. 9.
Heb. 2. 9.
Rev. 5. 12.

Luke 21. 27.

Acts 3. 21.
Ephes. 4. 9.

Ephes. 1. 20.

Psal. 8. 6.
Heb. 2. 8.
1 Cor. 15.

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 for as much 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 it self 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.

56. 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 it self 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,

The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the church of Christ, in this present world.

In the bosom of the father, John 1. 18. *Eccle dico alium esse Patrem, & alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione, Tertul. contra Prax. Nec in numerum pluralem defuit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam à generante separatur, Rufin. in Symbol.*

must needs be also light in light. 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 off-spring 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 it self, which hath no substance, but 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 a-part, 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 it self 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 off-spring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, not 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 off-spring 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 it self 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. 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

Luke 3. 22.
John 5. 34, 39.
& 5. 20. &
10. 17. & 14.
31. & 15. 10.

rence and communion either with him or amongst themselves, is in no sort like unto that before-mention'd. God hath his influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not chuse 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 off-spring, 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 subtil parts, 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 connection* 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 afterward 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 unlaied. So that all things which God hath made are in that respect the off-spring 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. Let herunto saving efficacy be added, and it bringeth forth a special off-spring 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 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 thence 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 it self towards them. 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 willeth 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 it self was made: We are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is born 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 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 tho' our very flesh and bones should be made continueate with his. We are in Christ, because he know-

Wisd. 7. 23.
Heb. 1. 3.

John 14. 23.

Acts 17. 28,
29.
John 1. 4.
&c. 1. 10.
Isai. 40. 26.
1 John 3. 1.

1 Cor. 15. 47.

Ephes. 1. 3, 4.

1 John 5. 11.
Rom. 8. 10.
2 Cor. 13. 13.
2 Pet. 1. 4.

Col. 2. 10.

1 Cor. 12. 12.

Ephes. 5. 30.

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 were 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 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 nature, and of that corruption of nature which causeth death; Christ as the cause original of restoration to life. The person of *Adam* is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriveth 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 quickneth us is the spirit of the second *Adam*, and his flesh that wherewith he quickneth. 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 quickneth it, raised it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing therefore that Christ is in us as a quickning 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. 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^a disclaim. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they^b speak of, to signify what our very bodies, through mystical conjunction,

John 5. 9.

1 John 5. 12.

John 15. 5, 6.

John 14. 19.

Ephes 5. 23.

John 14. 20.

15. 4.

1 Cor. 15. 48.

John 1.

& 6. 57.

Heb. 5. 9.

1 Cor. 15. 45.

22.

Heb. 9. 14.

Cypr. de Cœ-

na Dom. cap.

6.

Cyrril. in

Joan. lib. 10.

cap. 13.

^a *Nostra quippe & ipsius conjunctio nec misceat personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat & confederat voluntates.* Cypr. de Cœp. Dom.

^b *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & sanguine altit? Iren. lib. 4. advers. Hæres. cap. 34.*

* Unde considerandum est non solum quæsei seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis esse; verum etiam participatione Naturali (id est reali & vera:) quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii cera similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit, ut unum quid ex utriusque factum videatur; sic communicatione Corporis & Sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est, & nos in ipso. Cyril. in Joan. lib. 10. cap. 13.

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 ^a coherence between his sacred, and the sanctified bodies of saints. 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.

^a Eph. 1. 23. Ecclesia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. ἡ ἐκκλησία τὸ πληρῶμα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν παντί. ἡ πληρωμένη.

It pleaseth him in mercy to account himself incompleat and maimed ^b without us. 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 confess'd, that of Christ working as a creator and a governor of the world by 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

^b Aug. Ep. 57.

equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. *Whence is it* (saith St. *Augustin*) *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 it self, or be possess'd 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. 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 handseal 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 person amongst themselves, in as much as the same spirit which anointed the blessed Soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite and auate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limbs compacted into one body, by being quickned 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 come; and therefore how men, either then, or before, or thence, 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 im-

Gal. 2. 20. Isai. 53. 5. Ephes. 1. 7.

Rom. 8. 9. Gal. 4. 6.

1 John 3. 9. Ephes. 1. 14. Rom. 8. 23.

1 Cor. 12. 27. Ephes. 4. 15. Rom. 12. 5. Ephes. 4. 25.

im-

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 compleat 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 includeth no ſuch kind of groſs ſuſmiſe.

57. 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 meer 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 mix'd nature, are more diverſly 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 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 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 angel by whom God endued the waters of the pool called *Bethſeda*, with ſupernatural virtue to heal, was not ſeen of any; yet the time of the angels preſence known by the troubled 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

The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the participation of Chriſt.

Exod. 3. 2. Joh. 5. 4.

Acts 2. 3.

blesſed effects, though entring 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 ſanie is true, which *Solomon's* wiſdom obſerveth

^a Wiſ. 16. 17. *Spiritus Sancti munus eſt gratiam impleve myſterii.* Ambr. in Luc. cap. 3. *Sanctificatio elementis effectum non propria ipſorum natura prebet, ſed virtus divina potentius operatur.* Cyp. de Chriſm.

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.* 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 eucharift 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

^b *Dum homini bonum inviſibile redditur, foris ei ejuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur, ut foris excitetur & intus reparetur.* In ipſa vaſti ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicina. Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. *Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritalis gratie ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa egrotum non curant, ſed medicina.* Idem, lib. 1. cap. 4.

the ſacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the ſacraments ^b repreſent or ſignify. 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 it ſelf but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receive Chriſt Jeſus in baptiſm once, as the firſt beginner; in the eucharift 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 eucharift properly beſtoweth. So that each ſacrament having both that which is general or common, and that alſo which is peculiar unto it ſelf, 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.

58. 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,

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

sacrament, we ^a use 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 ^b definitions, whether they 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 it self. 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 compleat the outward substance of a sacrament, there is required an outward form, which form sacramental elements receive from sacramental words. Hereupon it groweth, that ^c 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 it self, 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, altho' not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note, that in as much 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 ^d manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the church of God. 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, ^e 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; ^f 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, (to speak the least) it may be tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

^a *Eucharistia duobus ex rebus constat, terrena & celesti.* Iren. Advers. Hæres. lib. 4. cap. 34. *Arcanorum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis sunt & rebus constant,* Helvet. Confes. Prior. Art. 2.

^b *Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longe aliud invisibile intus operatur,* Idid. Etyim. lib. 1. *Sacramentum est per quod sub tegumento rerum visibilium divina virtus salutem secretis operatur,* Greg. Mag. *Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum,* Occa. Sent. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum proprie non est signum cujuslibet rei sacre, sed tantum rei sacre sanctificantis homines,* Tho. 12. q. 101. 4. & q. 102. 5. *Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi gratia & gloria.* Ideo est commemoratio prateritis, demonstratio presentis, & prognosticon futuri, Tho. 3. q. 60. 3. *Sacramenta sunt signa & symbola visibilia rerum internarum & invisibilium, per quæ, seu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis agit,* Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item, Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

^c *Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, & rebus significatis.* Confes. Helvet. Poff. c. 10.

^d *Si aliquid Ministri agere intendant, puta sacris illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesia non consentiat, nihil agitur: sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Ecclesie intentione non potest.* Lancel. Inst. Jur. Can. lib. 2. Tit. 2. 5. Hoc tamen.

^e *Accessorium non regulat Principale, sed ab eo regulatur.* 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. 3. ff. quod justu.

^f *Et si nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, subveniendum est.* Lib. 183. de Reg. Jur.

59. 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

The grounds in scripture whereupon a necessity of outward baptism hath been built.

T. C. I. 1. p. 143. Private baptism first rose upon a false interpretation of the place of St. John Ch. 3. 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, *Mat. 3. 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 wethereth the thing which is foul, and quencheth the heat of the fire.

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.* For by water and the Spirit, we are in that place to understand (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 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 Alchimy 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 born with otherwise; yet in places which usually serve, as this doth concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alledged 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 alledge 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 shew 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 our selves were more than needeth. We may by such rare Expositions attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at ^b 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 as ^c 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 faithfulest expounders of his words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath manifestly wrought, declare what his speech did doubtfully utter.

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.

T. C. I. 1. p. 143. 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. 3. 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 be born deaf and so remain, or little infants, or natural fools that have not wit to conceive what is preached.

^d Αναγκασιον εστιν οδ ανθρωπος εν καρδια ηλθεισιν ουκ ομοιωται, οτι αν ανθρωπος εν καρδια ηλθεισιν η εν νεκρο εναντιον, η εναντιον. *Necessarium id dicitur, sine quo ut causa fieri non potest ut vivatur: Et ea sine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adit.* Arist. Metaph. 5. cap. 5. ^e Joh. 3. 3.

60. To this they add, that as we err by following a wrong construction of the place before alledged; so our second oversight is, that we hereupon infer a necessity over rigorous and extreme. The true necessity of baptism, a few propositions considered will soon decide. All things which either are known ^d causes or set means, 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 ^e impossible, saying only for those men which are born from above? His words following in the next sentence are a proof sufficient, that to our regeneration his spirit is no less

* necessary, than regeneration it self necessary unto life. Thirdly, unless as the spi-^a Verse 5. rit 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 *ἡ ὕδατος* even of water? Why are we taught, that ^b with ^c Ephes. 5. water God doth purify and cleanse his church? Wherefore do the apostles of Christ ^d 26. term baptism ^e a bath of regeneration? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward baptism, and in persuading them, it did avail ^f to remission of sins? If outward baptism were a cause in it self possessed of that power, either natu-^g Tit. 3. 5. ral or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could pos-^h Acts 2. 38. sibly 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 bap-ⁱ *Fideles salu-* tism: Which being apparently both known, and also confes'd to be otherwise in^j *tem ex istis* many particulars, although in the rest we make not baptism a cause of grace; yet^k *elementis non* the grace which is given them with their ^l baptism, doth so far forth depend on the^m *querunt. et in-* very outward sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a sign or ⁿ *amplius is* token what we receive, but also as an instrument or mean whereby we receive^o *querunt. Non* grace, because baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his church, to the^p *enim ista tri-* end that they which receive the same might^q *bunt quod per* thereby be ^r incorporated into Christ; and so through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away ^s all former guiltiness, as also that ^t in-^u *ista tribuitur.* fused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost 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 our selves 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 ^v then to put them ^w Eph. 1. 1. in the number of elect saints; he ^x then accounteth them delivered from death and ^y Eph. 5. 8. 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 Apostles own ^z ac-¹ Eph. 2. 3, 12. count, 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 since 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 ^m vocation, wherein our baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally ⁿ Rom. 8. 30. 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 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 ⁿ beginning of life, a seal perhaps to the ^o grace of election before received; but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* hereticks 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

^a *Suscipiens a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante Baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi.* Leo. Serm. 4. de Pas. Dom.

^b *Cavo ablutur ut anima emaculetur*, Tert. de Carn. Refur. 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 exiit, in meliora innovatur; persona tingitur, & natura mutatur. Euseb. Emil. de Epiphani. Homil. 3. Τριπλουν γεννησις ἡμῶν ἰσταν δ' ἁλὺς, & ἐκ νεότητος, & ἐκ βαπτίσματος, & ἡ ἀναστάσις. Ἄντι τοῦ ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡ χάρις, & ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡς πάλαι, & ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἕκαστῳ ἀμαρτανῶν ἐξομαρτίζονται. Greg. Homil. de Sanct. Bapt.

^c *Unde genitalis auxilio superioris avi labe deterfa in expiatum peccus ac purum de super se lumen infundit.* Cypr. Epist. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον ἡ πάλαιος ἀμαρτανῶν αἰρεσις, & ἀφιστι, ἀλλὰ & ἡ ἐκ νεότητος ἡ κατηρημένη ἐπιτομία ἀφιστι, & ὡς ἀποπικῶν δυνάτω & ἀναστάσις καὶ τῇ κενονίᾳ, & ὡς ὡς ἀναστάσις καὶ τῇ κατηρημένη καὶ τῇ κατηρημένη. Theod. Epito. Divin. Dogmat.

^d *Baptizari, est purgari a sordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam & innocentem.* Confess. Helvet. cap. 20.

^e *Ἀρχὴ μου ζῆσις τοῦ βαπτίσματος.* Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 10.

^f *T. C. l. 3. p. 134.* 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.

^a Iren. contra Hæres. l. 1. c. 18.

^b *Hic sceleratissimi illi provocant quaestiones. Adeo dicunt, Baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est. Tert. de Baptis. Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum possit, non percipit sacramentum. Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugo.*

^c 2 Kings 5.

^d Num. 21.8.

^e Mark 16.16.

^f *Institutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Authorem, 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 Sacra. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

^g *Pelagius asserere arrepta impietate præsumit non propter vitam, sed propter regnum Celorum Baptismum parvulis conferendum. Euseb. Emisf. Hom. 5. de pasche.*

^h *Benignius leges interpretanda sunt, quo voluntas carum conservetur. L. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatus.*

ⁱ T. C. lib. 1.

^j P. 143.

^k *Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugo.*

^l *idem.*

of our restoration must needs belong unto ^a knowledge only. They draw very near unto this error who fixing wholly their minds on the known necessity of faith, ^b imagine that nothing but faith is necessary for the attainment of all grace. Yet is it a branch of be-

lief, that sacraments are in their place no less required than belief it self. 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,

^c *Wash, and be clean?* or as to them which were stung of serpents, health by ^d beholding the brazen serpent? If Christ himself which giveth salvation, do ^e 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 ^f do that which is required, 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 enjoyneth, might perhaps have hindered somewhat the forwardness of our obedience thereunto: Whereas 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? ^g *Pelagius*

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 ^h natural equity. Which rules, if they themselves did not follow in expounding the law of God, would they never be able to prove, that ⁱ the scripture saying, *Who so 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 confess'd, *that there may be in divers cases* life by vertue 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. 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. Again, when ^k 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 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 ones 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 slain 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. It hath been therefore constantly

held as well touching other believers, as ^a 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 the 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 impossible he bindeth no man; but where we cannot do what is enjoined us, accepteth our will to do instead of the deed it self;

Again, for as much 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 ^b school-divines 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 milked, 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, ^c 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; the 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. Wherefore a necessity there is of receiving, and a necessity 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 ^d 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, in reason, to be likewise acknowledged, that for as much 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 it self 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 Gods unspeakable mercy do live. God which did not afflict that innocent whose circumcision

^a *Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam semel dimisit, animum in Martyrium, mihi videtur implese. Summi ergo meriti est semel fixisse sententiam, atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet passionis, & si fori perpetuendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta que voluit pati.* Joseph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

^b *Gerf. Serm. in Nativit. Beate Mar. Cujetan. in 3. Tho. 9. 68. Art. 1. & 2. Biel. in 4. Sentent. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Eli. fusi Neapol. in Cyp. Advers. Hæres. cap. de Baptif.*

^c *1 Cor. 7. 12.*

^d *T. C. l. 3. p. 218. 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.*

Exod. 4. 14. *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 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 churches discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism therefore even in the meaning of the law of Christ, belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the ^a very instant of their birth. 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.

^a In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, presenti die debetur. Lib. 14. D. de Reg. Jur.

What things in baptism have been dispens'd with by the fathers, respecting necessity.

^b T. C. l. i. p. 146. 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. l. 3. p. 219. What plainer testimony can there be than that of *Augustin*? 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. 2. 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. 7. c. 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. 6. cap. 43.* What unto the emperors 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? *Juss. Novel. 57.*

^c *Leo Epist. 4. ad Episc. Sicil.*

^d *Vid. Ep. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damas.*

in apparent peril of death, danger of siege, straits 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 ^d *Victor* had many years before given, extending the same exception as well unto places as times. 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, left under that pretence hereticks 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 Chappels 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 hereticks, instead of the food, the bane of their souls, pollution in the 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,*

Leo. Conf. 4.

Idem, Conf. 15.

61. The ancients it may be were too severe, and made the necessity of baptism more absolute than reason would, as touching infants. But will ^b any man say, that they, notwithstanding their too much rigor 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 ^c *Leo* bishop of *Rome* advised, rather to conform themselves to the rest of the world in things so reasonable, than to offend mens minds through needless singularity: Howbeit, always providing, that nevertheless

use, and not in private oratories; which strict decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of hereticks which entred closely into such mens 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 alledged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the church in cases of extream necessity, hath made for private baptism always more than against it. Yea, baptism by any man, in the case of necessity, was the

a voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Augustin, or any other of the ancients against it. The boldness of such, as pretending Teclae's example, took openly upon them both baptism, and all other publick functions of priesthood, Tertullian severely controulleth, saying, ^b 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 re-

quireth, 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 ichisms, Let it content thee (which art of the order of lay-men) 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 mens dangers craveth it. What he granteth generally to lay-persons of the house of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contain'd under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech; especially seeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is elsewhere, *Specialties are signified under that which is general, because they are therein comprehended.* All which Tertullian doth ^c deny is, 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. And in necessity, if St. Augustin alloweth as much unto lay-men 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 exprefs 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, ^d 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, in as much as according to the orders which he hath set for baptism, it 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 unresistible 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 exprefs their supposed necessity, should first imagine your self in their case, and them in yours. This done, let their

^a T. C. lib. 1. pag. 145. To allow of womens 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. Tertul. de Virg. veland. & lib. de Bapt. Epipha. lib. 1. & lib. 2. cont. Hares. St. Augustin, although he seem to allow of a lay-man's baptism in time of necessity, Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. 2. cap. 13 yet there he mentioneth not womens baptism; and in the fourth council of Carthage, cap. 100. it is simply, without exception decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.

^b Subjectum est generali specie iale. In ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur. Tertul. de Veland. Virg. Pesto genere, supponitur species. Aug. in lib. 2. cap. de Translat.

^c Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, recitare, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris necum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare. Tertul. de Veland. Virg.

^d T. C. lib. 1. pag. 144. 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. 8. pag. 144. Although part of the institution be observed, yet if the whole institution be not, it is no sacrament. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 146. The orders which God hath set, are, that it should be done in the congregation, and by the minister. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 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.

*Nostro peccato
alterius soluti
confiteri non
debemus. Aug.
lib. cont.
Mead. cap.
17.
Mat. 9. 13.*

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; neither are souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Christ hath set:*

Mat. 9. 13.

Would you in their case your self be shaken off with these answers, and not rather embrace, inclosed with both your arms, a sentence, which now is no Gospel unto you, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice?* 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 blesteth 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 complicate 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 requirerth both mercy and sacrifice, rejecteth his own institution of sacrifice, where the offering of sacrifice would hinder mercy from being shewed. External Circumstances, 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 publick assemblies, as it hath done all men unto baptism; away with these mercilefs and bloody sentences, let them never be found standing in the book and writings of a christian man; they favour not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meek spirit, but under colour of exact obedience, they nourish cruelty, and hardness of heart.

*Matth. 23.
23.*

Whether baptism by women, be true baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

* T. C. l. i. p. 144. 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.

62. 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 an-

nihilate 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. To make women teachers in the house of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the apostle hath said, ^b *I permit not a woman to teach.* And again, ^c *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.

^a 1 Tim. 2.
12.
^b 1 Tim. 14.
34.

*Clem. Conf.
Apostol. lib. 2.
cap. 9.*

Whereupon the apostle's ordinance was necessary against womens publick admission to teach. And because, when law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giveth good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very law it self, or to annex to the law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this apostolick 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?* 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?

T. C. l. i. p.
144.

Second-

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. But to women's baptism in private by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that only concern ordinary baptism in publick, 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 are well prohibited, when there is fear lest they make the way too unlawful more easy. And it may be the liberty of baptism by women at such times, doth sometimes embolden the rather sort to do it where no such necessity is. But whether of permission besides law, or in pretumption 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 apostolick Aphorism, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*: Baptism not only one, in as much 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 admitted 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, ^a than a man can naturally be often born, or civilly be often adopted into any one flock and family? This also is the cause, why they that present us unto baptism, are entituled 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 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*. 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 re-baptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds; a true perswasion that baptism is necessary; and a false, that the baptism which others administered, was no baptism. *Novatianus* his 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 prophane 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 perswaded, than that hereticks 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 hereticks. 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,

Licita prohibentur ne si permitterentur, eorum occasione periculi ad illicita. L. neque tamen. Iust. de A. furh. Tuo. lib. Officium. D. de rei Vind. Ephel. 4. 5.

^a Una est Nativitas de terra, alia de calo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de aternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de masculo & femina, alia de Deo & Ecclesia. Sed ipse due singulares sunt. Quomodo enim uterus non potest repeti. sic nec Baptismus iterari. Prosp. Senten. 331. Eja fratres lactem genitricis fontis ad laticem convulate, ut semper ovis aqua sufficiat, hoc autem omnia scientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rursus haurire. Zeno. Invit. ad Font.

August. de B. v. out. Don. lib. 2. cap. 4. Tert. de B. 3. 1. Cyr. Epist. 71.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1, 2, 3. Cyr. Epist. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.

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 heresy. The bishop of *Rome* against their novelties upheld, as becomed him, the ancient and true apostolick customs, till they which unadvisedly before had erred, became in a manner all ^a reconciled friends unto truth, and saw that heresy in the ministers of baptism could no way evacuate the force thereof: ^b Such heresy alone excepted, 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 hereticks. For the baptism which

^a Illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti novum emisere decretum. Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide & August. contr. Crescon. lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. & Epist. 48.

^b Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso Baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniat, tribuat, damnatus absoluit. 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 subducentis Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: Et ceteri hujusmodi, qui a Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscentur. Optat. lib. 1.

^c Synod. Nicæa. cap. 19.
^d Synod. 1.
Arelat. cap. 8.

^e Euseb. Ecclæs. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 8.

Novatianists gave stood firm; whereas they whom ^c *Samosatensians* had baptized were re-baptized. It was likewise ordered in the council of *Arles*, ^d 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*, ^e 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 hereticks, 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 which the true church of Christ useth. The bishop was greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to re-baptize, 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 so 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 recover soundness. And where true baptism was not before given, the case of re-baptization 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 preface, *Donatists* notwithstanding took upon them to make frustrate the churches baptism, and themselves to re-baptize their own fry. For whereas some forty years after the martyrdom of blessed *Cyprian*, the Emperor *Diocletian* 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 it self 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 fortuneed 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 crue, 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 that wrote in defence of their schism, the birds that were hatched before by others, have their names from him. *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 mens 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

greatly feared them, and besides had necessary cause to bend it self 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 betray'd 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 shew and sound of words the glorious pretence of the creed apostolick, *I believe the holy catholick 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 mens communion with a church, confess'd to be in many things blame-worthy, 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 profess'd rejection of *Cyprian*, whom the world universally did, in his life-time, 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 mis-persuadeth them. Altho' there was odds between *Cyprian's* cause and theirs, he differing from others of foundier 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 catholick and the followers heretical; we acquit the 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.* The invectives of catholick 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 hereticks had done ill, should stand as good; on the other side, that be reversed which the catholick church had well and religiously done; divers better minded than advised men, thought it fittest to meet with this inconvenience, by re-baptizing *Donatists*, as well as they re-baptized catholicks. 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 hereticks, which re-baptized whom they could pervert; but also catholick and christian priests, which did the like unto such as before had taken baptism at the hands of hereticks, 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. 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 rancor, covered with shew 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 re-baptizeth, 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 alledge in defence of it self many fair probabilities.

Coca. An. 370.

Vincent. Livini. adver. Hæres. cap. 11.

Vide C. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Adversarios. Et l. nullus, circa An. 405.

Si quis C. Ne. sanct. Baptis. circa An. 415.

bilities. Notwithstanding, sith the church of God hath hitherto always constantly maintained, that to re-baptize 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 re-administred, when the first delivery thereof is void, in regard of the fore-alleged 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 becometh generally all sorts of men to keep themselves within the limits of their own vocation. And seeing God, from whom mens 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 publick 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, being done, although in part done otherwise than positive rigor 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 publickly or privately in delivering this blessed sacrament of regeneration, some un sanctified hand, contrary to Christ's supposed ordinance, do intrude it self 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 ^a theirs, 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

Numb. 16.
10.
Levit. 10. 1.
1 Sam. 13. 11.
2 Sam. 6. 6.
2 Chron. 26.
16.
Heb. 5. 4.

Seq. 306.
*Lugdunensis
ex literis de-
cret. de Ma-
trim. con-
tract. Da-
mas. Burch.
Reg. 109.
Prohibita fieri,
si fiant, non te-
nent. In pro-
hibitionibus
autem circa
res favorabi-
les, contrari-
um obtinet.*

^a T. C. lib. 1. pag. 144. As St. Paul saith, *That a man cannot preach, which is not sent*; Rom. 10. 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.

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

^b T. C. lib. 1. pag. 165. 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 ministred. But they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the Sacrament is ministred, but not sincerely.

^c T. C. lib. 3.
pag. 117.

from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that baptise 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 sincerely. 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, ^c that they mean by the form of the

the sacrament the institution? Which exposition darkneth 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 (left 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 inclose 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 ^a minister be *no circumstance, but a sub-* ^a T. C. lib. 3. *ordinate efficient cause in the work of baptism?* What if the minister's vocation ^b be a matter ^b 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 ^c of the substance of the sacrament, and as incident into the nature thereof, as the matter and the form it self, 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 name of Christ, without either

^b T. C. lib. 3. pag. 135. The minister is of the substance of the sacrament, considering that it is a principal part of Christ's institution. Beza, Epist. 2. *Dest aqua, & nomen baptismus alicujus differri cum edificatione non possit, nec debeat; ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua baptizavim.*

^c T. C. lib. 3. pag. 138. 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. *ibid.* 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*, pag. 137. 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.

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 publick duty: Finally, mystical, if we respect what God doth thereby intend to work. The greatest moral perfection of baptism consisteth in mens 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 it self 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 it self 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 compleat, as touching the mystical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own covenant and promise cleansed from all sin; for as much 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 mens new ungrounded, and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generality in mens 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 hath imposed on the necks 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 meer 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 ^a equity and right, 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

^a *Factum alterius alii nocere non debet.* Ulp. l. de pupillo, sect. Si Plurimum. Item, Alphen. l. Pater familias. De Hære. Instit. *Maleficia tenent Authores suos, non alios.* L. Sancimus 22. C. de Poen.

^b *August. Epist. 23.*

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 ^b *Augustin* 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 childrens also: *Their children*, whom this their apostasy prophaned, *did lose what christian baptism had given them being newly born.* *They lost* (saith *St. Augustin*) *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 mens perfidiousness, it lay not in us to avoid.* After the same manner, whatsoever we read written, if it found 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 himself and them which wittingly concur with him, make the sacrament of God fruitless. *St. Augustin's* doubtfulness, whether baptism by a lay-man may stand or ought to be re-administred, should not be mentioned by them which presume

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 136. Augustine standeth in doubt, whether baptism by a lay-man be available, or no. *Cont. Lit. Parm.* lib. 2. cap. 13. Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministred by a woman, whose unaptness herein is double to that of a lay-man, was of no effect.

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 imbecillity, 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 hereticks is meerly 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 farther addeth, that if hereticks did lose the power which before was given them by ordination, and did therefore unlawfully usurp, as often as 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 lay-men, to whom authority was never given? I doubt (saith St. *Augustin*) whether any man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, that the baptism which lay-men 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,) 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 affliction must 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. *Augustin* 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, 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 renovation, and to assure 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 mens 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 pass'd 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 mens 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 orders sake in his church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or add more force to the sacrament it self. That infants have right to the sacrament in baptism, we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guiltful and wrongful possessors of that, whereunto they have right by 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 *delictum cum capite semper ambulat*, mens own faults are their own harms. Wherefore, to countervail this and the like mischoven 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 therunto 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 natures 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 which

T. C. l. i. p. 116.

The sacrilege of private persons, women especially, in administering the holy sacrament of baptism.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 139. 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.

Exod. 4. 24. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 144. 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 fore-skin 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 fore-skin which she had cut off. And if it be said, that the event declared, that the act pleased God, because of his sickness; I have shewed before, 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.

her self, through her husband's oversight, in a matter of his own religion, brought unto these perplexities and streights, 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 fore-skin 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 eldest 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 it self 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 an 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 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 fallly 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? These premises therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, because the commandment of our Saviour Christ, which committeth jointly to publick ministers both doctrine and baptism, 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

^a *Malis passis non irascimur, sed compatimur.* Boet. de Consol.

^b Where the usual translation hath, *Exod. 4. 25.* She cut away the fore-skin 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 fore-skin of her son. Which being done, she touched his feet, (the feet of *Moses*) and said, thou art to me an 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.

Psal. 106. 30.

T. C. l. 3. p. 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the scripture to administer the sacraments, which are bidden to preach the word, and that the publick 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 unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was *Aaron*: And further, for as much as the baptizing by 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.

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; farther also, in as much as it standeth in no reason, that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens 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 administred in such manner, did inforce, 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 administred 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 defect 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.

63. 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 Apostolick 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 it self, or evident by the light of some higher knowledge; and in it self 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 reverend 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 belief. That which is true, and neither can be discerned by sense, nor concluded by meer natural principles, must have principles of revealed truth whereupon to build it self, and an habit of faith in us, wherein principles of that kind are apprehended. ^a The mysteries of our religion are above the reach of our understanding, above

Interrogatories in baptism touching faith, and the purpose of a christian life.

Apostate maledictum. 'Ουδὲν ἱερὸν τὸ πίνυσεν ἢ μάλ' ἐξ' ἐνι σφίσι. *Naz. Orat. 1. contr. Julia.*

^a Ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ἄνω λόγον, ὑπὲρ ἐξέτασιν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἡμέτερον. *Iust. Mart. Expos. Fid.*

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 it self, 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

Matth. 16.
John 1. 12.

we

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? which is to the kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof 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. 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 *St. Ambrose*, *He which is baptized, 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* having

Spiritus sanctus habitator ejus templi non efficitur, quod antistitem non habet veram fidem. Jerom. adv. Lucif. c. 4.

Isid. de Offic. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 24. Ambros. Hexam. l. 1. c. 4. Tertul. de Spectac.

* Οσοι ειν περιδωσι η πιστωσαν αληθη ταυτα τα υφ ημων διασκαλυνουσα η λεγουμενα ειν, η βιοται ητοις δυνασιν υπαρχονται, ευχαρις τα η αιτειν νησ δοντες αρεσ τα ειν ην προσημαρτυρησιν αρεσιν διδουσιν, επειτα αρισται υφ ημων, ειντα υδωρ ειν, η προποι αναληψησιν ον η ημες αυτοι ανεληνησμεν αναληψησιν. *Justin. Apol.*

^b 1 Pet. 3. 21.

baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto ^b *St. Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said, *That the baptism which saveth us*, is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but *επερωτημα, an interrogative tryal of a good conscience towards God*.

* Interrogatories proposed unto infants in baptism, and answered as in their names by Godfathers. They prophane holy baptism in toying foolishly; for 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. 6. 7.* Admonition to the Parliament. The same defended in *T. C. l. 1. p. 168.*

* 64. Now the fault which they find with us concerning 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 no where 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, In as much 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 in it 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

should be interrogatories proposed in baptism. This they condemn as foolish, toyish, and prophane mockery. But are they able to shew, that ever the church of Christ had any publick 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. Augustin's* time, knowing that the church did Aug. Ep. 25. universally use this custom of baptizing infants with interrogatories, was desirous to learn from *St. Augustin* 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? Tea, 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.* 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. Augustin's* answer is Yea; but with this distinction, a present *actual* Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipientem. Aug. 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 farther 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 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 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 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 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 (saith St. Augustin) 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 my self 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. Augustin* now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to a say of a child, It is 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

Multum mirabilis res est, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabitator Deus; & quorundam cognoscentium, non sit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverant: Et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli, sanctificati sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu sancto, qui per etatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, isti potuerunt habere antequam nosse. Aug. Epist. 57.

* T. C. lib. 1. pag. 169. 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 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 elected.

solute 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 well-spring of new-birth, wherein original sin is purged; besides which sin, there is no hindrance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant: Hard it were, that having so many fair inducements wherupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter (at the least) a truth as probable and allowable, in terming any such particular infant 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 sake, desirous to know yet some farther reason, why interrogatories should be ministred to infants in baptism, and be answer'd 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 farther necessary for the attainment of everlasting life; so every baptized soul receiving the same grace at the hands of God, tieth likewise it self for ever to the observance 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 exacteth at every man's hands an

2 John 2.

Gal. 3. 5.

^a *Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur, datum facturumve se quod interrogatus est, respondet. L. 5. Sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. & 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. l. 3. tit. 15.*

^b Gen. 17. 14.

^c *Accommodat illis mater Ecclesia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur; ut quoniam quod egri sunt alio peccante praegravantur, sic cum sani fiant alio pro eis confitente salventur. Aug. Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost.*

T. C. I. 1.
p. 172.

express profession of faith, and an irrevocable promise of obedience by way of ^a solemn stipulation? That infants may contract and covenant with God, the ^b 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 herunto, and in favour of their tender years, such formal complements of stipulation being requisite as are impossible by themselves in their own persons to be performed, leave is given that they may sufficiently ^c discharge them by others. 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, entreth into articles of covenant with them, and in tender commiseration granteth, that other mens professions and promises in baptism made for them, shall avail no less than if they had been themselves able to have made their own. 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 demeanor, 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 mis-deserts 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 holy things, they make themselves inquisitors of mens 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, 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 profelytes 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 off-spring, (for it is the church 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 her self, 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 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 pieties sake that offer us thereunto. *It cometh sometime to pass* (saith St. *Augustin*) *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. 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 heretick was charged, as having fall'n from this first profession, and broken 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 it 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 heretick, no wicked liver, no

Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur.
Instit. lib. 2. tit. 25. sect. 1.

Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad precipiendam gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamvis & ab ipsis si & ipsi boni & fideles sint, quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium.
Aug. in Epist. 33.

*Αγιουλας ο
αυ δια της
Βαπτισμα-
τις αραθων
τα βεβηκα η
αυτοι ο
πεσομενοι
των αμαρτιων
Β. τριτην.
Justin. Resp.
ad Orthod.*

Si Ariana aut Sabelliana herese: adsertor esses, & non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum auctoritate. Quid tandem si sic apud te agerem? quid diceret? quid responderet? nonne obsecro illud, in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum esse? Et vere, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defensorio, & quæ non absurde causam erroris diceret, si perinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica Fide institutus, Catholico Baptismo regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quousi cum Ariano aut Sabelliano possim? Quod utinam fuisset. Minus dolo in malis editum quam de bonis lapsus, minus fidem non balisam quam amissam. Non iniquum autem, Hereticum, non iniquum aut græce aliquid populo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus, quod fueras pro perseverantia facturus. Cassia. de incarn. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Tertul. lib. de Spectac.

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.*

Of the cross
in baptism.

65. 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 flea, 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 meer 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 such as adore the cross; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like consideration, Ezekias 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 shouldst 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 mayst of thy self perceive, or else learn of some other that doth.* Left therefore the name of tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been and

Tertul. de
Coron. Milit.
tit.

^a *Traditiones non scriptas, si doctrinam respiciant, cum doctrina scripte convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Ecclesiasticas attinet, ordinis & edificationis Ecclesiarum in his semper habenda ratio est; inutiliter autem & noxias, nempe ineptas & superstitiosas patronis suis relinquimus.* Goulart. Genevens. Annot. in Epist. Cyr. 74.

and reasonable cause to alter them.
and in gross to be shaken off, because

^b *T. C. l. 1. p. 171.* 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.

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 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 use we scarcely discern any good they do. And because the use which they have for the most part, is not perfectly

T. C. l. 1.
p. 170.

^c *T. C. l. 1. p. 170.* 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 is it not the word of God, that we should be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn across one over another in a child's forehead.

is abused, we mean by ^a traditions, 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 So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely say, they allow no ^b invention of men 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 under stood, 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, we make it a great deal worse. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which

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 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 mens 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, feest thou this woman? since I entred 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 kifs, but this woman since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kifs 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 chiefeft 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 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 supposall out of which it groweth. Now the ^a cause 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 oblo-

Luke 7. 44

^a T. C. l. 1. p. 170. 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 mens brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the swadling-clouds, 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 condemn 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.

quy 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 ^a 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 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 ^b judicious and wise men which think we may greatly relieve our selves, 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, chuse 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 staid 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 import 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, ^c whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howsoever exercise it self, worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination, the only store-house of wit, and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by means

^a Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ παύλατα τῆς ἡ ἔκ ἀνευ παύλας. *Arist. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1.* Ἡ μὲν ἀνθρώπων παύλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζωῶν ὑπάρχει, ἢ δὲ βελτίονα ἐν τοῖς λογισμοῖς, *Lib. 3. cap. 11.* Τὰ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τὸ νοήσαν ἐν τοῖς παύλαις νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾷται αὐτὸ τὸ διακρίνει, καὶ φανταῖ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν ἡ, λυγῆται. *Lib. 3. cap. 8.*

^b *Fons hominis tristitia, hilaritatis, clementie, severitatis index est.* *Plin. l. 11.*
Ezek. 9. 4.
Apoc. 7. 3.
Eccl. 9. 4.
Ἐποφθαίνονται οἱ δὲ ἀσχυνομένοι.
Arist. Eth. 4. c. 9.
^c *Caro signatur ut et anima munatur.* *Tertul. de Resur. Car.*

whereof as the pulse declareth how the heart doth work, so the very ^d thoughts and cogitations of man's mind, be they good or bad, do no where sooner bewray themselves, than through the crevices of that wall wherewith nature hath 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 it self 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 ^e preservation from reproach? Surely the mind which as yet hath not hardened it self 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 entred 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 it self, till God by his own out-stretched 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 alledge 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

Cyp. Epist. 56. ad Thibaritanos.

and quietness, (if so small a liberty but only to breath between troubles, may be termed quietness and rest) to such as fell not away from Christ through former 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 your selves 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.*

Thus was the memory of that sign which they had in baptism, a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apostasy, 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 extream 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 meer conscience religiously spiteful? When they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest service of honour that man 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 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 alledged being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not (you will say) the cross in our fore-heads, 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 publick experience of the world over-weigh some few mens persuasion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condescend unto common imbecillity. 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;

Erant enim supplices coronarii. Tert. lib. de Coro. Mil. In the service of idols, the doors of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the priests, and the supplicants that were present, wore garlands.

^a Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸ φιλανθρωπικὸν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κληρικῷ αὐτοῦ ἐναντίον καὶ τὰ φθαρτικὰ. Arist. Rhet. l. i. cap. 6.

^b *Ozias Rex leprose varietate in fronte maculatus est, ex parte corporis notatus offensio Domino ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur.* Cypr. de unit. Eccles. cap. 16.

his ignominy. But to prevent some inconveniencies which might ensue, if the 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 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

^c Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad. Demetr. cap. 19. *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.*

^d *Idem Annot. in Cypr. Epist. 56. c. 7.*

not only ^e acquit the fathers from superstition therein, but also think it sufficient to answer in excuse of themselves, ^d *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. As for their last upshot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion that if the ancient christians, to deliver the cross 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 *Ezechias*, 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. 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 imbecillity 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 alledged. Reasons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther 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 themselves 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 alledgeth. To *Ezechias* God himself in this fact giveth testimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here questionable, but only whether the example alledged be pertinent, pregnant and strong. The serpent spoken of was first created for the extra-

¹ Kings 18.3.

ordi-

ordinary and miraculous cure of the *Israelites* in the desert. Thus use having presently an end, when the cause for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing it self 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 *Ezechias*, 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* Dist. 6. 3. cap. Quia. *some things which at that time might be without fault, and afterwards be turned to error and superstition; we are taught by Ezechias 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. For by the words of *Ezechias* 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 controuled, 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 dissolution of idols, *shapes and* Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 15. *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, for as much 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 it self 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 subtil 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 it self, and therefore will easily conceive that the honour done unto it hath an 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

it self, 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 it self, where they are in such sort adored; should we hereupon think our selves 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

^a *Jos. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 3. & lib. 18. cap. 3. & de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

^b 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. *Dis. lib. 40. Herodian. lib. 4.*

^c *Matth. 22. 20.*

admit in the city of *Jerusalem* that ^a image of *Cesar* which the *Romans* were accustomed to ^b adore, make any scruple of ^c *Cesar'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, but 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 *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 shew of no better than intended apostacy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence, it appeared that such as misliked, misunderstood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any altar for sacrifice, which God would have no where offered saying 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 prophane idol. If we think the example of *Ezechias* 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 *Ezechias* proveth the contrary. The temples and idols, which

¹ *Kings 11. 7.*

² *Kings 23. 13.*

² *Kings 18. 3. 6. & 22. 2.*

under *Solomon* had been of very purpose framed for the honour of foreign gods, *Ezechias* 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. 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 oftner than need requireth, be brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the cross any such evil, nor yet the brazen serpent it self 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 my self, that had *Ezechias* (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 an 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

been sometimes scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause to be now removed, there is no reason we should forthwith yield our selves to be carried away with example, no not of them whose acts the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any publick 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 chuſe but breed offence, as thoſe ſinks of execrable filth which *Jofias* did overwhelm ; ſome things, albeit not by nature, and of themſelves, are not-² withſtanding ſo generally turned to evil, by reaſon of an evil corrupt habit grown,^{7.} ^{Kings 23i} 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 *Ezechias* did with ſuch ſudden indignation deſtroy what he ſaw worſhipped ; finally, ſome things are, as the ſign of the croſs, though ſubject either 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 ſcour'd from the ruſt of evil, which by ſome accident hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion upon the example of *Ezechias*, let this ſuffice. When heathens deſpiſed chriſtian religion, becauſe of the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt, the fathers, to reſtiſy 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 prophaneneſs, 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 extream an extremity ; the liberal hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal miſerable, and by the judgment of the miſerable laſhiv : 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 extream, than one extream 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 cole-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 quite 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 it ſelf 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 wiſfully by abſciſion that which they might both preſerve and heal ? Touching therefore the ſign and ceremony of the croſs, we no way find our ſelves bound to relinquish it ; neither becauſe the firſt inventors thereof were but mortal

men ; nor left 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.
a *Cavo manus
impositione
adumbratur, ut
et anima spi-
ritu illumine-
tur.* Tertul-
de resur. Car.

66. The ancient custom of the church was, after they had baptized, to add thereunto imposition of hands with effectual prayer for the ^a illumination of God's most holy Spirit, to 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 our selves. 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
- Gen. 48. 14. *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,
- 2 Kings 5. 11. *used therein the self-same ceremony.* And therefore when *Elizeus* willed *Naaman* to wash himself seven times in *Jordan* for cure of his foul disease, it much offended him ; *I thought* (saith he) *with my self, 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
- Matth. 9. 18. suits that came unto Christ for help were also tendred oftentimes, and are expressed
- Mark 5. 23. 8. 22. 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*
- Matth. 19. 13. *brought him therefore young children to put his hands upon them and pray.* After
- Mark 10. 13. the ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his apostles, whose prayer and imposition of hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The
- Luke 18. 15. church had received from Christ a promise, that such as 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. 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, in so much 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 vision from God, and the gift of propheticall 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 her self, but as freely bestowing, as God on her hath bestowed his divine graces : So it no where 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

God to continue the same in his church, but only bishops, the apostles successors for a time, even in that power. St. *Augustin* 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. *Augustin*, 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 latter days. 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 bold which the world before had of it, nor 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 roaring and spoiling adversary.* As much is signified by *Eusebius Emisenus*, 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 an augmentation of further grace.* The fathers therefore being thus persuaded, held confirmation as an ordinance apostolick, always profitable in God's church, although not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first. 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 *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 alledged. *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 our selves, 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. Sometimes they which by force of their ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whom hereby had disjoin'd 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 hereticks 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 imbecillity of this ground gave *Cyprian* occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the church herein, labouring many ways to prove, that hereticks could do neither; and consequently that their baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their christin; for the manner of those times was in confirming to use anointing. On the other side, against *Luciferians*, which ratified only the baptism of hereticks, but disannulled their confirmations and consecrations, under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, *Hereticks cannot give the Holy Ghost*, St. *Jerome* proveth at large, that if baptism by hereticks be granted

Augus. de Vera Relig. cap. 25.

Tertul. de Baptif.

Cyp. Epist. 2. ad D. mil. c. 2.

Euseb. Emif. Ser. de Pente.

Aug. de Trin. lib. 15. cap. 26. Heb. 6. 2.

Acts 8. 12, 15. Hier. advers. Lucif. cap. 4.

Cyp. Epist. 73. ad Julianum.

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 it self with true baptism, the church which thinketh the bishops confirmation after other mens 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 fought for at his hands. Now what effect their imposition of hands hath, either after baptism administered by hereticks, 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 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 tryal 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 to 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 ^a error rashly uttereth in disgrace of good things, may peradventure be spunged

* T. C. lib.
1. pag. 199.
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. 3. pag. 232. That it is ancienter than the feigned decretal Epistles, I yield unto) and no one riddle 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 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 of 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 a 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.

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, ^{Heb. 8. 3.} 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 little less than a whole half score of miles for a bishop's blessing, *which if it were needful, might as well be done at home in 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 farther also, we thereby teach men to think ^{Act. 8. 17.} *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 apostolick 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 linnen 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 it self 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 our selves 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 ^{Ephes. 3. 14.} apt to spread infection, we *maintain* with popish evangelists an old forlorn *distinction* ^{John 10. 22.} of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's apostles before his ascension into heaven, and ^{Acts 1. 8.} 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.

67. The grace which we have by the holy eucharist, doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiveth this sacrament before baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after baptism. In that life therefore, where neither body nor soul can decay, our souls shall as little require this sacrament, as our bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forcible, *except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*. ^{John 6. 53.} Life being therefore proposed unto all men as their end, they which by baptism have laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a new life, have here their nourishment and food prescribed for continuance of life in them. Such as will live the life of God, must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the son of man; because this is a part of that diet, which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ, and by baptism receive the grace of his spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth: in the eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God

giveth us; the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see, and can judge of them; we understand that the strength of our life begun in Christ, is Christ; that his flesh is meat, and his blood drink, not by furnished imagination, but truly, even so truly, that through faith we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal life; the grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that some did exceedingly fear lest *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to pass, that men should account of this sacrament but only as of a shadow, destitute, empty and void of Christ. But seeing that by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can see, on all sides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real participation of Christ, and of life in his body and blood by means of this sacrament; wherefore should the world continue still distracted, and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controversy, saying only about the subject where Christ is? Yea, even in this point no side denieth, but that the soul of man is the receptacle of Christ's presence. Whereby the question is yet driven to a narrow issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtful but this, whether when the sacrament is administered, Christ be whole within man only, or else his body and blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves. Which opinion they that defend, are driven either to consubstantiate and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to transubstantiate and change their substance into his; and so the one to hold him really, but invisibly, moulded up with the substance of those elements; the other to hide him under the only visible shew of bread and wine, the substance whereof, as they imagine, is abolished, and his succeeded in the same room. All things considered, and compared with that success which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errors in this point, shall I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how? If any man suppose that this were too great stupidity and dulness, let us see whether the apostles of our Lord themselves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitive, yea in other cases of less importance, and less difficulty, always apt to move questions. How cometh it to pass, that so few words of so high a mystery being uttered, they receive with gladness the gift of Christ, and make no shew of doubt or scruple? The reason hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all observed how the powers of the mind are wont to stir, when that which we infinitely long for presenteth it self above and besides expectation. Curious and intricate speculations do hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy as divine graces use to raise, when extraordinarily they are present. The mind therefore feeling present joy, is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that case casteth off those disputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times easily draweth. A manifest effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lord's disciples in the twentieth of *John*, the people that are said in the sixth of *John* to have gone after him to *Capernaum*. These leaving him on the one side of the sea of *Tiberias*, and finding him again as soon as themselves by ship were arrived on the contrary side, whither they knew that by ship he came not, and by land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered, so they asked also, *Rabbi, when camest thou hither?* The disciples, when Christ appeared to them in far more strange and miraculous manner, moved no question, but rejoiced greatly in what they saw. For why? The one sort beheld only that in Christ which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladness; the other, when they looked on Christ, were not ignorant that they saw the well-spring of their own everlasting felicity; the one, because they enjoyed not, disputed; the other disputed not, because they enjoyed. If then the presence of Christ with them did so much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ, not before their eyes but within their souls. They had learned before, that his flesh and blood are the true cause of eternal life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own substance, but through the dignity and worth of his Person, which offered them up by way of sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them still effectual therunto: Finally, that to us they are life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they understood not perfectly to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine, but to have eaten the passover only that

Moses appointed, when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, first bless and consecrate, for the endless good of all generations till the world's end, the chosen elements of bread and wine; which elements, made for ever the instruments of life by virtue of his divine benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from him, the first which were warranted by his promise, that not only unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their successors after them did duly administer the same, those mysteries should serve as conduits of life, and conveyances of his body and blood unto them; was it possible they should hear that voice, *Take, eat, this is my body; drink ye all of this, this is my blood*? Possible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they saw in themselves? They had at that time a sea of comfort and joy to wade in, and we by that which they did are taught that this heavenly food is given for the satisfying of our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtil wits. If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himself a school-master; let our Lord's apostle be his interpreter, content we our selves with his explication; my body, *the communion of my body*: My blood, *the communion of my blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear and easy, than that as Christ is termed our life, because through him we obtain life; so the parts of this sacrament are his body and blood, for that they are so to us; who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The bread and cup are his body and blood, because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the participation of his body and blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our souls and bodies quickned to eternal life are effects; the cause whereof is the person of Christ: his body and blood are the true well-spring out of which this life floweth. So that his body and blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life: Not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beasts, men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by a far more divine and mystical kind of union, which maketh us one with him, even as He and the Father are one. The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth, first, *take and eat*; then, *this is my body which was broken for you*: First, *drink ye all of this*; then followeth, *this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*. I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ when and where the bread is his body, or the cup his blood; but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them. As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confess'd, that the grace of baptism is poured into the soul of man; that by water we receive it, although it be neither seated in the water, nor the water changed into it; what should induce men to think, that the grace of the eucharist must needs be in the eucharist before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. There is no sentence of holy scripture which saith, that we cannot by this sacrament be made partakers of his body and blood, except they be first contained in the sacrament, or the sacrament converted into them. *This is my body*, and, *this is my blood*, being words of promise, sith we all agree, that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble our selves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation the sacrament it self be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or enquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by it self what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary. It is on all sides plainly confess'd, first, that this sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole en-
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Mark 14. 22.

tire person, *as a mystical head*, unto every soul that receiveth him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ *as a mystical member* of him, yea of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom *the person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the same sacrament his Holy Spirit to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth him which is their head. Thirdly, that what *merit, force, or virtue soever there is in his sacred body and blood*, we freely, fully and wholly have it by this sacrament. Fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us, is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, that because the sacrament being of it self but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest our selves altogether upon *the strength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to pass, that the bread and cup which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth. It seemeth therefore much amiss, that against them whom they term sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made, all running upon two points, that the eucharist is not a bare sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of his body and blood is not all we receive in this sacrament. For no man, having read their books and writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both these assertions they plainly confess to be most true. They do not so interpret the words of Christ, as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body; and to be, were only to signify his blood. They grant that these holy mysteries received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also impart unto us, even in true and real, though mystical manner, the very person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect and entire, as hath been shewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that strong conceit which two of the three have embraced, as touching a literal, corporal and oral manducation of the very substance of his flesh and blood, is surely an opinion no where delivered in holy scripture, whereby they should think themselves bound to believe it; and (to speak with the softest terms we can use) greatly prejudiced in that when some others did so conceive of eating his flesh, our Saviour to abate that error in them, gave them directly to understand how his flesh so eaten could profit them nothing, because the words which he spake were spirit; that is to say, they had a reference to a mystical participation; which mystical participation giveth life. Wherein there is small appearance of likelihood, that his meaning would be only to make them *Marcionites* by inversion, and to teach them, that as *Marcion* did think Christ seemed to be man but was not; so they contrariwise should believe that Christ in truth would so give them as they thought his flesh to eat; but yet, lest the horror thereof should offend them, he would not seem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Christ in that blessed sacrament, go about to explain themselves, and to open after what manner things are brought to pass, the one sort lay the union of Christ's Deity with his Manhood, as their first foundation and ground: From thence they infer a power which the body of Christ hath, thereby to present it self in all places; out of which ubiquity of his body they gather the presence thereof with that sanctified bread and wine of our Lord's Table: The conjunction of his body and blood with those elements, they use as an argument to shew how the bread may as well in that respect be termed his body, because his body is therewith joined, as the Son of God may be named man, by reason that God and man in the person of Christ are united. To this they add, how the words of Christ commanding us to eat, must needs import, that as he hath coupled the substance of his flesh and the substance of bread together, so we together should receive both: Which labyrinth, as the other sort doth justly shun, so the way which they take to the same inn, is somewhat more short, but no whit more certain. For through God's omnipotent power they imagine that transubstantiation followeth upon the words of consecration; and upon transubstantiation the participation of Christ's both body and blood, in the only shape of sacramental elements. So that they all three do plead God's omnipotency: Sacramentaries, to that alteration which the rest confess he accomplisheth; the patrons of transubstantiation, over and besides that, to the change of one substance into another; the followers of consubstantiation, to the kneading of both substances, as it were, into one lump. Touching the sentence of antiquity in this cause; first, for as much as they knew that the force of this sacrament doth necessarily presuppose the verity of Christ's both body and blood, they used oftentimes the same as an argument to prove, that Christ has as truly the

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substance of man as of God, because here we receive Christ, and those graces which flow from him, in that he is man. So that if he have no such being, neither can the sacrament have any such meaning as we all confess it hath. Thus ^a *Tertullian*, thus ^b *Irenæus*, thus ^c *Theodoret* disputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach that Christ is personally there present, yea present whole, albeit a part of Christ be corporally absent from thence, that ^d Christ assisting this heavenly banquet with his personal and true presence, ^e doth by his own divine power add to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy, which ^f addition to the nature of those consecrated elements changeth them, and maketh them that unto us which otherwise they could not be, that to us they are thereby made such instruments, & as mystically yet truly, invisibly yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ, as well in that he is Man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace and efficacy of his body and blood; whereupon there ensueth a kind of transubstantiation in us, a true ^h change, both of soul and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient fathers of the church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical participation of Christ's both body and blood in the sacrament; neither are their speeches concerning the change of the elements themselves into the body and blood of Christ such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to persuade the world either of a corporal consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed elements before we receive them; or of the like transubstantiation of them into the body and blood of Christ. Which both to our mystical communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the fathers, who plainly hold but this mystical communion, cannot easily be thought to have meant any other change of sacramental elements, than that which the same spiritual communion did require them to hold. These things considered, how should that mind which, loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out so endless Mazes as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with it self than thus? *Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for truth, that which every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three expositions made of, This is my body; The first, This is in it self before participation really and truly the natural substance of my body, by reason of the coexistence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread, which is the Lutherans interpretation. The second, This is in it self and before participation the very true and natural substance of my body, by force of that deity, which with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body, which is the popish construction. The last, This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power,*

^a *Acceptum panem & distributum discipulis, Corpus suum illius fecit, Hæc est Corpus meum dicens, id est figura corporis mei. Figura autem non misit, nisi creatus esset Corpus, cum vacuo rei quod est phantasma, Figuram capere non possit. Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. cap. 40.*

^b *Secundum hæc (that is to say, If it should be true which Hereticks have taught, denying that Christ took upon him the very nature of man) nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque Calix Eucharistie communicatio sanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est, nisi a venis & carnibus & reliqua que est secundum hominem substantia. Iren. lib. 5. cap. 1.*

^c *Εἰ τινος τὸ θεῶν σῶματ' ἀνήνυσεν, ὃ δὲ θεῶν μυστήριον, αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐκ τούτου & οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ὁμοῦ ἀναπλάθει. Theod. Dialog. Ἀδύ. γ. 20.*

^d *Sacramenta quidem, quantum in se est, sine propria virtute esse non possunt, nec ullo modo se absentat majestas mysteriis. Cyr. de Cæn. cap. 7.*

^e *Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se inde fundit essentia, ut esset Religio circa sacramenta Drotio, Idem cap. 6. Invisibilis Sacerdos visibilis creaturas in substantiam corporis & sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate convertit. In spiritualibus Sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & seroit effectus. Euseb. Emisen. Hom. 3. de Pasch.*

^f *Τὰ σῶματα τῶν θεσποτικῶν σώματι πρὸς αὐτὰτ' ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς αὐτὰ τὴν ἐσθίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ οὐκίας ἐκκλησίαν οὐκίας. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἐκκλησίαν οὐκίας καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς αὐτὰτ' ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Theodor. Ex quo a Domino dictum est, hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc est caro mea, & hic est sanguis meus, quotiescunque his verbus & hac fide actum est, panis ipse supersubstantialis, & calix benedictione solenni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit. Cyr. de Cæn. cap. 3. Immortalis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantia retinetur specie, sed virtutis divine invisibilis efficientia probans adesse presentiam. Ibid. cap. 2.*

^g *Sensibilibus Sacramentis inest vite æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quam spirituali transiitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim panis & caro, & sanguis, idem cibus, & substantia & vita factus est Ecclesia sue quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus. Ibid. cap. 5. Nostra & ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed effectus consociat & confederat voluntates. Ibid. cap. 6. Manjo nostra in ipso est manducatio, & potus quasi quædam incorporatio. Ibid. cap. 9. Ille est in Patre per Nativitatem divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille cibus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium. Hilar. de Trin. lib. 8.*

^h *Panis hic æquus cibus verus & sincerus per speciem & sacramentum nos tantum sanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat. Cyr. de Cæn. cap. 6. Non aliud agit participatio corporis & sanguinis Christi, quam ut in id quod sumimus transeamus, & in quo mori & sepulti & resurrecti sumus, ipsum per omnia & spiritu & carne gestemus, Leo de Pasch. Serm. 14. Quemadmodum qui est a terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem (id est facta invocatione divini numinis) jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duobus rebus constans, terrena & cælesti: Sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia spem resurrectionis habentia, Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est conjuncta, vivifica effecta est: Quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis, illi carni conjuncti, que vita effecta est. Cyril. in Johan. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

er, is in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make my self wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need. This is to them, and in them, my body. *Of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the words of Christ are on all sides confess'd to inforce, nothing but that which the church of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but that which alone is sufficient for every christian man to believe concerning the use and force of this sacrament: Finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant, and all christian confessions agreeable. And as truth, in what kind soever, is by no kind of truth gainsaid: So the mind which resteth it self on this, is never troubled with those perplexities which the other do find, by means of so great contradiction between their opinions, and true principles of reason grounded upon experience, nature and sense. Which albeit, with boysserous courage and breath, they seem oftentimes to blow away; yet whose observeth how again they labour and sweat by subtilty of wit to make some shew of agreement between their peculiar conceits and the general edicts of nature, must needs perceive they struggle with that which they cannot fully master. Besides, sith of that which is proper to themselves, their discourses are hungry and unpleasant, full of tedious and irksome labour, heartless, and hitherto without fruit; on the other side, read we them or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times, to what part soever they be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controversy; yet in this, where they all speak but one thing, their discourses are heavenly, their words sweet as the hony-comb, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences meer consolation and joy: Are we not hereby almost even with voice from heaven admonished which we may safely cleave unto? He which hath said of the one sacrament, wash and be clean, hath said concerning the other likewise, eat and live. If therefore without any such particular and solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed woman coming unto Christ for health, could so constantly resolve her self, may I but touch the skirt of his garment, I shall be whole, what moveth us to argue of the manner how life should come by bread? Our duty being here but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that can we but eat, we are safe. When I behold with mine eyes some small and scarce discernable grain or seed, whereof nature maketh a promise that a tree shall come; and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious work, I look for the event, I move no question about performance either of the one, or of the other. Shall I simply credit nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial rely my self on art, never offering to make doubt? And in that which is above both art and nature refuse to believe the author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God himself doth speak those things which, either for height and sublimity of the matter, or else for secrecy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of faith before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting my self at the Lord's table, to know what there I receive from him; without searching or enquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise: Let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest: Let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will; the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security, that these mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to his very cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force and virtue, even the blood of his goared side: In the wounds of our redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are died red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possess'd of this paschal lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine: This bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold, this cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body; in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of*

thanksgiving: with touching it sanctifieth, it enlightneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ. What these elements are in themselves, it skilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this? O my God, thou art true; O my soul, thou art happy! Thus therefore we see, that howsoever men's opinions do otherwise vary; nevertheless touching baptism and the supper of our Lord, we may with one consent of the whole christian world conclude they are necessary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect our life in Christ.

68. In administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the supposed faults of the Church of England are not greatly material, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. *The first is, That we do not use in a generality once for all to say to communicants, take eat, and drink; but unto every particular person, eat thou, drink thou, which is according to the popish manner; and not the form that our Saviour did use. Our second over-sight is, by gesture. For in kneeling there hath been superstition; sitting agreeth better to the action of a supper; and our Saviour using that which was most fit, did himself not kneel. A third accusation is, for not examining all communicants, whose knowledge in the mystery of the gospel should that way be made manifest; a thing every where, they say, used in the apostles times, because all things necessary were used; and this in their opinion is necessary, yea it is commanded, in as much as the Levites are commanded to prepare the people for the passover; and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lord's supper in place of the passover. The fourth thing misliked is, that against the apostle's prohibition, to have any familiarity at all with notorious offenders, papists being not of the church, are admitted to our very communion, before they have by their religious and gospel-like behaviour purged themselves of that suspicion of Popery which their former life hath caused. They are dogs, swine, unclean beasts, foreigners and strangers from the church of God; and therefore ought not to be admitted, though they offer themselves. We are, fifthly, condemned, in as much as when there hath been store of people to hear sermons and service in the church, we suffer the communion to be ministered to a few. It is not enough, that our book of Common-Prayer hath godly exhortations to move all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by ecclesiastical discipline and civil punishment provide that such as would withdraw themselves, might be brought to communicate, according both to the law of God and the ancient church canons. In the sixth and last place cometh the enormity of imparting this sacrament privately unto the sick. Thus far accused, we answer briefly to the first^a, that seeing God by sacraments doth apply in particular unto every man's person the grace which himself hath provided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cause why administering the sacraments we should forbear to express that in forms of speech, which he by his word and gospel teacheth all to believe. In the one sacrament, *I baptize thee*, displeaseth not. If *eat thou*, in the other offend them, their fancies are no rules for churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last supper did speak generally once to all, or to every one particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that form which serveth best for the setting down with historical brevity what was spoken; they are no manifest proof that he spake but once unto all which did then communicate, much less that we in speaking unto every communicant severally do amiss, although it were clear that we herein do otherwise than Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously our selves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heavenly direction of that inspired divine wisdom, which teacheth divers ways to one end; and doth therein controul their boldness, by whom any profitable way is censured as reproveable, only under colour of some small difference from great examples going before. To do throughout every the like circumstance the same which Christ did in this action, were by following his footsteps in that sort to err more from the purpose he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with so nice and severe strictness. They little weigh with themselves how dull, how heavy, and almost how with-*

Of faults noted in the form of administering the holy communion.

² Chr. 35. 6.

¹ Cor. 5. 11.

^a Numb. 9. 13. Can. 9. Apost. Concil. 2. Brac. cap. 83.
^b T. C. l. 3. p. 166. Besides that it is good to leave the popish form in those things, which we may so conveniently do, it is best to come as near the manner of celebration of the supper which our Saviour Christ did use, as may be. And if it be a good argument to prove that therefore we must rather say, *Take thou*, than *Take ye*, because the sacrament is an application of the benefits of Christ, it behoveth that the preacher should direct his admonitions particularly one after another, unto all those which hear his sermon, which is a thing absurd.

out sense, the greatest part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unnecessary to put them, even man by man, especially at that time, in mind whereabout they are. It is true, that in sermons we do not use to repeat our sentences severally to every particular hearer; a strange madness it were if we should. The softness of wax may induce a wise man to set his stamp or image therein; it persuadeth no man, that because wool hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impression. So the reason taken from the use of sacraments, in that they are instruments of grace unto every particular man, may with good congruity lead the church to frame accordingly her words in administration of sacraments, because they easily admit this form; which being in sermons a thing impossible, without apparent ridiculous absurdity, agreement of sacraments with sermons in that which is alledged as a reasonable proof of conveniency for the one, proveth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not enforce the other to be administered in like sort. For equal principles

T. C. l. i.
p. 165, kneeling
ing carrieth
a shew of
worship. Sit-
ting agreeth
better with
the action of
the supper.
Christ and
his apostles
kneeled not.

do then avail unto equal conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not else. Our kneeling at communions is the gesture of piety. If we did there present our selves but to make some shew or dumb resemblance of a spiritual feast, it may be that sitting were the fitter ceremony; but coming as receivers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beset our bodies at that hour, than to be sensible witnesses of minds unfeignedly humbled? Our Lord himself did that which custom and long usage had made fit; we, that which fitness and great decency hath made usual. The trial of our selves, before we eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, is by express commandment every man's precise duty. As for necessity of calling others unto account besides our selves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great strength which is in their arguments who

^a T. C. l. i. p. 164. All things necessary were used in the churches of God in the apostles times; but examination was a necessary thing, therefore used. In the Book of *Chronicles*, 2 Chron. 35. 6. the *Levites* were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the passover, in place whereof we have the Lord's supper. Now examination being a part of the preparation, it followeth that here is commandment of the examination.

first press us with it as a thing necessary, by affirming, ^a that the apostles did use it, and then prove the apostles to have used it, by affirming it to be necessary: Again, albeit we greatly muse how they can avouch that God did command the *Levites* to prepare their brethren against the feast of the passover, and that the examination of them was a part of their pre-

paration, when the place alledged to this purpose doth but charge the *Levite*, saying, *Make ready Laabhechem for your brethren*, to the end they may do according to the word of the Lord by *Moses*. Wherefore in the self same place it followeth, how lambs and kids, and sheep, and bullocks were delivered unto the *Levites*, and that thus the service was made ready: It followeth likewise, how the *Levites* having in such sort provided for the people, they made provision for themselves, *And for the Priests, the sons of Aaron*: So that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of examination, argueth their wonderful great forwardness in framing all things to serve their turn; nevertheless, the examination of communicants when need requirereth, for the profitable use it may have in such cases, we reject not. Our fault in admitting popish communicants, is it in that we are forbidden to eat, and therefore much more to communicate with notorious malefactors? The name of a papist is not given unto any man for being a notorious malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering papists to communicate; so that, be their life and conversation whatsoever in the sight of man, their popish opinions are in this case laid as bars and exceptions against them; yea, those opinions which they have held in former times, although they now both profess by word, and offer to shew by fact the contrary. All this doth not justify us, which ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till their gospel-like behaviour have removed all suspicion of popery from them, because papists are *dogs, swine, beasts, foreigners and strangers from the house of God*; in a word, *they are not of the church*. What the terms of gospel-like behaviour may include, is obscure and doubtful: but of the visible church of Christ in this present world, from which they separate all papists, we are thus persuaded. *Church* is a word which art hath devised, thereby to sever and distinguish that society of men which professeth the true religion, from the rest which profess it not. There have been in the world from the very first founda-

^b Although they would receive the communion, yet they ought to be kept back, until such time as by their religious and gospel-like behaviour, they have purged themselves of that suspicion of popery which their former life and conversation hath caused to be conceived. T. C. l. i. p. 167.

1 Cor. 5. 11.
T. C. l. i.
p. 167.

dation thereof but three religions, *Paganism*, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved nature; *Judaism*, embracing the law which reformed heathenish impiety, and taught salvation to be looked for through one whom God in the last days would send and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, *Christian Belief*, which yieldeth obedience to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the saviour whom God did promise. Seeing then that the church is a name, which art hath given to *professors of true religion*, as they which will define a man are to pass by those qualities wherein one man doth excel another, and to take only those essential properties whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds; so he that will teach what the church is, shall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till in matter of religion he touch that difference which severeth the churches religion from theirs who are not the church. Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action; we must define the church, which is a religious society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon, because the only object which separateth ours from other religions, is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the church doth believe, and whom none but the church doth worship; we find that accordingly the apostles do every where distinguish hereby the church from *Infidels* and from *Jews*, *accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his church*. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the church of God, either indeed, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the error of all popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the church by that which the church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the unity that ought to be in the church of Christ, which notwithstanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord, her manifold varieties in rites and ceremonies of religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance; yea, her schisms, factions, and such other evils, whereunto the body of the church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retain by outward profession that vital substance of truth, which maketh christian religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to his glorious gospel, and have his sacraments, the seals of eternal life, in derision. Now the privilege of the visible church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the ark of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the ark of *Noah* privileged above the church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdom of God, although from the church they separate not. In the church there arise sundry grievous storms, by means whereof whole kingdoms and nations professing Christ, both have been heretofore, and are at this present day divided about Christ. During which divisions and contentions amongst men, albeit each part do justify it self, yet the one of necessity must needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what side soever it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknowledge alone to hold *with the true church in that point*, and consequently reject the other as an enemy, *in that case fallen away from the true church*. Wherefore of hypocrites and dissemblers, whose profession at the first was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occasion to oppugn certain principal articles of faith, the apostles which defended the truth against them, pronounce them gone out from the fellowship of sound and sincere believers, when as yet the christian religion they had not utterly cast off. In like sense and meaning throughout all ages, hereticks have justly been hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true vine; yet only so far forth cut off as their heresies have extended. Both heresy, and many other crimes which wholly sever from God, do sever from the church of God in part only. The mystery of piety, saith the apostle, is without peradventure great, *God hath been manifested in the flesh, hath been justified in the* 1 Tim. 3. 16.

Spirit,

Rom. 15. 5.
1 Cor. 1. 10.

1 John 2. 19

Matth. 13.
24 47.

spirit, hath been seen of angels, hath been preached to nations, hath been believed on in the world, hath been taken up into glory. The church a pillar and foundation of his truth, which no where is known or profess'd, but only within the church, and they all of the church that profess it. In the mean while it cannot be denied, that many profess this, who are not therefore cleared simply from all either faults or errors, which make separation between us and the well-spring of our happiness. Idolatry severed of old the *Israelites*; iniquity, those Scribes and Pharisees from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the seed of *Abraham*, a part of that very seed which God did himself acknowledge to be his church. The church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet must be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose are meant those parables, which our Saviour in the gospel hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkness, truth with error, as well and openly known and seen, as a cunningly cloaked mixture. That which separateth therefore utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the visible church of Christ, is plain apostasy, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole christian faith, as far as the same is professedly different from infidelity. Hereticks, as touching those points of doctrine wherein they fail: Schismatics, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their brethren: Loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true church of God; the church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the church that keepeth the bond of unity, which they violate; the church that walketh in the laws of righteousness, which they transgress: This very true church of Christ they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the church; upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are rent in the top asunder. Now because for redress of professed errors and open schisms it is, and must be the churches care that all may in outward conformity be one; as the laudable polity of former ages, even so our own to that end and purpose hath established divers laws, the moderate severity whereof is a mean

* T. C. lib. 1. pag. 167. If the place of the fifth to the *Corinthians*, do forbid that we should have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth more forbid that they should be received to the communion: And therefore papists being such, as which are notoriously known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less compelled to the supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his supper amongst his disciples, and those only which were, as St. *Paul* speaketh, within; it is evident, that the papists being without, and foreigners and strangers from the church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themselves: And that minister that shall give the supper of the Lord to him which is known to be a papist, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of popery with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the children, unto dogs; and he bringeth into the pasture which is provided for the sheep, swine and unclean beasts, contrary to the faith and trust that ought to be in a steward of the Lord's House, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of those which are now papists, pertain to the election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: Yet notwithstanding they ought to be unto the minister, and unto the church, touching the ministring of sacraments, as strangers, and as unclean beasts. The ministring of the holy sacraments unto them, is a declaration and seal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly, that they be washed already from their sin, partly that they are of the household of God, and such as the Lord will feed to eternal life; which is not lawful to be done unto those which are not of the household of faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of papists unto the communion, and the dismissing and letting of them go, when as they be to be punished for their stubbornness in popery (with this condition, if they will receive the communion) is very unlawful; when as, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back till such time as by their religious and gospel-like behaviours, &c.

heretofore have been led away. But seeing that the offices which laws require are always definite, and when that they require is done, they go no farther, whereupon sundry ill-affected persons, to save themselves from danger of laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before; by means whereof it falleth out, that receiving unworthily the blessed sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own damnation: It is for remedy of this mischief ^a here determined, that whom the law of the realm doth punish, unless they communicate, such if they offer to obey law, the church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their gospel-like behaviour. Wherein they first set no time, how long this supposed probation must continue; again, they nominate no certain judgment, the verdict whereof shall approve mens behaviour to be gospel like; and, that which is most material, whereas they seek to make it more hard for dissemblers to be received into the church, than law and polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more easy for such kind of persons to wind themselves out of the law, and to continue the same they were. The law requireth at their hands that duty which in conscience doth touch them nearest, because the greatest dif-

ference between us and them is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, whose name in the service of our communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error of their mass prophane. As therefore on our part to hear mass, were an open departure from that sincere profession wherein we stand; so if they on the other side receive our communion, they give us the strongest pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and man, should once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may satisfy law in pretending themselves conformable, (for what can law with reason or justice require more?) and yet be sure the church will accept no such offer till their gospel-like behaviour be allowed, after that our own simplicity hath once thus fairly eased them from the sting of law; it is to be thought they will learn the mystery of gospel-like behaviour when leisure serveth them. And so while without any cause we fear to prophane sacraments, we shall not only defeat the purpose of most wholesome laws, but lose or wilfully hazard those souls, from whom the likeliest means of full and perfect recovery are by our indiscretion with-held. For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into men's consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselves. To him they seem such as they are, but of us they must be taken for such as they seem. In the eye of God they are against Christ, that are not truly and sincerely with him; in our eyes they must be received as with Christ, that are not to outward shew against him. The case of impenitent and notorious sinners is not like unto theirs, whose only imperfection is error severed from pertinacy. Error in appearance, content to submit it self to better instruction: Error so far already cured, as to crave at our hands that sacrament, the harred and utter refusal whereof, was the weightiest point wherein heretofore they swerved and went astray. In this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge us with remiss dealing, or with carelessness, to whom we impart the mysteries of Christ; but they have given us manifest occasion to think it requisite that we earnestly advise rather, and exhort them to consider as they ought, their sundry-overights; first, in equalling undistinctly crimes with errors, as touching force to make incapable of this sacrament: Secondly, in suffering indignation at the faults of the church of *Rome* to blind and with-hold their judgments from seeing that which withal they should acknowledge, concerning so much nevertheless still due to the same church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible church of Christ: Thirdly, in imposing upon the church a burthen to enter farther into men's hearts, and to make a deeper search of their consciences, than any law of God, or reason of man inforceth: Fourthly and lastly, in repelling, under colour of longer tryal, such from the mysteries of heavenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary; and should in divers considerations be cherished according to the merciful examples and precepts whereby the gospel of Christ hath taught us towards such to shew compassion, to receive them with lenity and all meekness; if any thing be shaken in them, to strengthen it; not to quench with delays and jealousies that feeble smোক of conformity which seemeth to breath from them; but to build wheresoever there is any foundation; to add perfection unto slender beginnings; and that as by other offices of piety, even so by this very food of life which Christ hath left in his church, not only for preservation of strength, but also for relief of weakness. But to return to our own selves, in whom the next thing severely reprov'd is the paucity of communicants. If they require at communions frequency, we wish the same, knowing how acceptable unto God such service is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we also (themselves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require some publick coercion for remedy of that, wherein by milder and softer means little good is done, they know our laws and statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatsoever convenient help may be added more by the wisdom of man, what cause have we given the world to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to use any good means of sweet compulsion to have this high and heavenly banquet largely furnished? Only we cannot so far yield as to judge it convenient, that the holy desire of a competent number should be unsatisfied, because the greater part is careless and undisciplined to join with them. Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away, because this sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our brethren; and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent shew of distraction. I ask then, on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind,

7. C. 1. 1.
P. 147.
Chr. 30. 13.
Psal 122. 1.

Luke 14. 23.

do

do communicate? First, in the one it is not denied but that they may have reasonable causes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from just blame. Of such kind of causes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and necessary business requiring our presence elsewhere. And may not a third cause, which is unfitness at the present time, detain us as lawfully back as either of these two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuse our selves, for that we ought to prevent this, and do not. But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse; the crime of unworthy participation? He that abstaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious communicants have, but he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poison. Notwithstanding, whatsoever be the cause for which men abstain, were it reason that the fault of one part should any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemn communicating amongst a few, when the rest are departed from them. As for the last thing, which is our imparting this sacrament privately to the sick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kinds of necessity wherein this sacrament might be privately administered; of which two, the one being erroneously imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in use, there remaineth unto us no necessity at all for which that custom should be retained. The falsely surmised necessity is that whereby some have thought all such excluded from possibility of salvation, as did depart this life, and never were made partakers of the holy eucharist. The other cause of necessity was, when men which had fallen in time of perfection, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the fellowship of this communion, did at the hour of death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietness and comfort of mind, being thereby assured of departure in unity of Christ's church; which virtuous desire the fathers did think it great impiety not to satisfy. This was *Serapion's* case of necessity. *Serapion*, a faithful aged person, and always of very upright life, till fear of persecution in the end caused him to shrink back, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence, and suit oftentimes made to be pardoned of the church, fell at length into grievous sickness, and being ready to yield up the ghost, was then more instant than ever before to receive the sacrament. Which sacrament was necessary in this case, not that *Serapion* had been deprived of everlasting life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all cases of such necessity are clean vanished? Suppose that some have by mis-persuasion lived in schism, withdrawn themselves from holy and public assemblies, hated the prayers, and loathed the sacraments of the church, falsely presuming them to be fraught with impious and antichristian corruptions: Which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done, but also in token thereof desire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poor seduced Souls, even at this day.) God forbid we should think that the church doth sin, in permitting the wounds of such to be supplied with that oil, which this gracious sacrament doth yield, and their bruised minds not only need but beg. There is nothing which the soul of man doth desire in that last hour so much, as comfort against the natural terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom the very law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that christian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general consolation departing this life is, the hope of that

^a 1 Cor. 15.
21.

^b Phil. 3. 11.

^c Διὰ τὸ ὅτι ἡ

ῥῆσις ἐκέρχον.

Theophyl. 114.

ἵνα ὁ ἀνθρώπος

μὴ ἀδικῶν,

ἐκείνῳ ὅτι μὴ

ἀδικῶναι ἔσται

ἀποδοῦναι. Am-

mon. Vide

¹ Thes. 4-17.

^d Maturata

Resurrectionis

latabunde so-

lemnita. Cypr.

^a glorious and blessed resurrection which the apostle St. *Paul* ^b nameth Ἐξανάσταν,

^c to note that as all men should have their Ἀνάσταν, and be raised again from the

dead, so the just shall be taken up and exalted above the rest, whom the power of

God doth but raise, and not exalt. This life, and this resurrection of our Lord Jesus

Christ is for all men, as touching the sufficiency of that he hath done; but that

which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Christ; and

this sacrament a principal mean, as well to strengthen the bond, as to multiply in us

the fruits of the same communion. For which cause St. *Cyprian* ^d termeth it a joyful

solemnity of expedite and speedy resurrection; *Ignatius* ^e, a medicine which procu-

reth immortality and preventeth death; *Irenaeus* ^f, the nourishment of our bodies to

eternal life, and their preservative from corruption. Now because that sacrament,

de Cæn. Dom. cap. 10.

^e ὁ ἀγαπῶν ἀναστασιὰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σωτὴρ. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.

^f Epist. nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi equitas evidens poscit, subveniendum est, l. 158. ff. de Reg. Jur.

which

which at all times we may receive unto this effect, is then most acceptable and most fruitful, when any special extraordinary occasion, nearly and presently urging, kindleth our desires towards it, their severity who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and so make all mens conditions alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved minds, of whose particular estate particular respect being had, according to the charitable order of the church wherein we live, there insueth unto God that glory which his righteous saints comforted in their greatest distresses do yield; and unto them which have their reasonable petitions satisfied, the same contentment, tranquillity and joy, that others before them, by means of like satisfaction, have reaped, and wherein we all are or should be desirous finally to take our leave of the world, whensoever our own uncertain time of most assured departure shall come. Concerning therefore both prayers and sacraments, together with our usual and received form of administering the same in the church of *England*, let thus much suffice.

69. As the substance of God alone is infinite, and hath no kind of limitation, so likewise his continuance is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things are finite both in substance and in continuance. If in substance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their set and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reason why first we do most admire those things which are greatest; and secondly, those things which are ancientest; because the one are least distant from the infinite substance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that only God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to say, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the noblest and perfectest of all things besides have continually, through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthen'd; so that they could not heretofore be said to have continued so long as now, neither now so long as hereafter. God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth angels in the course of their perpetuity; their perpetuity the hand that draweth out celestial motion; the line of which motion, and the thread of time, are spun together. Now as nature bringeth forth time with motion, so we by motion have learned how to divide time, and by the smaller parts of time both to measure the greater, and to know how long all things else endure. For time, considered in it self, is but the flux of that very instant wherein the motion of the heaven began; being coupled with other things, it is the quantity of their continuance measured by the distance of two instants: As the time of a man, is a man's continuance from the instant of his first breath, till the instant of his last gasp. Hereupon some have defined time to be the measure of the motion of heaven; because the first thing which time doth measure, is that motion wherewith it began, and by the help whereof it measureth other things, as when the prophet *David* saith, that a man's continuance doth not commonly exceed threescore and ten years, he useth the help both of motion and number to measure time. They which make time an effect of motion, and motion to be in nature before time, ought to have considered with themselves, that albeit we should deny, as *Melissus* did, all motion, we might notwithstanding acknowledge time, because time doth but signify the quantity of continuance, which continuance may be in things that rest and are never moved. Besides, we may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future; yea, farther, even length and shortness in every of these, although we never had conceit of motion. But to define, without motion, how long, or how short such continuance is, were impossible. So that herein we must of necessity use the benefit of years, days, hours, minutes, which all grow from celestial motion. Again, for as much as that motion is circular whereby we make our divisions of time, and the compass of that circuit such that the heavens, which are therein continually moved and keep in their motions uniform celerity, must needs touch often the same points, they cannot chuse but bring unto us by equal distances frequent returns of the same times. Furthermore, whereas time is nothing but a meer quantity of that continuance which all things have that are not as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities, agreeth also to this kind; so that time doth but measure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect, nor is it self ever capable of any. And therefore when commonly we use to say, that time doth eat or fret out all things; that time is the wisest thing in the world, because it

Of festival days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.

bringeth forth all knowledge; and that nothing is more foolish than time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one day learneth, the same another day forgetteth again; that some men see prosperous and happy days, and that some mens days are miserable: In all these, and the like speeches, that which is uttered of the time, is not verified of time it self, but agreeth unto those things which are in time, and do by means of so near conjunction, either lay their burden upon the back, or set their crown upon the head of time. Yea, the very opportunities which we ascribe

Καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν
ἐν τῷ καιρῷ,
καὶ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ
καιρῷ. Hippoc.
lib. qui præ-
ceptiones in-
scribitur.

to time, do in truth cleave to the things themselves wherewith the time is joined. As for time, it neither causeth things, nor opportunities of things; although it compriseth and contain both. All things whatsoever having their time, the works of God have always that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His works are some ordinary, some more rare; all worthy of observation, but not all of like necessity to be often remembred; they all have their times, but they all do not add the same estimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where, yet doth not give unto all places one and the same degree of holiness; so neither one and the same dignity to all times, by working in all. For if all either places or times, were in respect of God alike, wherefore was it said unto *Moses* by particular designation, *This very place wherein thou standest is holy ground?* Why

Exod. 3. 5.

Psal. 118. 24.

doth the prophet *David* chuse out all the days of the year but one, whereof he speaketh by way of principal admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as God's extraordinary presence hath hallowed and sanctified certain places, so they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certain times; for which cause they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy than other days. The wise man therefore compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should ask how it comes to pass that one day doth excel another, seeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one sun; to this

Eccles. 33. 7.

he answereth, *That the knowledge of the Lord hath parted them afunder, he hath by them disposed the times and solemn feasts, some he hath chosen out and sanctified, some he hath put among the days to number:* Even as *Adam* and all other men are of one substance, all created of the earth: *But the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their ways divers; some he hath blessed and exalted, some he hath sanctified and appropriated unto himself, some he hath cursed, humbled and put them out of their dignity.* So that the cause being natural and necessary for which there should be a difference in days, the solemn observation whereof declareth religious thankfulness towards him whose works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be considered, what kinds of duties and services they are wherewith such times should be kept holy.

The manner
of celebra-
ting festival
days.

70. The sanctification of days and times is a token of that thankfulness, and a pattern of that publick honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keep a secret kalendar, taking thereby our private occasions as we list our selves to think how much God hath done for all men; but the days which are chosen out to serve as publick memorials of such his mercies, ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holiness, whereby their difference from other days may be made sensible. But because time in it self, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration; the hallowing of festival days must consist in the shape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident into those days. *This is the day which the Lord hath made,* saith the prophet *David, Let us*

rejoyce and be glad in it. So that generally offices and duties of a religious joy are that wherein the hallowing of festival times consisteth. The most natural testimonies of our rejoycing in God, are first his praises set forth with cheartul alacrity of mind. Secondly, our comfort and delight expressed by a charitable largeness of somewhat more than common bounty. Thirdly, sequestration from ordinary labours, the toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival solemnity therefore is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of these three elements, praise, bounty, and rest. Touching praise, for as much as the *Jews*, who alone knew the way how to magnify God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked Lives) more of custom and for fashion sake execute the services of their religion,

^a Grande videlicet officium, foci et chori in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernaculo obolofacere, vino lutum cogere, cateruatim cursitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Sicque exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus? Tert. Apol. cap. 35. Dies festos Moyses altissima dedicatus nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari. C. l. 12. tit. 12. l. 1. Ἄντι τῆς παλαιότητας καὶ ἀγρονομίας καὶ ἀγορῆς ῥήμασι καὶ ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν καὶ πόμους καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὅμως θεὸς καὶ ἱερὸν λαὸν ἀνέστη, καὶ μετὰ δόξης ἀνεκρίνας κοσμημένους διακρίσας. Theod. ad Grec. Infrad. Ser. 9. Τὴν γὰρ αὐτῆς οὐρανὸς ἐστὶν ὑποκείμενη τῇ εἰναι καὶ φιλεῖν θεῶν, Philo lib. de Abraham.

than

than with hearty and true devotion (which God especially requireth) he therefore protesteth against their sabbaths and solemn days, as being therewith much offended. Ila. 1. 13. Plentiful and liberal expence is required in them that abound, partly as a sign of their own joy in the goodness of God towards them, and partly as a mean whereby to refresh those poor and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of Deut. 16. 14. relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiously bless God, whose great mercies were a cause thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no weariness by any work, yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happiness till it do bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is unattained, we rest not. Let us not here take rest for idleness. They are idle, whom the painfulness of action causeth to avoid those labours wherunto both God and nature bindeth them; they rest, which either cease from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour, because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their several ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower sustaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence. Labours of bodily and daily toil, purchase freedom for actions of religious joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest; a thing most natural and fit to accompany the solemn festival duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principal works of God, the memory whereof we use to celebrate at such times, be but certain tastes and sates, as it were, of that final benefit wherein our perfect felicity and bliss lieth folded up, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and desires towards the other, it giveth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently do, representeth after a sort that also wherunto we tend; as festival rest doth that celestial estate whereof the very heathens themselves, which 'Ουδ' ὄντι τὰ θεῶδες ὁ δὲ μέγα ματαίωται ὅτι οὐ κρείσσονα τῶν θεογενέων σοφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἀσυνήτιστα ἐργάται did not notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and have therefore taught that above the highest moveable sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, unsubject to passion, blest with eternal continuance in a life of the highest perfection, and of that compleat abundant sufficiency within it self, which no possibility of want, maim, or defect can touch. Besides, whereas ordinary labours are both in themselves painful, and base in comparison of festival services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them shew that the one, as it were by way of submission and homage, should surrender themselves to the other, wherewith they can neither easily concur, because painfulness and joy are opposite, nor decently, because while the mind hath just occasion to make her abode in the house of gladness, the weed of ordinary toil and travel becometh her not? Wherefore even nature hath taught the heathens, and God the *Jews*, and Christ us, first, that festival solemnities are a part of the publick exercise of religion; secondly, that praise, liberality, and rest, are as natural elements whereof solemnities consist. But these things the heathens converted to the honour of their false Gods: And, as they failed in the end it self; so neither could they discern rightly what form and measure religion therein should observe. Whereupon when the *Israelites* impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiss; their hymns or songs of praise were idolatry; their bounty, excess, and their rest wantonness. Therefore the law of God which appointed them days of solemnity, taught them likewise in what manner the same should be celebrated. According to the pattern of which institution, *David* establishing, the state of religion ordained praise to be given unto God in the sabbaths, months, and appointed times, as their custom had been always 1 Chron. 23. before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God himself in the law of *Moses* 30. particularly specified, there were through the wisdom of the church, certain others devised by occasion of like occurrences to those whereupon the former had risen; as namely, that which *Mordecai* and *Esther* did first celebrate in memory of the Lord's most wonderful protection, when *Haman* had laid his inevitable plot, to man's thinking, for the utter extirpation of the *Jews*, even in one day. This they call the feast of

lots, because *Haman* had cast their life and their death, as it were, upon the hazard of a lot. To this may be added that other also of *dedication*, mentioned in the tenth of *St. John's* gospel, the institution whereof is declared in the history of the *Maccabees*. But so far as much as their law by the coming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound; *St. Paul*, although it were not his purpose to favour invectives against the special sanctification of days and times to the service of God, and to the honour of Jesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion which imposed on the *Gentiles* the yoke of *Jewish* legal observations, as if the whole world ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and observe the same. Such as in this persuasion hallowed those *Jewish* sabbaths, the apostle sharply reproveth, saying, *Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain*. Howbeit, so far off was *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such days as the church of Christ doth observe, that the observation of these days he useth for an argument whereby to prove, it could not be the apostle's intent and meaning to condemn simply all observing of such times. Generally therefore touching feasts in the church of Christ, they have that profitable use whereof *St. Augustin* speaketh, *By festival solemnities and set-days, we dedicate and sanctify to God the memory of his benefits, lest unthankful forgetfulness thereof should creep upon us in course of time*. And concerning particulars, their sabbath the church hath changed into our Lord's day; that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation; so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world, begun by him which came to restore all things, to make both heaven and earth new. For which cause they honoured the last day, we the first in every seven throughout the year. The rest of the days and times which we celebrate, have relation all to one head. We begin therefore our ecclesiastical year with the glorious annunciation of his birth by angelical embassy. There being hereunto added his blessed nativity it self; the mystery of his legal circumcision; the testification of his true incarnation by the purification of her which brought him into the world, his resurrection, his ascension into heaven, the admirable sending down of his spirit upon his chosen, and (which consequently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible trinity thereby given to the church of God. Again, so far as much as we know that Christ hath not only been manifested great into himself, but great in other his saints also, the days of whose departure out of the world are to the church of Christ as the birth and coronation days of Kings or Emperors; therefore especial choice being made of the very flower of all occasions, in this kind there are annual selected times to meditate of Christ glorified in them which had the honour to suffer for his sake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them, which knowing him as *Stephen*, had the sight of that before death, whereinto so acceptable death did lead; glorified in those sages of the *East*, that came from far to adore him, and were conducted by strange light; glorified in the second *Elias* of the world, sent before him to prepare his way; glorified in those apostles whom it pleased him to use as founders of his kingdom here; glorified in the angels, as in *Michael*; glorified in all those happy souls, that are already possessed of heaven. Over and besides which number not great, the rest be but four other days heretofore annexed to the feast of *Easter* and *Pentecost*, by reason of general baptism usual at those two feasts; which also is the cause why they had not, as other days, any proper name given them. Their first institution was therefore through necessity, and their present continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they still attend. If it be then demanded, whether we observe these times, as being thereunto bound by force of divine law, or else by the only positive ordinances of the church? I answer to this, that the very law of nature it self, which all men confess to be God's law, requireth in general no less the sanctification of times, than of places, persons, and things, unto God's honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore, as of the rest, so of times likewise, to exact some parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be dispensed withal, nor remitted: Again, to require some other parts of time with as strict exactness, but for less continuance; and of the rest which were left arbitrary, to accept what the church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily unto like religious uses. Of the first kind, amongst the *Jews*, was the sabbath-day; of the second, those feasts which are appointed by the law of *Moses*; the feast of dedication, invented by the church, standeth in the number of the last kind. The moral law requiring there-

Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum & dierum & mensium & annorum erasit apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. advers. Pŷch. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 4. Luke 1. 26. Luke 2. 21.

therefore a seventh part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Christ; yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of renovation thereunto added by him which was prince of the world to come, we are bound to account the sanctification of one day in seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact for ever. The rest, they say, we ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men; besides, they are all abused by papists, the enemies of God; yea, certain of them, as *Easter* and *Pentecost*, even by the *Jews*.

71. Touching *Jews*, their *Easter* and *Pentecost* have with ours as much affinity as *Exceptions* *Philip* the apostle with *Philip* the *Macedonian* King. As for imitation of papist, ^{against our} keeping of and the breeding of superstition, they are now become such common guests, that no ^{other festival} man can think it discourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare obser- ^{days, besides} vation and strange; you shall find, if you mark it (as it doth deserve to be noted the Sabbath.

well) that many thousands there are, who if they have virtuously during those times behaved themselves, if their devotion and zeal in prayer have been fervent, their attention to the word of God such as all christian men should yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithstanding to think is a very dangerous error, in as much as the apostle *St. Paul* hath taught that we ought not to keep our *Easter* as the *Jews* did for certain days; but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and of truth to feast continually. Whereas the restraint of *Easter* to a certain number of days, causeth us to rest for a short space in that near consideration of our duties, which should be extended throughout the course of our whole lives, and so pulleth out of our mind the doctrine of Christ's gospel e're we be aware. The doctrine of the gospel, which here they mean, or should mean, is, that Christ having finished the law, there is no *Jewish* paschal solemnity, nor abstinence from sower bread now required at our hands; there is no leaven which we are bound to cast out, but malice, sin and wickedness; no bread but the food of sincere truth wherewith we are tied to celebrate our passover. And seeing no time of sin is granted us, neither any intermission of sound belief, it followeth, that this kind of feasting ought to endure always. But how are standing festival solemnities against this? That which the gospel of Christ requireth, is the perpetuity of virtuous duties; not perpetuity of exercise or action; but disposition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Just, valiant, liberal, temperate, and holy men are they, which can whensoever they will, and will whensoever they ought, execute what their several perfections import. If virtues did always cease to be when they cease to work, there should be nothing more pernicious to virtue than sleep: Neither were it possible that men, as *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, should in all the commandments of God walk unreprieveable; or that the chain of our conversation should contain so many links of divine virtues, as the apostles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exercise of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not possible at one and the same time to be discharged; duties of all sorts must have necessarily their several successions and seasons; in which respect the schoolmen have well and soundly determined, that God's affirmative laws and precepts, the laws that enjoin any actual duty, as prayer, alms, and the like, do bind us *ad semper velle*, but not *ad semper agere*; we are tied to iterate and resume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermission. Feasts, whether God himself hath ordained them, or the church by that authority which God hath given, they are of religion such publick services as neither can nor ought to be continued otherwise than only by iteration. Which iteration is a most effectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth those seeds of godli-

T. C. l. i. p. 151. If they had been never abused neither by the papists, nor by the *Jews*, as they have been, and are daily; yet such making of holidays is never without some great danger of bringing in some evil and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will use an example in one, and that the chief of holidays, and most generally and of longest time observed in the church, which is the feast of *Easter*, which was kept of some more days, of some fewer. How many thousands are there, I will not say of the ignorant papists, but of those also which profess the gospel, which when they have celebrated those days with diligent heed taken unto their life, and with some earnest devotion in praying, and hearing the word of God, do not by and by think that they have well celebrated the feast of *Easter*; and yet have they thus notably deceived themselves: For *St. Paul* teacheth, *1 Cor. 5. 8.* That the celebrating of the feast of the christians *Easter* is not, as the *Jews* was, for certain days; but sheweth that we must keep this feast all the days of our life in the unleavened bread of sincerity and of truth. By which we see, that the observing of the feast of *Easter* for certain days in the year, doth pull out of our minds, e're ever we be aware, the doctrine of the gospel, and causeth us to rest in that near consideration of our duties, for the space of a few days, which should be extended to all our life.

nests, that these very men themselves do grant to be sown in the hearts of many thousands, during the while that such feasts are present. The constant habit of well doing is not gotten without the custom of doing well, neither can virtue be made perfect but by the manifold works of virtue often practised. Before the powers of our minds be brought unto some perfection, our first essays and offers towards virtue must needs be raw; yet commendable, because they tend unto ripeness. For which cause the wisdom of God hath commanded, especially this circumstance amongst others in solemn feasts, that to children and novices in religion they minister the first occasion to ask and enquire of God. Whereupon, if there follow but so much piety as hath been mentioned, let the church learn to further imbecillity with prayer; *Preserve, Lord, these good and gracious beginnings, that they suddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may prosper and grow as the trees which rivers of waters keep always flourishing.* Let all mens acclamations be, *Grace, Grace unto it*, as to that first laid corner stone in *Zerubbabel's* buildings. For who hath despised the day of those things which are small? Or how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing which voluntarily we grant maketh us of nothing somewhat; seeing all we pretend against it, is only, that as yet this somewhat is not much? The days of solemnity which are but few, cannot chuse but soon finish that outward exercise of godliness which properly appertaineth to such times; howbeit, mens inward disposition to virtue, they both augment for the present, and by their often returns, bring also the same at the length unto that perfection which we most desire. So that although by their necessary short continuance, they abridge the present exercise of piety in some kind; yet because by repetition they enlarge, strengthen and confirm the habits of all virtue, it remaineth, that we honour, observe and keep them as ordinances many ways singularly profitable in God's church. This exception being taken against holidays, for that they restrain the praises of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning restraint of men from their ordinary trades and labours at

^a T. C. l. i. p. 15. I confess that it is in the power of the church to appoint so many days in the week, or in the year (in the which the congregation shall assemble to hear the word of God, and receive the sacraments, and offer up prayers unto God) as it shall think good, according to those rules which are before al-

ledged. But that it hath power to make so many holidays as we have, wherein men are commanded to cease from their daily vocations of plowing and exercising their handicrafts, that I deny to be in the power of the church. For proof whereof, I will take the fourth commandment, and no other interpretation of it, than Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is, that God licenseth and leaveth it at the liberty of every man to work six days in the week, 'to that he rest the seventh day.' Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at liberty, that they might labour, if they think good, six days; I say, the church, nor no man, can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a necessary rest of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the church in this point; and instead that the Lord saith, *six days thou mayest labour*, if thou wilt, to say, thou shalt not labour six days; I do not see, why the church may not as well, whereas the Lord saith, *Thou shalt rest the seventh day*, command that thou shalt not rest the seventh day. For if the church may restrain the liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke also which God hath put upon them. And whereas you say, that notwithstanding this fourth commandment, the *Jews* had certain other feasts which they observed; indeed, the Lord which gave this general law, might make as many exceptions as he thought good, and so long as he thought good. But it followeth not, because the Lord did it, that therefore the church may do it, unless it hath commandment and authority from God so to do. As when there is any general plague or judgment of God either upon the church, or coming towards it, the Lord commandeth in such a case, *Joel* 2. 15, that they should sanctify a general fast, and proclaim *Gibnasarab*, which signifieth a prohibition, or forbidding of ordinary works; and is the same *Hebrew* word wherewith those fast days are noted in the law, wherein they should rest. The reason of which commandment of the Lord was, that as they abstained that day as much as might be conveniently, from meats; so they might abstain from their daily works, to the end they might bestow the whole day in hearing the word of God, and humbling themselves in the congregation, confessing their faults, and desiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this case the church having commandment to make a holiday, may, and ought to do it, as the church which was in *Babylon* did during the time of their captivity; but where it is destitute of a commandment, it may not presume by any decree to restrain that liberty which the Lord hath given,

be free from subjection to others, or else to be ordered by such commandments and laws as proceed from those superiors under whom they live; the patrons of liberty have here made solemn proclamation that all such laws and commandments are void, in as much as every man is left to the freedom of his own mind in such things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the law of God. And because only in these things the positive precepts of men have place; which precepts cannot possibly be given without some abridgment of their liberty to whom they are given; therefore if the father command the son, or the husband the wife, or the lord the servant, or the leader the soldier, or the prince the subject, to go or stand, sleep or wake, at such times as God himself in particular commandeth neither; they are to stand in defence of the freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themselves list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the law of God, as tie them to any thing which the law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is infallibly certain. Those things which the law of God leaveth arbitrary and at liberty, are all such subject to the positive laws of men; which laws for the common benefit abridge particular men's liberty in such things, as far as the rules of equity will suffer. This we must either maintain, or else over-turn the world, and make every man his own commander. Seeing then that labour and rest upon any one day of the six throughout the year, are granted free by the law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of ecclesiastical law, except we deprive the world of power to make any ordinance or law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrency of rest with extraordinary occasions of doleful events befalling (peradventure) some one certain church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when piety, triumphant with joy and gladness, maketh solemn commemoration of God's most rare and unwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow the only cause is, for that the general publick prayers of the whole church, and our own private business, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of publick joy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany festival praises of God, than offices of humiliation and grief. Again, if we list what they bring for proof and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant, and as strictly command rest whensoever the church hath equal reason by feasts and glad some solemnities to testify publick thankfulness towards God? I would know some cause why those words of the prophet *Joel*, *Sanctify a fast, call a so-* Joel. 2. 15:
lemn assembly, which words were uttered to the *Jews* in misery and great distress, should more bind the church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of *Moses* to the same people in a time of joyful deliverance from misery, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no less importing the good of men; and also justify, as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumstance soever we imitate only in respect of natural fitness or decency, without any *Jewish* regard to ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which general directions taken from the law of God, no less in the one than the other, the practice of the church commended unto us in holy scripture, doth not only make for the justification of black and dismal days (as one of the fathers termeth them) but plainly offereth it self to be followed by such ordinances (if occasion require) as that which *Mordecai* did sometimes devise, *Esther* what lay in her power helped forward, and the rest of the *Jews* established for perpetuity; namely, That the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month *Adar* should be every year kept throughout all generations, as days of feasting and joy, wherein they would rest from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charity bestowed upon the poor, what by other liberal signs of amity and love, all testify their thankful minds towards God, which almost beyond possibility had delivered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they say, was divine, not ecclesiastical, as may appear in that there is another decree in another book of scripture, which decree is plain not to have proceeded from the church's authority, but from

Exod. 13. 3;

Esth. 9;

^a T. C. lib. 3. p. 193. The example out of *Esther* is no sufficient warrant for these feasts in question. For first, as in other cases, so in this case of days, the estate of christians under the law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a special direction of the spirit of God, either through the ministry of the prophets which they had, or by some other extraordinary means, which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by another place, *Zach. 8.* where the *Jews* changed their fasts into feasts, only by the mouth of the Lord, through the ministry of the prophet. For further proof whereof, first, I take the 28th Verse, where it appeareth, that this was an order to endure always, even as long as the other feast days which were instituted by the Lord himself. So that what abuses soever were of that feast, yet as a perpetual decree of God it ought to have remained; whereas our churches can make no such decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumstances, be altered. For the other proof hereof I take the last Verse: For the prophet contenteth not himself with that, that he had rehearsed the decree, as he doth sometimes the decree of prophane kings, but addeth precisely, that as soon as ever the decree was made, it was register'd in this book of *Esther*, which is one of the books of canonical scripture, declaring thereby in what esteem they had it. If it had been of no further authority than our decrees, or than a canon of one of the councils, it had been presumption to have brought it into the library of the Holy Ghost. The sum of my answer is, That this decree was divine, and not ecclesiastical only.

general consent an order for perpetuity; that *Esther*, secondly, by her letters confirmed the same which *Mordecai* had before decreed; and that finally, the ordinance was written to remain for ever upon record? Did not the *Jews* in provinces abroad observe at the first the fourteenth day, the *Jews* in *Susis* the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform order by means of those two decrees, and so every where three days kept; the first with fasting, in memory of danger; the rest, in token of deliverance, as festival and joyful days? Was not the first of these three afterwards, the day of sorrow and heaviness, abrogated, when the same church saw it meet that a better day, a day in memory of like deliverance out of the bloody hands of *Nicanor*, should succeed in the room thereof? But for as much as there is no end of answering fruitless oppositions, let it suffice men of sober minds to know, that the law both of God and nature alloweth generally, days of rest and festival solemnity to be observed by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if such miraculous favours be shewed towards mankind as require the same; that such graces God hath bestowed upon his church, as well in latter as in former times; that in some particulars, when they have fallen out, himself hath demanded his own honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisdom of the church, directed by those precedents, and enlighthned by other means, always to judge when the like is requisite. About questions therefore concerning days and

from the mouth of the ^a prophet only; and as a poor simple man sometime was fully persuaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not been a saint, the apostles would never have suffered his name to stand in the Creed; so these men have a strong opinion, that because the book of *Esther* is canonical, the decree of *Esther* cannot be possibly ecclesiastical. If it were, they ask how the *Jews* could bind themselves always to keep it, seeing ecclesiastical laws are mutable? As though the purposes of men might never intend constancy in that, the nature whereof is subject to alteration. Doth the scripture it self make mention of any divine commandment? Is the scripture witness of more, than only that *Mordecai* was the author of this custom, that by letters written to his brethren the *Jews* throughout all provinces under *Darius* the King of *Persia*, he gave them charge to celebrate yearly those two days, for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance and mercy; that the *Jews* hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with

the church of God, demanding wherefore the memory of ^b *Paul* should be rather kept than the memory of ^c *Daniel*: We are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true, that the least in the kingdom of Christ is greater than the greatest of all the prophets of God that have gone before: We never yet saw cause to despair, but that the ^d simplest of the people might be taught the right construction of as great mysteries as the ^e name of a saint's day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted course: We had rather glorify and bless God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by such ordinances, as his gracious spirit maketh the ripe wisdom of this national church to bring forth, than vainly boast of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of ^f pro-

fitable regiment had left her publick habitation, to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one livery: We make not our childish ^g appeals, sometimes from our own to foreign churches, sometimes from both unto churches ancients than both are, in

^b Commemoratio Apostolica passionis, totius Christianitatis magistra à cunctis jure celebratur. Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 7.

^c T. C. l. 1. p. 153. For so much as the old people did never keep any feast or holiday for remembrance, either of *Moses*, &c.

^d T. C. l. 1. p. 153. The people, when it is called St. *Paul's* day, or the blessed virgin *Mary's* day, can understand nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honour of St. *Paul*, or the virgin *Mary*, unless they be otherwise taught. And if you say, let them so be taught, I have answered, that the teaching in this land cannot by any order which is yet taken, come to the most part of those which have drunk this poison, &c.

^e Scilicet ignorat nos ne Christum unquam velinere, qui pro totius servandorum mundi salute passus est, nec alium quoniam colere possit. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei adoramus, Martyres vero tanquam Discipulos & Imitatores Domini digne propter insuperabilem in Regem ipsorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos consortes & discipulos fieri optamus. Ensch. Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 15.

^f T. C. lib. 1. p. 153. As for all the Commodities, &c.

^g T. C. lib. 1. p. 154.

in effect always from all others to our own selves; but, as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the church of God wherein we live. They, whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebb, they which have risen and swoln so high that the walls of ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in; they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we have spoken, do make all where they go a sea, even they, at their highest float, are constrained both to see

and ^a grant, that what their fancy will not yield to like, their judgment cannot with reason condemn. Such is evermore the final victory of all truth, that they which had not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cause. Touching those festival days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt ^b discommodious to the commonwealth, and their grounds

such as hitherto have been shewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, fevered by manifest notes of differences from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true, virtuous, and celestial joy? To which intent, because surcease from labour is necessary, yet not so necessary, no not on the sabbath or seventh day it self, but that rather occasions in men's particular affairs, subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed, may with very good conscience draw them sometime aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favourable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, *Man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath ordained* ^{Mark 2.27.} ^{Numb. 15.32.} for man, so far forth as concerneth ceremonies annexed to the principal sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigour of the law of *Moses* may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard with what severity the violation of sabbaths hath been sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the *Jews*, by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not suddenly be wained and drawn unto contrary offices, without some strong impression of terror; and also for that there is nothing more needful, than to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those laws that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore as the *Jews*, superstitiously addicted to their sabbaths rest for a long time, not without danger to themselves and ^c oblo-

quy to their very law, did afterwards perceive and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by ^d necessity venial, though otherwise especially on that day rest be more convenient: So at all times the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest from labour, wherewith publicly God is served, we cannot too ^e severely correct and bridle. The emperor ^f *Constantine* having with over-great facility licensed sundays labour in country villages,

under that pretence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely, lest any thing which God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry not being taken in due time; *Leo*, which afterwards saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverse and severely censure his predecessors remissness, saying, *We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the apostles thereby directed, that on the sacred day, wherein our own integrity was restored, all do rest and surcease labour; that neither husbandman, nor other, on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the Jews did so much reverence their sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not we which inhabit the light and truth of grace bound to honour that day which the Lord himself hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonour and from death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable, well contenting our selves with so liberal a grant of the rest, and not encroaching upon that one day which God hath chosen to his own honour? Were*

^a T. C. l. i. p. 154. We condemn not the church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet to be reformed. For it is one thing to mistake, another thing to condemn; and it is one thing to condemn something in the church, and another thing to condemn the church for it.

^b Πάλαι μὲν ὑπάρχοντες, περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμετέροις ἐπιτομαῖς τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτοὺς αὐτὴν ἐκτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἡμετέροις ἐκτελεῖν. De Claudio dictum apud Dion. l. 62.

^c Hi vacare consueverunt septimā die, & neque arvis portare in prædictis diebus, neque terra culturam contingere, neque alterius cuiuspiam curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis extendentes manus adorare usque ad vesperam soliti sunt. Ingreddiente vero in civitatem Ptolemeo Lago cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum custodire debuerint civitatem, ipsi stultitiam observantibus provincia quidem dominum suscepit amarissimum, Lex vero manifestata est, malam habere sollicitudinem Agatharchidi. apud Joseph. lib. 1. contra Appion. Vide & Dion. lib. 37.

^d 1 Mac. 2.40.

^e Neh. 13. 15.

^f Cod. l. 5. tit. 12. l. 3.

T. C. 1. 3. tit.
12. Dies festos.

it not wretchless neglect of religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest? Imperial laws which had such care of hallowing, especially our Lord's day, did not omit to provide that other festival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the sudden, as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politic and civil considerations; or finally, such days as christian religion hath ordained in God's church. The joy that setteth aside labour, disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladness doth always rise from a kind of fruition and happiness, which happiness banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the bestowing of that it hath, in as much as the greatest felicity that felicity hath, is to spread and enlarge it self: It cometh hereby to pass, that the first effect of joyfulness is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to give. The root of both, is the glorious presence of that joy of mind, which ariseth from the manifold considerations of God's unspeakable mercy, into which considerations we are led by occasion of sacred times. For how could the *Jewish* congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly sabbaths, what the world reaped through his goodness, which did of nothing create the world; by their yearly passover, what farewell they took of the land of *Egypt*; by their *Pentecost*, what ordinances, laws and statutes their fathers received at the hands of God; by their feast of tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through so many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty years travel in the wilderness; by their annual solemnity of lots, how near the whole seed of *Israel* was unto utter extirpation, when it pleased that great God which guideth all things in heaven and earth, so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same hand which had signed a decree, in the opinion both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the general massacre of man, woman and child, became the buckler of their preservation, that no hair of their heads might be touched; the same days which had been set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood, were made the days of their execution whose malice had contrived the plot thereof; and the self-same persons that should have endured whatsoever violence and rage could offer, were employed in the just revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirsty men the taste of their own cup. Or how can the church of Christ now endure to be so

^a Matth. 28. 1. Mark 16. 1. Luke 24. 1. John 20. 1.
1 Cor. 16. 2. Apoc. 1. 10.

^b *Apostolis propositum fuit, non ut leges de festis diebus celebrandis sancirent; sed ut recte vivendi rationis & pietatis nobis auctores essent.* Socra. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21.

^c *Qua toto terrarum orbe servantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum est saluberrima in ecclesia auctoritas, statuta esse intelligere licet; sicuti quod Domini Passio & Resurrectio, & in Caelum Ascensus, & Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniverfaria solemnitate celebrantur.* August. Epist. 118.

^d Luke 2. 14.

that all christian feasts do apply as their several occasions require) how should the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances; that very benefit which caused *Moses* to acknowledge those guides of day and night, the sun and moon which enlighten the world, not more profitable to nature by giving all things life, than they are to the church of God by occasion of the use they have in regard of the appointed festival times? that which the head of all philosophers hath said of women, If they be good, the half of the common-wealth is happy wherein they are; the same we may fitly apply to times; well to celebrate these religious and sacred days, is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendor and outward dignity of our religion, forcible witnesses of ancient truth, provocations to the exercises of all piety, shadows of our endless felicity in heaven, on earth everlasting records and memorials; wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe.

when either the crib or the whip doth constrain, were brutish servility, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is most predominant in man, if sometimes it had not a kind of voluntarily access to God, and of conference, as it were, with God, all these inferior considerations laid aside. In which sequestration, for as much as higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the mind may as well forget natural both food and sleep, by being carried above it self with serious and heavenly meditation, as by being cast down with heaviness, drowned and swallowed up of sorrow. Albeit therefore, concerning *Jewish* abstinence from certain kinds of meats as being unclean, the apostle doth teach, that *the kingdom of heaven is not meat nor drink*, that *food commendeth us not unto God*, whether we take it, or abstain from it; that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his sight; nor the less, if we eat not: His purpose notwithstanding was far from any intent to derogate from that fasting, which is no such scrupulous abstinence as only refuseth some kinds of meats and drinks, lest they make them unclean that taste them; but an abstinence whereby we either interrupt, or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kind of outward exercise the serious intention of our minds fixed on heavenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger and thirst whereof depriveth the body of those usual contentments, which otherwise are not denied unto it. These being in nature the first causes that induce fasting, the next thing which followeth to be considered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the *Jews*. Touching whose private voluntary fasts the precept which our Saviour gave them was, *When ye fast, look not frowne, as hypocrites: For they disfigure their faces, that they might seem to men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. When thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seem not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much less propose a reward for doing that which were not both holy and acceptable in God's sight. The *Pharisees* weekly bound themselves unto double fasts, neither are they for this reprov'd. Often fasting, which was a virtue in *John's* disciples, could not in them of it self be a vice; and therefore not the offence of their fasting, but their hypocrisy therein was blamed. Of publick en-

joined fasts^a, upon causes extraordinary, the examples in scripture are so far frequent, that they need no particular rehearsal. Publick extraordinary fastings were sometimes for^b one only day, sometimes for^c three, sometimes for^d seven. Touching fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yearly, or monthly, or weekly observed and kept: First, upon the^e ninth day of that month, the

tenth whereof was the feast of expiation, they were commanded of God that every soul, year by year, should afflict it self. Their yearly fasts every fourth month, in regard of the city of *Jerusalem* entered by the enemy; every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their temple; every seventh, for the treacherous destruction and death of *Gedaliah*, the very last slay which they had to lean unto in their greatest misery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege began first to be laid against them. All these not commanded by God himself, but ordained by a publick constitution of their own, the prophet^f *Zachary* expressly toucheth. That *St. Jerome*, following the tradition of the *Hebrews*, doth make the first a memorial of the breaking of those two tables, when *Moses* descended from mount *Sinai*; the second, a memorial as well of God's indignation, condemning them to forty years travel in the desert, as of his wrath in permitting *Chaldeans* to waste, burn and destroy their city; the last a memorial of heavy tidings, brought out of *Jewry* to *Ezekiel* and the rest, which lived as captives in foreign parts; the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally evermore a register of all such grievous events as have hapned either in, or near about the same time. To these I might add *sundry* other fasts, about twenty in number, ordained amongst them by like occasions, and observed in like manner, besides their weekly abstinence, *Mondays* and *Thursdays*, throughout the whole year. When men fasted, it was not always after one and the same sort; but either by depriving them-

^a 2 Chron. 20. Jerem. 36. Ezra 8. 1 Sam. 7.
^b Jud. 20. 26. ^c 2 Mac. 13. 12. ^d 2 Mac.
 13. 12. ^e 1 Sam. 31. 13. 1 Chron. 10. 12.
^f Levit. 23. Levit. 16. *Philo de hujus festi jejuniis ita lo-*
quitur. 'Ου στίβον ἢ πόντον ἔξισι προσενέγκωμαι, καὶ διεγεί-
στος θανάσις μετ' ἐνδὲ εὐχαρίστησιν καὶ ἐμπόδισι τοῦ σώμα-
τος πᾶσι ἐπιπείθω, φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πηλίου καὶ ἐκ πύρι-
ος ἰλασμένοι ἢ παύσει τῷ παντός ὁσίους διαλείπει. ὃ δὲ ἀμνηστίας
μὴ πάλαιον ἀμαρτημάτων, κτῆσι δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει νέων ἀγαθῶν
εὐχάρισται αἰτεῖσθαι. Pag. 447.

^f Zach. 8. 16.
 Exod. 32.
 Numb. 14.

^a Vide Rib. lib. 5. c. 21.
 Dan. 10. 2, 3.

seives wholly of all food, during the time that their fasts continued; or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet. We have of the one, a plain example in the *Ninevites* fasting, and as plain a precedent for the other in the prophet *Daniel*; *I was* (saith he) *in heaviness for three weeks of days; I eat no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh nor wine.* Their tables, when they gave themselves to fasting, had not that usual furniture of such dishes as do

cherish blood with blood; but ^a for food, they had bread; for suppage, salt; and for sawce, herbs. Whereunto the apostle may be thought to allude, saying, *One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a

conscience of keeping those customs which the *Jews* observe) *eateth herbs.* This austere repast they took in the evening after abstinence the whole day: For to forfeit a noon's meal, and then to recompence themselves at night, was not their use. Nor did they ever accustom themselves on sabbaths, or festival days to fast. And yet it may be a question, whether in some sort they did not always fast the sabbath. Their fastings were partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief and sorrow, partly in sign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abstain till noon, as their manner was on fasting days to do till night. May it not very well be thought,

that hereunto the sacred ^b scripture doth give some secret kind of testimony? *Josephus* is plain, that the sixth hour (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the sabbath always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the ^c heathens did therefore so often upbraid them with fasting on that day.

Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lord's disciples, for rubbing a few ears of corn in their hands on the sabbath day, are not unlikely to have aimed also at the same mark. For neither was the bodily pain so great, that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there useth, is more direct and literal to justify the breach of the *Jewish* custom in fasting, than in working at that time. Finally, the apostles afterwards themselves, when God first gave them the gift of tongues, whereas some in disdain and spite termed grace drunkenness, it being then the day of *Pentecost*, and but only a fourth part of the day spent, they use this as an argument against the other cavil, ^d *These*

men, saith Peter, are not drunk, as you suppose, since as yet the third hour of the day is not over-past. Howbeit, leaving this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from *Jews* to *Christians*, we find that of private voluntary fastings, the apostle St. *Paul* speaketh more than once. And (saith *Tertul-*

lian) they are sometime commanded throughout the church, *Ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiasticæ causa*, the care and fear of the church so requiring. It doth not appear, that the apostles ordained any set and certain days to be generally kept of all. Not-

withstanding, soasmuch as Christ hath fore-signified, that when himself should be taken from them, his absence would soon make them apt to fast, it seemeth, that even as the first festival day appointed to be kept of the church, was the day of our Lord's return from the dead, so the first sorrowful and mournful day, was that which we now observe in memory of his departure out of this world. And because there could be no abatement of grief till they saw him raised, whose death was the occasion of their heaviness; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulchre, hath been also kept and observed as a weeping day. The custom of fasting these two days before *Easter*, is undoubtedly most ancient; inasmuch that *Ignatius* not thinking him a

Ignat. Epist. ad Phil.

^a *Puram & sine animalibus cenam.* Apul. in Asclep. in fine. *Pasum & potum pura posse, non ventris scilicet sed animæ causa.* Tertul. de Panit. Vide Phil. lib. de vita contempl. Rom. 14. 2. Hieron. lib. 2. contr. Jovinian. Judith 8. 6. R. Mos. in Misne Tora. lib. 3. Qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Jejun.

^b Nehem. 8. 3. 12. *Hora sexta quæ sabbatis nostris ad prædictum vocare solet, supervenit.* Joseph. lib. de vita sua.

^c *Sabbata Judæorum à Mose in omne ævum jejunio dictata.* Justin. lib. 36. *Ne Judæus quidem, nisi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi.* Sueton. in Octav. c. 76.

^d 1 Cor. 7. 5.
2 Cor. 6. 5.
&c 11. 27.
Col. 4. 4.

day's fast, because such was then the custom in *Rome*, nevertheless in his own church at home he did otherwise. The churches which did not observe that day, had another instead thereof, which was the *Wednesday*, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation, besides that whereon our Saviour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially, whereon the *Jews* are thought to have first contrived their treason, together with *Judas*, against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these, and of all other times of like exercise, is as the church shall judge expedient for mens good. And concerning every christian man's duty herein, surely that which *Augustin* and *Ambrose* are before alledged to have done, is such as all men favouring equity must needs allow and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntary fasting with a virtuous purpose of mind, be any medicinal remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the world to come, even rewardable as other offices are which proceed from christian piety; whether wilfully to break and despise the wholesome laws of the church herein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be said, that penitent both weeping and fasting are means to blot out sin, means whereby through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy, we obtain or procure our selves pardon; which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the phrase of antiquity useth to express by the name of merit; but if either *St. Augustin*, or *St. Ambrose*, have taught any wrong opinion, seeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will think it no error in us so to censure mens smaller faults, that their virtues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in churches abroad, where we are not subject to power or jurisdiction, discretion should teach us for peace and quietness sake, to frame our selves to other men's example, is it meet that at home where our freedom is less, our boldness should be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the churches whereof we are ministers, the rites and customs which in foreign churches piety and modesty did teach us as strangers not to oppugn, but to keep without shew of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they the name of a minister in this case, unto the state of a private man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to laws? That which their office and place requireth, is to shew themselves patrons of reverend subjection, not authors and masters of contempt towards ordinances; the strength whereof, when they seek to weaken, they do but in truth discover to the world their own imbecillities, which a great deal wiser they might conceal. But the practice of the church of Christ we shall by so much the better both understand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been spoken there be somewhat added for more particular declaration, how hereticks have partly abused fasts, and partly bent themselves against the lawful use thereof in the church of God.

*Εἰ τις κρείσσιν
ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν
τοῦ ἐννοῦν
οὐδὲν ἐν
οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔ-
στιν ἡ ἐννοῦν
ἐννοῦν. Epist.
ad Philip.
2. Vide Irene.
lib. 1. cap. 20.
21, 22, 23, 24,
25. Epiph. He-
res. 20. 21, 22,
23, 24, 27, 28,
29. 41, 42.
Vide Canon.
Apost. 55.

Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath said, if any keep *Sundays* or *Saturdays* fasts (one only *Saturday* in the year excepted) that man is no better than a murderer of Christ; the cause of such his earnestness at that time, was the impiety of certain hereticks, which thought ^a that this world being corruptible, could not be made but by a very evil author. And therefore as the *Jews* did, by the festival solemnity of their sabbath, rejoice in the God that created the world, as in the author of all goodness; so those hereticks, in hatred of the maker of the world, sorrowed, wept and fasted on that day, as being the birth-day of all evil. And as christian men of sound belief, did solemnize the *Sunday* in joyful memory of Christ's resurrection, so likewise at the self-same time such hereticks as denied his resurrection, did the contrary to them which held it; when the one fort rejoiced, the other fasted. Against those hereticks which have urged perpetual abstinence from certain meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the church hath still bent her self as an enemy; *St. Paul* giving charge to take heed of them, which under any such opinion should utterly forbid the use of meats or drinks. The apostles themselves forbade some, as the order taken at *Jerusalem* declareth. But the cause of their so doing we all know. Again, when *Tertullian*, together with such as were his followers, began to montanize, and pretending to perfect the severity of christian discipline, brought in sundry unaccustomed days of fasting, continued their fasts a great deal longer, and made them more rigorous than the use of the church had been; the minds of men being somewhat moved at so great, and so sudden novelty, the cause was presently enquired into. After notice taken how the *Montanists* held these additions to be supplements of the gospel, whereunto the spirit of prophecy did now mean to put, as it were, the last hand, and was therefore newly descended upon *Montanus*, whose orders all christian men

were

were no less to obey, than the laws of the apostles themselves; this abstinence the church abhorred likewise, and that justly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming even open war to the church, maintained *Montanism*, wrote a book in defence of the new fast, and intituled the same, *A treatise of fasting against the opinion of the carnal sort*. In which treatise nevertheless, because so much is found and good, as doth either generally concern the use, or in particular declare the custom of the churches fasting in those times, men are not to reject whatsoever is alledged out of that book, for confirmation of the truth. His error discloseth it self in those places, where he defendeth his fasts to be duties necessary for the whole church of Christ to observe as commanded by the Holy Ghost, and that with the same authority from whence all other apostolical ordinances came, both being the laws of God himself, without any other distinction or difference, saving only, that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reveal the same by *Montanus* also. *Against us ye pretend*, saith *Tertullian*, *that the publick orders which christianity is bound to keep, were delivered at the first, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand, if you can, upon this point; for behold, I challenge you for fasting more than at Easter your selves. But in fine ye answer, that these things are to be done as established by the voluntary appointment of men, and not by virtue or force of any divine commandment. Well then (he addeth) ye have removed your first footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more than was at the first imposed upon you. You say, you must do that which your own judgments have allowed: We require your obedience to that which God himself doth institute. Is it not strange, that men to their own will should yield that, which to God's commandment they will not grant? Shall the pleasure of men prevail more with you, than the power of God himself?* These places of *Tertullian* for fasting have worthily been put to silence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for opposition against fasting. The one endeavoured to bring in such fasts as the church ought not to receive; the other, to overthrow such as already it had received and did observe: The one was plausible unto many, by seeming to hate carnal looseness and riotous excess much more than the rest of the world did; the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of christian liberty: The one thought his cause very strongly upheld, by making invective declamations with a pale and withered countenance against the church, by filling the ears of his starved hearers with speech suitable to such mens humours, and by telling them, no doubt, to their marvellous contentment and liking; *Our new prophecies are refused, they are despised. Is it because Montanus doth preach some other God, or dissolve the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or overthrow any canon of faith and hope? No, our crime is, we teach that men ought to fast more often than marry; the best feast-maker is with them the perfectest saint, they are assuredly mere spirit; and therefore these our corporal devotions please them not.* Thus the one for *Montanus* and his superstition: The other in a clean contrary tune against the religion of the church; *These set-fasts away with them, for they are Jewish, and bring men under the yoke of servitude: If I will fast, let me chuse my time, that christian liberty be not abridged.* Hercupon their glory was to fast, especially upon the *Sunday*, because the order of the church was on that day not to fast. *On church fasting days, and especially the week before Easter, when with us (saith Epiphanius) custom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abstinence from fleshly delights and pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and unsavoury diet, prayer, watching, fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can minister; they are up betimes to take in of the strongest for the belly, and when their veins are well swoln, they make themselves mirth with laughter at this our service, wherein we are persuaded we please God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appear, not only what fastings the church of Christ in those times used, but also what other parts of discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient use and custom of bringing all men at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of publick penitency; the one belonging to notorious offenders, whose open wickedness had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole church, and unto every several person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind, it may be exercised well enough by men in private. No doubt but penitency is as prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in publick or in secret. Howbeit, as in the one, if men were wholly left to their own voluntary meditations in their closets, and not drawn by laws and orders unto the open assembly of the church, that there they may join with others in prayer; it may be soon

con-

conjectured what christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time : Even so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sins with tears of repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best and perfectest, the most righteous amongst us all ; and yet clean pass them over unforgotten for, and unrepented of, only because the church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of discipline, wherein the publick example of all was unto every particular person a most effectual means to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if penitency was no part of a christian man's duty. Again, besides our private offences, which ought not thus loosely to be overslipped ; suppose we the body and corporation of the church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew it self openly cast down, in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special sacrifice appointed for them in the law of *Moses* ; and being common to the whole society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised, than that memorable commination set down in the book of common prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The head already so well drawn, doth but with a proportionable body. And by the preface to that very part of the *English* Liturgy it may appear, how at the first setting down thereof no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words, wherein *restitution of the primitive church discipline is greatly wished for*, touching the manner of publick penance in time of *Lent*. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new discipline far unlike to that of old, they make themselves believe, it is undoubtedly this their discipline which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended, that the whole scripture is plain for them. If now the communion book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped, that being found such a well-wisher unto their cause, they will more favour it than they have done. Having therefore hitherto spoken both of festival days, and so much of solemn fasts, as may reasonably serve to shew the ground thereof in the law of nature ; the practice partly appointed, and partly allowed of God in the *Jewish* church ; the like continued in the church of *Christ* ; together with the sinister oppositions, either of hereticks erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will only collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance as of difference between them, and so end. First, in this they agree, that because nature is the general root of both, therefore both have been always common to the church with infidels and heathen men. Secondly, they also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause of the one, and grief the well-spring of

Con. Laod. c.
51. 52. *Vetat*
Natalitia
Martyrum in
Quadragesima
celebrari.
^a Isa. 1. 13.
^b Isa. 58. 3.

^c 1 Tim. 4. 8.
^d Ecclef. 12.
13.
Isa. 58. 6, 7.
Rom. 14. 17.
James 1. 27.
Heb. 12. 14.
Ephes. 2. 4.
^e *Euseb. Ecclef. Hist. lib.*
5. c. 23.

the other, they are incompatible. A third degree of affinity between them is, that neither being acceptable to God of it self, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signify : So that if herein the mind dispose not itself aright, whether we ^a rest or ^b fast, we offend. A fourth thing common unto them, is, that the greatest part of the world hath always grossly and palpably offended in both ; infidels, because they did all in relation to false gods ; godless, sensual and carcleis minds, for that there is in them no constant, true and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise ; yea, certain flattering oversights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led away, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be embraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility ; whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive ; and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful, that God's very angels in heaven, are but angels ; and that bodily exercise, considered ^c in it self, is no great matter. Finally, seeing that both are ordinances well devised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them as for ^d other offices of virtue, wherunto God's immutable law for ever tieth ; it is but equity to wish or admonish that where, by uniform order, they are not as yet received, the example of ^e *Victor's*

Psal. 73. 5.

Psal. 69. 10.

The celebra-
tion of mar-
trimony.
T. C. l. 1.
p. 199.

* Τὰ ἱερὰ
γάμου. Dionys.
ant. lib. 2.
† Kiddushin
in Rituali
Heb. de bene-
dictione nupti-
arum.
Eccles. 3. 1.
Joel 2. 16.
1 Cor. 7. 5.

* *Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat ; Recedebant vero à tutoris potestate quæ in manum convenissent.* Boet. in *To- pic.* Cic.

† *Nullam ne privatum quidem rem seminas sine auctore agere majores nostri voluerunt.* Liv. l. 4. The reason yielded by Tully is this, *Propter infirmitatem consilii.* Cic. pro Mur. Vide leg. Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

ness breedeth ; that children, as it were in the wool of their infancy, dyed with hard-
ness, may never afterwards change colour ; that the poor, whose perpetual fasts are
necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which virtue causeth
others so often to chuse ; and by advice of religion it self so far to esteem above the
contrary, that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easy lives ; they which,
as the prophet *David* describeth them, *are not plagued like other men*, may, by the
publick spectacle of all, be still put in mind what themselves are ; finally, that every
man may be every man's daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare hu-
mility, as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein be-
fallen the church, as sometimes *David*, so that the speech of the one may be
truly the voice of the other, *My soul fasted, and even that was also turned to my
reproof.*

73. In this world there can be no society durable otherwise than only by propa-
gation. Albeit therefore single life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet first the
replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants, and then of heaven with saints
everlastingly praising God, did depend upon conjunction of man and woman, he which
made all things compleat and perfect, saw it could not be good to leave man without
an helper unto the fore-alleged end. In things which some farther end doth cause
to be desired, choice seeketh rather proportion than absolute perfection of goodness.
So that woman being created for man's sake to be his helper, in regard of the end
beforementioned ; namely, the having, and bringing up of children, whereunto it
was not possible they could concur, unless there were subalternation between them,
which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equal in
every respect are never willingly directed one by another : Woman therefore was even
in her first estate framed by nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency
also unto man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion, as being presented before
our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the
reason why that kind of love which is the perfectest ground of wedlock, is seldom
able to yield any reason of it self. Now, that which is born of man must be nour-
ished with far more travel, as being of greater price in nature, and of slower pace to
perfection, than the Off-spring of any other creature besides. Man and woman be-
ing therefore to join themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be
linked with some strait and insoluble knot. The bond of wedlock hath been al-
ways, more or less, esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the
very heathens themselves do hereunto oftentimes give^a is, *Holy*. Those rites and
orders which were instituted in the solemnization of marriage, the *Hebrews* term
by the name of conjugal^b *Sanctification*. Amongst our selves, because sundry
things appertaining unto the publick order of matrimony, are called in question by
such as know not from whence those customs did first grow, to shew briefly some
true and sufficient reason of them, shall not be superfluous ; although we do not
hereby intend to yield so far unto enemies of all church orders saving their own,
as though every thing were unlawful, the true cause and reason whereof at the first
might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times
wherein the liberty of marriage is restrained ; *There is*, saith *Solomon*, *a time for all
things, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn*. That duties belonging unto marri-
age, and offices appertaining to penance, are things unsuitable, and unfit to be
matched together, the prophets and apostles themselves do witness. Upon which
ground, as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a church
a wedding on the day of a publick fast, so likewise in the self-same consideration
our predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common liberty of mar-
riages, during the time which was appointed for preparation unto, and for exercise
of general humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the deliver-
ing up of the woman, either by her father, or by some other, we must note that
in ancient times^c all women which had not

husbands nor fathers to govern them, had their
tutors, without whose authority there was no
act which they did warrantable ; and for this
cause, they were in marriage delivered unto
their husbands by others. Which custom re-
tained, hath still this use, that it putteth wo-
men in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbe-

cillity of their nature and sex doth bind them ; namely, to be always directed, guided
and

be able to shew the happiness of that wedlock, the knot whereof the church doth fasten, and the sacrament of the church confirm. Touching marriage therefore let thus much be sufficient.

Churching of
women.
T. C. 1. 1.
p. 150.

74. The fruit of marriage is birth, and the companion of birth, travail; the grief whereof being so extream, and the danger always so great, dare we open our mouths against the things that are holy, and presume to censure it as a fault in the church of Christ, that women after their deliverance do publicly shew their thankful minds unto God? But behold what reason there is against it! *Forsooth, if there should be solemn and expresse giving of thanks in the church for every benefit, either equal or greater than this which any singular person in the church doth receive; we should not only have no preaching of the word, nor ministering of the sacraments, but we should not have so much leisure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but should be like those Massilian Hereticks which do nothing else but pray.* Surely better a great deal to be like unto those hereticks which do nothing else but pray, than those which do nothing else but quarrel. Their heads it might haply trouble somewhat more than as yet they are aware of, to find out so many benefits greater than this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if so be our laws did require solemn and expresse thanksgivings in the church, the same were like to prove a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there be such store of mercies, even inestimable, poured every day upon thousands (as indeed the earth is full of the blessings of the Lord, which are day by day renewed without number and above measure) shall it not be lawful to cause solemn thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, than which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no law binding men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppose that some bond there be that tieth us at certain times to mention publicly the names of sundry our benefactors. Some of them, it may be, are such, that a day would scarcely serve to reckon up together with them the catalogue of so many men besides, as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Because no law requireth this impossible labour at our hands, shall we therefore condemn that law whereby the other being possible and also dutiful, is enjoined us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never sufficiently praise him; nor give him thanks for half those benefits for which this sacrifice were most due. Howbeit, God forbid we should cease performing this duty when publick order doth draw us unto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath been so long executed by devout and virtuous people. God forbid, that being so many ways provoked in this case unto so good a duty, we should omit it, only because there are other cases of like nature, wherein we cannot so conveniently, or at least wise do not perform the same most virtuous office of piety. Wherein we trust that as the action it self pleaseth God, so the order and manner thereof is not such as may justly offend any. It is but an overflowing of gall, which causeth the woman's absence from the church during the time of her lying-in to be traduced and interpreted, as though she were so long judged unholy, and were thereby shut out or sequestered from the house of God, according to the ancient *Levitical* law. Whereas the canon law it self doth not so

^a Dist. 5. cap. Hæc quæ. In lege præcipiebatur ut mulier si masculum pareret, 40. si feminam, 80. diebus à templi cessaret ingressu. Nunc autem statim post partum ecclesiam ingredi non prohibetur.

^b Leo Conf. 17. Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiam, quam ob alias causas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri prohibitum esse lege, & gratia tempus traditionis loco suscepisse puto. Existimo siquidem sacram legem id præscripsisse, quo protervum eorum qui intemperanter vivebant concupiscentiam castigaret; quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præscribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres stimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc providentia quæ legem constituit voluntas est, ut partus à depravatione liberi fini. Quia enim quicquid natura supercaneum est, idem corruptum est & inutile, quod hic sanguis superfluous sit, quæ illi obnoxia essent in immunditie, ad id temporis vivere illa Lex jubet, quo ipso etiam nominis sono lascivi concupiscentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipsum animam coagmetetur.

hold, but directly professeth the contrary^a, she is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any unholicness forbidden entrance into the church, although her abstaining from publick assemblies, and her abode in separation for the time be most convenient. ^b To scoff at the manner of attire, than which there could be nothing devised for such a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed, for which they are loth to shew their faces, argueth that great divines are sometime more merry than wise. As for the women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great disgrace, though they suffice pleasant witted men a little to intermingle

with zeal, scorn. The name of *oblations* applied not only here to those smaller and petit payments which yet are a part of the minister's right, but also generally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the clergy is spent in the service of God, so it is sustained with his

revenue.

revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of *Oblations* to such payments, in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his ministers receive.

75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the church doth owe to the faithful departed, wherein for as much as the church of *England* is said to do those things which are, though not unlawful, yet inconvenient; because it appointeth a prescript form of service at burials, suffereth mourning apparel to be worn, and permitteth funeral sermons; a word or two concerning this point will be necessary, although it be needless to dwell long upon it. The end of funeral duties is first, to shew that love towards the party deceased which nature requireth; then to do him that honour which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the quality of his person: Last of all, to testify the care which the church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the resurrection of the dead. For signification of love towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient; as in truth the scripture every where doth approve lamentation unto this end. The *Jews* by our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this case, that his love towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as mourning at such times is fit, so likewise that there may be a kind of attire suitable to a sorrowful affection, and convenient for mourners to wear, how plainly doth *David's* example shew, who being in heaviness, went up the mount with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like sort? White garments being fit to use at marriage feasts, and such other times of joy; whercunto *Solomon* alluding, when he requireth continual chearfulness of mind, speaketh in this sort, *Let thy garments be always white*: What doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief, as this heretofore in gladness hath been? *If there be no sorrow, they say, it is hypocritical to pretend it; and if there be, to provoke it by wearing such attire, is dangerous.* Nay, if there be, to shew it, is natural; and if there be not, yet the signs are meet to shew what should be, especially sith it doth not come oftentimes to pass, that men are fain to have their mourning gowns pulled off their backs, for fear of killing themselves with sorrow that way nourished. The honour generally due unto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient, even for very humanity's sake. And therefore, so much as is mentioned in the burial of the widow's son, the *carrying of him forth upon a bier*, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been used even amongst infidels; all men accounting it a very extreme destitution not to have at the least this honour done them. Some man's estate may require a great deal more, according as the fashion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this pertained the ancient use of the *Jews*, to embalm the corps with sweet odors, and to adorn the sepulchres of certain. In regard of the quality of men, it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the world at their death, amongst the heathen in funeral orations, amongst the *Jews* in sacred poems; and why not in funeral sermons also amongst christians? Us it sufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth countervail millions of such inconveniences as are therein surmised, although they were not surmised only, but found therein. The life and the death of saints is precious in God's sight. Let it not seem odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be spoken of, then especially, when the present occasion doth make men's minds the more capable of such speech. The care, no doubt, of the living, both to live and to die well, must needs be somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, and the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion with saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution? Again, the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute in life, but it causeth them one time or other to wish, *O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like his!* Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of publick instruction common unto funeral with other sermons. For the comfort of them whose minds are through natural affection pensive in such cases, no man can justly mislike the custom which the *Jews* had to end their burials with funeral banquets, in reference whereunto the prophet *Jeremy* spake, concerning the people whom God hath appointed unto a grievous manner of destruction, saying, *That men should not give the cup of consolation to drink for their father, or for their mother*; because it should not be now with them as in

Of the rites of burial.
T. C. l. 3.
p. 236.

John 11. 36.

2 Sam. 15. 30.

Eccles. 9. 8.

Luke 7. 12.

Psal. 79. 3.
John 19. 40.
Matth. 23. 27.

2 Sam. 1. 19.

Jer. 16. 7.

peace-

Prov. 31. 6.

1 Chron. 19. 2.
Job 2. 11.

peaceable times with others, who bringing their ancestors unto the grave with weeping eyes, have notwithstanding means wherewith to be re-comforted. *Give wine, saith Solomon, unto them that have grief of heart.* Surely, he that ministrETH unto them comfortable speech, doth much more than give them wine. But the greatest thing of all other about this duty of christian burial, is an outward testification of the hope which we have touching the resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it were, in a dumb show, to bring a corpse to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with the earth and so end, or else have the Exequies devoutly performed with solemn recital of such lectures, psalms and prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring up of men's minds unto a careful consideration of their estate both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the law, nor the church in the apostles times did use any form of service in burial of the dead; and therefore that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein: First, while the world doth stand they shall never be able to prove, that all things which either the one or the other did use at burial, are set down in holy scripture, which doth not any where of purpose deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime another which was in use, as special occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Again, if it might be proved that no such thing was usual amongst them, hath Christ so deprived his church of Judgment, that what rites and orders soever the latter ages thereof have devised, the same must needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the *Jews* before our Saviour's coming had any such form of service, although in scripture it be not affirmed; yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of priests to be present at burials, letteth not but that others might discharge that duty, seeing all were not priests which had rooms of publick function in their synagogues) and if any man be of opinion that they had no such form of service; thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The *Jews* at this day have, as appeareth in their form of funeral prayers, and in certain of their funeral sermons published; neither are they so affected towards christians, as to borrow that order from us; besides that the form thereof is such as hath in it sundry things which the very words of the scripture it self do seem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the sepulchre unto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their burial-feast, and a consolatory form of Prayer, appointed for the master of the Synagogue thereat to utter; albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the law and the prophets. But whatsoever the *Jews* custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of, that either church or christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit for christianity, till these miserable days, wherein under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true religion, are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at burials the peculiar hope of the church of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumb funerals what one thing is there, whereby the world may perceive we are christian men?

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.

76. I come now unto that function which undertaketh the publick ministry of holy things according to the laws of christian religion. And because the nature of things, consisting as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope wherunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and Men; God, in that he is publicly worshipped of his church; and Men, in that they are capable of happiness by means which sincere discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God and to save men. For whether we severally take, and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared, that every man's religion is in him the well-spring of all other sound and sincere virtues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly their full joy and felicity ariseth; because while they live they are blessed of God, and when they die their works follow them: so at this present we must again call to mind how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happiness, the temporal and natural good estate both of all men, and of all dominions

ons, hangeth chiefly upon religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony, that as well in this as in other considerations the priest is a pillar of that commonwealth, wherein he faithfully serveth God. For if these assertions be true, first, that nothing can be enjoyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things : secondly, that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy*, no not temporal blessings on earth : thirdly, that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as hand-maids upon religion : and fourthly, that without the work of the ministry, religion by no means can possibly continue, the use and benefit of that sacred function even towards all men's worldly happiness must needs be granted. Now the ^a first being a

Theorem both understood and confes'd by all, to labour in proof thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may be called in question, except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of days, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand ; riches with fit opportunities to use them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead ; children, or such as instead of children we wish to leave successors and partakers of our happiness. These things are naturally every man's desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same, them we confess he graciously blesteth. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompence for the loss of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodness, nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their own sake, but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of virtue and speculation of truth. None, whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to live, to breath, and move, without performance of those actions which are becoming man's excellency. Wherefore having not how to employ it, we wax weary even of life it self. Health is precious, because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again, why do men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life, being many, do need many helping hands to further them ? Between troublesome and quiet days we should make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold our liberty of action. Furthermore, if those things we do, succeed, it rejoiceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap, as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well-guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possess that body, the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally, such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsakerh us, still our desires to continue action and to work, though not by our selves, yet by them whom we leave behind us, causeth us providently to resign into other men's hand the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest it self. Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature*. Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his usual and ordinary speeches are, *That Blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days* ; that God

^a Si creature Dei, merito & dispensatio Dei sumus : Quis enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit ? Quis autem ordinatus regit quam is qui & fecit & diligit ? Quis vero sapientius & fortius ordinare & regere facta potest, quam qui & facienda providit & provisum perfectit ? Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, & qui non legerunt sentiant, & qui legerunt cognoscant. Paul. Oros. Hist. advers. Pagan. l. 2. Οὐκ οὐ τα ἔχοντες ἰδοὺ καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπὶ θεῷ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἀνάγκῃ. Eurip. Phœniss.

Psal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prov. 10.

enjoying

joying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God's hands, which only confideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable; and partly because through error, placing it above things of far more price and worth, they turn that to poison which might be food, they make their prosperity their own snare; in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woful over-throw is afterwards hatch'd. Hereby it cometh to pass, that wise and judicious men observing the vain behaviour of such as are risen to unwonted greatness, have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceive easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortu-

Prov. 16. 18.
*Amē vniatē
 elatio.
 φιλῆς ὁ Σοῦς
 παύσῃ τὴν
 ὑπερήφαναν
 καὶ ἰσχυρὴν, ἡ
 ἡμῶν φροσύνη
 ἀλλοιῶν μίσση
 ἐαυτοῦ. Hieron.
 l. 7.*

nate, they had but only the good estate which fat oxen have above lean; when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruin. The grofs and bestial conceit of them which want understanding is, only that the fullest beings are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicity they wish to the commonwealth wherein they live, is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint; that the poor may sleep, and the rich feed them; that nothing unpleasant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselves have a lust to follow; that kings may provide for the ease of their subjects, and not be too curious about their manners; that wantonness, excess, and lewdness of life may be left free; and that no fault may be capital, besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it far from the just to dwell either in or near to the rents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirm, that religion and the fear of God, as well induceth secular prosperity as everlasting bliss in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godliness could not be said to have the promises of both lives; to be that ample revenue wherein there is alway sufficiency; and to carry with it a general discharge of want, even so general, that *David* himself should protest, *he never saw the just forsaken*. Howbeit, to this we must add certain special limitations; as first, that we do not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heavenly physician must judge) receive oftentimes most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the wise man hath noted concerning them whose lives God mercifully doth abridge, lest wickedness should alter their understanding; again, that the measure of our outward prosperity be taken in proportion with that which every man's estate in this present life requireth. External abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise artificers to have their instruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for use, than huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a servant do not need that which may be necessary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater personages can

^a Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀρχῇ· ἱερὸν τοῖς γὰρ σόφροσιν. Eurip. Phœ-nis.

^b Ταπεινοσύνην δὲ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὐ ἀσφαλές· ἴσως ἀπίχιν καὶ ὕμνος καὶ πτώμα. Greg. Nazian. Apol. 3. They may seem haply be the most dejected, but they are the wisest for their own safety, which fear climbing no less than falling. Arist. polit. l. 4. c. 17.

hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects, that have wherewith to perform ^a sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they have no more. For by reason of man's imbecillity and proneness to elation of mind, ^b too high a flow of prosperity is dangerous, too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand

of necessity stronger than ordinary virtue is able to withstand. *Solomon's* discreet and moderate desire we all know; *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury*. Men over-high exalted either in honour or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrary hand sunk either with beggary, or through dejection, or by baseness, do not easily give ear to reason; but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, and the other unto petty mischiefs. For greatness delighteth to shew it self by effects of power, and baseness to help it self with shifts of malice. For which cause, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulness of bread and emptiness, hath been evermore thought and found (all circumstances duly considered) the safest and happiest for all estates, even for kings and princes themselves. Again, we are not to look that these things should always concur, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the course of men's lives, or of publick affairs should continually be drawn out as an even thred (for that the nature of things will not suffer) but a just survey being made, as those particular men are worthily reputed good, whose virtues be great and their faults tolerable; so him we may register for a man fortunate, and that for a prosperous and happy State, which having flourished doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration, such as might cause them to be a spectacle of

of misery to others. Besides, whereás true felicity consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of man, which sheweth sometime greatest perfection, not in using the benefits which delight nature, but in suffering what nature can hardliest endure; there is no cause why either the loss of good, if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery, the issue whereof is their greater praise and honour that have sustained it, should be thought to impeach that temporal happiness wherewith religion, we say, is accompanied, but yet in such measure as the several degrees of men may require by a competent estimation, and unless the contrary do more advance, as it hath done those most heroicall saints whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor prosperity is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate; and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and impartial judges to have proceeded from divine revenge, it passeth in the number of human casualties whereunto we are all alike subject. No misery is reckoned more than common or human, if God so dispose that we pass thorough it and come safe to shore; even as contrariwise, men do not use to think those flourishing days happy, which do end with tears. It standeth therefore with these cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all men's unfeigned confessions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and state, or else the same men with themselves, whether we confer one dominion with another, or else the different times of one and the same Dominion, the manifest odds between their very outward condition, as long as they stedfastly were observed to honour God, and their success being fallen from him, are remonstrances more than sufficient how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our religion. Heathens were ignorant of true religion: Yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wain or grow. Of the *Jews*, did not even their most malicious and mortal adversaries all acknowledge, that to strive against them it was in vain, as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but apostasy? In the whole course of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwise, but that during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in war as a thousand strong, and as much as a grand senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations? contrariwise, that if they twerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsook them utterly, their soldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entered into mutual conference and sat in counsel for their own good, that which children might have seen, their gravest senators could not discern; their prophets saw darkness instead of visions; the wise and prudent were as men bewitch'd, even that which they knew (being such as might stand them in stead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well proposed, it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the rest to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with strange and unusual amazements of spirit they attempted tumultuously they saw not what; and by the issues of all attempts they found no certain conclusion but this, *God and Heaven are strong against us in all we do*. The cause whereof was secret fear which took heart and courage from them; and the cause of their fear, an inward guiltiness that they all had offered God such apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be the case is now altogether changed, and that in christian religion there is not the like force towards temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the space of these sixteen hundred years, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things so manifest, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain dark conjectures surmise any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or blest in the course of faithful obedience towards true religion, more than only them, whom we find in that respect on the one side, guilty by their own confessions, and happy on the other side by all mens acknowledgments; who beholding the prosperous estate of such as are good and virtuous, impute boldly the same to God's most especial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cause to be more offended. For virtue is always plain to be seen, rareness causeth it to be observed, and goodness to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and sin, it lyeth many times hid; and because we be all offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and severe sentences touching others, unless their notorious wickedness did sen-

sibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to pass. Wherefore the sum of every christian man's duty is, to labour by all means towards that which other men seeing in us may justify; and what we our selves must accuse if we fall into it, that by all means we can to avoid; considering especially, that as hitherto upon the church there never yet fell tempestuous storm, the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection, and from backwardness in duties of service towards God, so if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point should be here set down, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollify an heart of steel. On the contrary part, although we confels with St. *Augustin* most willingly, that the chiefest happiness for which we have some christian kings in so great admiration above the rest, is not because of their long reign; their calm and quiet departure out of this present life; the settled establishment of their own flesh and blood succeeding them in royalty and power; the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wise prevention of inward danger, and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which have no society or part in the joys of heaven, giving thereby to understand, that these in comparison are toys and trifles, far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands: But in truth the reason wherefore we most extol their felicity is, if so be they have virtuously reigned, if honour hath not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power hath been service and attendance upon the majesty of the most high, if they have feared him as their own inferiors and subjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleasure more than heaven, if revenge hath slowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered it self, if so they have tempered rigor with lenity, that neither extrem severity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easiness of pardoning offences embolden offenders; if, knowing that whatsoever they do, their potency may bear it out, they have been so much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the best, rather than usual with greatest personages; if the true knowledge of themselves hath humbled them in God's sight, no less than God in the eyes of men hath raised them up; I say, albeit we reckon such to be the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happiness, nevertheless, considering what force there is even in outward blessings, to comfort the minds of the best disposed, and to give them the greater joy when religion and peace, heavenly and earthly happiness are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthiest of christian princes it hath by the providence of the almighty hitherto befallen; let it not seem to any man a needless and superfluous waste of labour, that there hath been thus much spoken, to declare how in them especially it hath been so observed, and withal universally noted, even from the highest to the very meanest, how this particular benefit, this singular grace and preheminance religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth us safe through them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giveth honours, promotions and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them, than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plenty of all good things, or maketh a sallad of green herbs more sweet than all the sacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth proposition before set down was, that religion without the help of spiritual ministry, is unable to plant it self, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. Which last assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation: If it did, I could easily declare how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wisdom sodered as it were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves, what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the church being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh, might no less in grace than in nature be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the power of his own spirit. A thing both needful for the humility of man, which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself; and of no small effect to nourish that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as men, but as angels of God. Ministerial actions tending immediately unto God's honour, and man's happiness, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the ministry, or else they are parts of that principal work of administration it self, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's house, and in applying unto men the sovereign medicines of Grace already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might

Luke 12. 42.
1 Cor. 4. 1.
Tit. 1. 7.

1 Pet. 4. 10.
Ephes. 3. 2.

ritual function, whose fall by heresy, or want of constancy in professing the christian faith, hath been once a disgrace to their calling. Nevertheless, as there is no law which bindeth, so there is no cause that should always lead to shew one and the same severity towards persons culpable. Goodness of nature it self more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecillity. Besides also them that wander out of the way ^a it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, lest strictness used towards such as reclaim themselves, should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore ^b after that the Church of *Alexandria* had somewhat recovered it self from the tempests and storms of *Arianism*, being in consultation about the re-establishment of that which by long disturbance had been greatly decayed and hindred, the ferventer sort gave quick sentence, that touching them which were of the clergy, and had stained themselves with heresy, there should be none so received into the church again as to continue in the order of the clergy. The rest, which considered how many men's cases it did concern, thought it much more safe and consonant to bend somewhat down towards them which were fallen; to shew severity upon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation without any other demand saving only the abjuration of their error; as in the gospel that wastful young man, which returned home to his father's house, was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat; neither commended so much for his own fidelity and virtue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whose unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanors and faults past. But of this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving orders, is our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. The Holy Ghost, they say, we cannot give, and therefore we ^c foolishly bid men receive it. Wise men, for their authorities sake, must have leave to beseech them whom they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding, if it may please their wisdom, as well to hear what fools can say, as to controul that which they do, thus we have heard some wise men teach, namely, that the ^e *Holy Ghost* may be used to signify not the person alone, but the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diseases without art, and such like; but also that the very authority and power which is given men in the church to be ministers of holy things, is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is author; and therefore he which giveth this power may say, without absurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, such power as the Spirit of Christ hath endued his church withal, such power as neither prince nor potentate, king nor *Cæsar* on earth can give. So that if men alone had devised this form of speech, thereby to express the heavenly well-spring of that power which ecclesiastical ordinations do bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might bear with it. If then our Lord and Saviour himself have used the self same form of words, and that in the self same kind of action, although there be but the least shew of probability, yea or any possibility that his meaning might be the same which ours is, it should teach sober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to have in it more profoundness of wisdom than flesh and blood should presume to controul. Our Saviour after his resurrection from the dead gave his apostles their commission, saying, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth: go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*. In sum, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*. Whereunto St. John doth add farther, that *having thus spoken, he breathed on them and said, Receive the Holy Ghost*. By which words he must of likelihood understand some gift of the spirit which was presently at that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actual delivery in saying *Receive*, and the visible sign thereof, his breathing, did shew. Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and also to the very eye express a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It resteth then that we search what special grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the spirit most apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promise thereof was to be shortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power are therefore set down with signification of the time to come, *Behold I will send the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the city of Jerusa-*

^a In 12 tabulis cantum, est, ut idem juris esset sistantibus quod fortibus, id est bonis & qui nunquam deservunt a populo Romano. Fest. in ver. Samnites.
^b Ruffin Hist. Eccles. l. c. 28.

^c Papisticus quidam ritus, fuit quidem ab illis & sine ulla scripture fundamento institutus, & disciplina nostra auctoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primū iudicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retinetur. Ecclesiast. discip. p. 53.
^d Eccles. discip. fol. 52. p. 2. l. 1.

Matth. 28. 18.

John 20. 27.

Luke 24. 49.

affect it, rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deserve blame as men that carry aspiring minds. The work whereunto this power serveth is commended, 1 Tim. 3. 1. and the desire thereof allowed by the apostle for good. Nevertheless because the burden thereof is heavy, and the charge great, it cometh many times to pass, that the minds even of virtuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections, some in humility declining that by reason of hardness, which others in regard of goodness only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the least degree in this service,

^a ὅτι παλαιὸν τὸς ἐκδοκιμασθέντας ἀνασκοποῦν ἐνέσκηκε ὅσας πύξεις εἰς ἐπιστάσις ἢ προσφύτας ἢ χάρις προσέδωκε, τὸς μὲν εἰζωντας προσκυμαίνας τὸ κλῆσι, τὸς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ ὑπετέρων μίμητιν ὡς τῶν ἀποκαταστησάντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ ὅρμην σπύλων τὴν προσκυμαίνας, διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν διακοσίαν τὸ μέγα ἐκδοκιμασθέντας, διὰ δὲ τὴν κλητικὴν πρεσβύτητα ἐκδοκιμασθέντας. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

but it may be both in ^a reverence shunned, and of very devotion longed for. If then the desire thereof may be holy, religious and good, may not the profession of that desire be so likewise? We are not to think it so long good as it is dissembled, and evil if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be open-

ed without ambition, what offence, I beseech you, is there in opening it there where it may be furthered and satisfied, in case they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are those desires allowed, the accomplishment whereof it is not lawful for men to seek. Power therefore of ecclesiastical order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which profess themselves that way inclined, may endeavour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessity of evil. Is it the bringing of testimonial Letters, wherein so great obliquity consisteth? What more simple, more plain, more harmless, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that men where they are not known, use for their easier access the credit of such as can best give testimony of them? Letters of any other construction our church discipline alloweth not; and these to allow, is neither to require ambitious suitings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act. The prophet *Ezra* receiving his message at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly vision, heard the voice of the Lord, saying, *Whom shall I send, who shall go for us?* Whereunto he recordeth his own answer, *Then I said, here Lord I am, send me.* Which in effect is the rule and canon whereby touching this point the very order of the church is framed.

The appointment of times for solemn ordination, is but the publick demand of the church in the name of the Lord himself, *Whom shall I send, who shall go for us?* The confluence of men, whose inclinations are bent that way, is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of sundry being offered, the church hath freedom to take whom her agents in such case think meet and requisite. As for the example of our Saviour Christ, who took not to himself this honour to be made our High-priest, but received the same from him which said, *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck*, his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God saw convenient time, may serve in reproof of usurped honours, for as much as we ought not of our own accord to assume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Christ was. But yet it should be withal considered, that a proud usurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingness to obtain admittance; which willingness of mind, I suppose, did not want in him, whose answer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to do thy will.* And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his commission signed with the hands of men, to seek it might better have beseeemed his humility, than it doth our boldness to reprehend them of pride and ambition, that make no worse kind of suits than by letters of information. Himself in calling his apostles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them, *Ye chose not me, but I of my own voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of undesired nomination to ecclesiastical places beset divers of the most famous amongst the ancient fathers of the church in a clean contrary consideration. For our Saviour's election respected not any merit or worth, but took them which were farthest off from likelihood of fitness; that afterwards their supernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cause the greater admiration; whereas in the other, meer admiration of their singular and rare virtues was the reason why honours were enforced upon them, which they of meekness and modesty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wish or desire the office, the only charge and bare function of their ministry? Towards which labour, what doth the blessed apostle else but encourage, saying, *He which desireth it, is desirous of a good work?* What doth he else by such sentences but stir, kindle and inflame ambition; if I may term that desire ambition,

which coveteth more to testify love by painfulness in God's service, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour it self, and of other emoluments annexed to such labours for more encouragement of man's industry, we are not so to conceive neither, as if no affection can be cast towards them without offence. Only as the wise man giveth counsel, *Seek not to be made a judge, lest thou be not able to take away iniquity, and lest thou fearing the person of the mighty, shouldest commit an offence against thine uprightness*; so it always becometh men to take good heed, lest affection to that which hath in it as well difficulty as goodness, sophisticate the true and sincere judgment which before-hand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found instead of contentment, repentance. But for as much as hardness of things in themselves most excellent, cooleth the fervency of men's desires, unless there be somewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of speculative knowledge doth, by things which we sensibly perceive, conduct to that which is in nature more certain, though less sensible, and the method of virtuous actions is also, to train beginners at the first by things acceptable unto the taste of natural appetite, till our minds at the length be settled to embrace things precious in the eye of reason, merely and wholly for their own sakes) howsoever inordinate desires do hereby take occasion to abuse the polity of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unseemly means that which was instituted, and should be reserved for better minds to obtain by more approved courses. In which consideration the emperors *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppose against such ambitious practices, that ancient and famous constitution, wherein they have these sentences: *Let not a prelate be ordained for reward, or upon request, who should be so far sequestered from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to search where he hideth himself, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield. Let nothing promote him but his excuses to avoid the burden. They are unworthy of that vocation, which are not threunto brought unwillingly*; notwithstanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred every poor request or suit, wherein men may seem to affect honour; seeing that ambition and modesty do not always so much differ in the mark they shoot at, as in the manner of their prosecutions. Yea, even in this may be error also, if we still imagine them least ambitious, which most forbear to stir either hand or foot towards their own preferences. For there are that make an idol of their great sufficiency, and because they surmise the place should be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave pageants, observing whether men do not wonder why so small account is made of so rare worthiness; and in case any other man's advancement be mentioned, they either smile or blush at the marvellous folly of the world, which seeth not where dignities should offer themselves. Seeing therefore that suits after spiritual functions may be as ambitiously forborn as prosecuted, it remaineth that the evenest line of moderation between both is, neither to follow them *without conscience*; nor of *pride* to withdraw our selves utterly from them.

Ἡ μὲρ πύσις ἡπαρθεῖον σερασταίαι δολέτης, Ἡ δὲ φάλοτον πύσις θαρραλέτης. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

^b 78. It pleaseth Almighty God to chuse to himself, for discharge of the ^c legal ministry, one only tribe out of twelve others, the tribe of *Levi*; not all unto every divine service, but *Aaron* and his sons to one charge, the rest of that sanctified tribe to another. With what solemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his successors the high-priests ascended every sabbath and festival day, offered and ministered in the temple; with what sin-offering once every year they reconciled first themselves and their own house, afterwards the people unto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, laid all their trespasses upon the head of a sacred goat, and so carried them out of the city; how they purged the holy place from all uncleanness, with what reverence they entred within the veil, presented themselves before the mercy-seat, and consulted with the oracle of God; what service the other priests did continually in the holy place, how they ministered about the Lamps, morning and evening; how every sabbath they placed on the table of the Lord those twelve loaves with pure incense, in perpetual remembrance of that

^b Of degrees whereby the power of order is distinguished; and concerning the attire of ministers.

^c Πρὸς διακρίσιν καὶ συλλήνην ἐστὶν πλῆθος καὶ δόσεις καὶ λειτουργίας. Philo. p. 297.

mercy which the Fathers, the twelve tribes had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger caused them to leave their natural soil and to seek for sustenance in *Egypt*; how they employed themselves in sacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the *Levites* discharged, and what duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I should collect that which scriptures and other ancient records do mention. Besides these, there were indifferently out of all tribes from time to time some called of God as prophets, foretelling them things to come, and giving them counsel in such particulars as they could not be directed in by the law; some chosen men to read, study and interpret the law of God, as the sons or scholars of the old prophets, in whose room afterwards scribes and expounders of the law succeeded. And because where so great variety is, if there should be equality, confusion would follow, the *Levites* were in all their service at the appointment and direction of the sons of *Aaron*, or priests; they subject to the principal guides and leaders of their own order; and they all in obedience under the high-priest. Which difference doth also manifest it self in the very titles that men for honours sake gave unto them, terming *Aaron* and his successors, high or great; the ancients over the companies of priests, arch-priests; prophets, fathers; scribes and interpreters of the law, masters. Touching the ministry of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the whole body of the church being divided into laity and clergy, the clergy are either presbyters or deacons. I rather term the one sort presbyters than ^a priests, because in a matter of so small moment I would not willingly offend their ears to whom the name of priesthood is odious, though without cause. For as things are distinguished one from another by those true essential forms, which being really and actually in them, do not only give them the very last and highest degree of their natural perfection, but are also the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferior perfections depend; so if they that first do impose

^a T. C. l. i. p. 198. For so much as the common and usual speech of *England* is to note by the word *Priest*, not a minister of the gospel, but a *Sacrificer*, which the minister of the gospel is not, therefore we ought not to call the ministers of the gospel *Priests*. And that this is the *English* speech, it appeareth by all the *English* Translations, which translate always *ἱερεῖς*, which were sacrificers, *Priests*, and do not on the other side, for any that ever I read, translate *ἐπισκοπῆς* by a *Priest*. Seeing therefore a priest with us, and in our tongue, doth signify both by the papists judgment, in respect of their abominable Mass, and also by the judgment of the protestants, in respect of the beasts which were offered in the Law, a *sacrificing office*, which the minister of the gospel neither doth nor can execute: it is manifest that it cannot be without great offence so used.

names, did always understand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the terms of vulgar speech, we should still be taught what the things themselves most properly are. But because words have so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not always apparent what the first inventors respected, much less what every man's inward conceit is which useth these words. For any thing my self can discern herein, I suppose that they which have bent their study to search more diligently such matters, do for the most part find that names advisedly given, had either regard unto that which is naturally most proper; or if perhaps to some other speciality, to that which is sensibly most eminent in the thing signified; and concerning popular use of words, that which the wisdom of their inventors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in gross; as may appear in that if you ask of the common sort what any certain word, for example, what a priest doth signify; their manner is not to answer, a priest is a clergyman which offereth sacrifice to God, but they shew some particular person whom they use to call by that name. And if we list to descend to grammar, we are told by masters in those schools, that the word *Priest* hath his right place ^b *ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ ἀγορεύει ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀρχιερεῖ*, in him whose meer function or charge is the service of God. Howbeit, because the most eminent part both of heathenish and *Jewish* service did consist in sacrifice, when learned men declare what the word *Priest* doth properly signify, according to the mind of the first imposer of that name, their ordinary ^c schools do well expound it to imply sacrifice. Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the church-ministry, how should the name of priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as St. *Paul* applyeth the name of ^d *flesh* unto that very substance of fishes, which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon, when philosophers will speak warily, they ^e make a difference

^d *Hesly*. *Christus homo dicitur, quia natus est; Prophetas, quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis hostiam se obtulit.* 1^a fid. Orig. l. 7. c. 2.

^e 1 Cor. 15. 39.

between flesh in one sort of living creatures, and that other substance in the rest which hath but a kind of analogy to flesh the apostle contrariwise, having matter of greater

sometime be licensed to preach, whose institution was at the first to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their own vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is part of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others; neither is it intrusion for them to do it, being in such sort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the office of teaching to be so repugnant unto the office of deaconship, that they cannot concur in one and the same person? What was there done in the church by deacons, which the apostles did not first discharge, being teachers? Yea, but the apostles found the burden of teaching so heavy, that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge, and to have deacons which might undertake it. Be it so. The multitude of christians increasing in *Jerusalem*, and waxing great, it was too much for the apostles to teach, and to minister unto tables also. The former was not to be slackt, that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiom, that when the subject wherein one man's labours of sundry kinds are employed, doth wax so great, that the same men are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before, the most natural way to help this is, by dividing their charge into slices, and ordaining of under-officers; as our Saviour under twelve apostles, seventy presbyters; and the apostles by his example seven deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to seem less reasonable, that when the same men are sufficient both to continue in that which they do, and also to undertake somewhat more, a combination be admitted in this case, as well as division in the former. We may not therefore disallow it in the church of *Geneva*, that *Calvin* and *Beza* were made both pastors and readers in divinity, being men so able to discharge both. To say they did not content themselves with their pastoral vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alledge against them, *He that exhorteth on exhortation*, as against us, *He that distributeth in simplicity*, is alledged in great dislike of granting license for deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient custom of the church was to yield the poor much relief, especially widows. But as poor people are always querulous and apt to think themselves less respected than they should be, we see that when the apostles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier business, yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the *Grecian* widows shorter commons than the *Hebrews*. By means whereof the apostle saw it meet to ordain deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out those first occasions for which the deaconship was then most necessary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other services, and so remain, as at this present day, a degree in the clergy of God which the apostles of Christ did institute. That the first seven deacons were chosen out of the seventy disciples, is an error in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of weightier, unto rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The apostles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the ministry of tables unto deacons. And shall we think they judged it expedient to chuse so many out of those seventy to be ministers unto tables, when Christ himself had before made them teachers? It appeareth therefore, how long these three degrees of ecclesiastical order have continued in the church of Christ; the highest and largest, that which the apostles; the next that which presbyters; and the lowest that which deacons had. Touching prophets, they were such men as having otherwise learned the gospel, had from above bestowed upon them a special gift of expounding scriptures, and of foretelling things to come. Of this sort *Agabus* was, and besides him in *Jerusalem* sundry others, who notwithstanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the clergy, because no mans gifts or qualities can make him a minister of holy things, unless ordination do give him power. And we no where find prophets to have been made by ordination; but all whom the church did ordain, were either to serve as presbyters or as deacons. Evangelists were presbyters of principal sufficiency, whom the apostles sent abroad, and used as agents in ecclesiastical affairs wheresoever they saw need. They whom we find to have been named in scripture evangelists, ^a *Ananias*, ^b *Apollos*, ^c *Timothy*, and others, were thus employed. And concerning evangelists afterwards in *Trajan's* days, the history ecclesiastical noteth, that many of the apostles disciples and scholars which were then alive, and did with singular love of wisdom affect the heavenly word of God, to shew their willing minds in executing that which Christ first of all requireth at the hands of

^a Acts 9. 18.

^b Acts 18. 24.

^c 2 Tim. 4. 5.

9.

¹ Tim. 5. 15.

5. 14. 2. 8.

Euseb. Eccles.

Hist. l. 3. c.

34.

men, they sold their possessions, gave them to the poor, and betaking themselves to travel, undertook the labour of evangelists, that is, they painfully preached Christ, and delivered the gospel to them, who as yet had never heard the doctrine of faith. Finally, whom the apostle nameth pastors and teachers, what other were they than presbyters also, howbeit settled in some charge, and thereby differing from evangelists? I beseech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the church with questions about degrees and offices of ecclesiastical calling, because they principally ground themselves upon two places, that all partiality laid aside, they would sincerely weigh and examine whether they have not mis-interpreted both places, and all by surmising incompatible offices, where nothing is meant but sundry graces, gifts and abilities which Christ bestowed. To them of *Corinth*, his words are these, *God placed in the church first of all, some apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after them powers, then gifts of cures, aids, governments, kinds of languages. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Do all speak with tongues? Can all interpret? But be you desirous of the better graces.* They which plainly discern first, that some one general thing there is, which the apostle doth here divide into all these branches, and do secondly conceive that general to be the church offices, besides a number of other difficulties, can by no means possibly deny but that many of these might concur in one man, and peradventure in some one all: Which mixture notwithstanding, their form of discipline doth most shun. On the other side, admit that *communicants of special infused grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the church of Christ, are here spoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole discourse; and see if every thing do not answer in due place with that fitness, which sheweth easily what is likeliest to have been meant. For why are *apostles* the first, but because unto them was granted the revelation of all truth from Christ immediately? Why *prophets* the second, but because they had of some things knowledge in the same manner? *Teachers* the next, because whatsoever was known to them, it came by hearing; yet God withal made them able to instruct, which every one could not do that was taught? After gifts of education, there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to govern and direct by counsel; finally, aptness to speak or interpret foreign tongues. Which graces, not poured out equally, but diversly sorted and given, were a cause why not only they all did furnish up the whole body, but each benefit and help other. Again, the same apostle other-where in like sort, *To every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. He therefore gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.* In this place none but gifts of instruction are express'd. And because of *teachers* some were *evangelists*, which neither had any part of their knowledge by revelation, as the *prophets*, and yet in ability to teach were far beyond other *pastors*, they are, as having received one way less than *prophets*, and another way more than *teachers*, set accordingly between both. For the apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by office or power given them through ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infusion of the Holy Ghost. For in christian religion, this being the ground of our whole belief, that the promises which God of old had made his prophets concerning the wonderful gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the reign of the true *Messias* should be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's ascension performed, there is no one thing whereof the apostles did take more often occasion to speak. Out of men thus endued with gifts of the spirit upon their conversion to the christian faith, the church had her ministers chosen, unto whom was given ecclesiastical power by ordination. Now because the apostle in reckoning degrees and varieties of grace, doth mention *pastors* and *teachers*, although he mention them not in respect of their ordination to exercise the ministry, but as examples of men especially enriched with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, divers learned and skilful men have so taken it, as if those places did intend to teach what orders of ecclesiastical persons there ought to be in the church of Christ; which thing we are not to learn from thence, but out of other parts of holy scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth that churches apostolick did know but three degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order; at the first *apostles, presbyters and deacons*;

1 Cor. 12. 28.

Ephes. 4. 11.
Plal. 68. 18.

cons; afterwards instead of *apostles, bishops*, concerning whose order we are to speak in the seventh book. There is an error which beguileth many, who do much intangle both themselves and others, by not distinguishing *services, offices* and *orders* ecclesiastical. The first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the laity; whereas none have, or can have the third, but the clergy. Catechists, exorcists, readers, singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labours and pains be considered, may in that respect seem clergy-men, even as the fathers for that cause term them usually clerks; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience should make them able. Notwithstanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the laity longer than during that work of service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body whereof those three before rehearsed orders alone are natural parts. Touching *widows*, of whom some men are persuaded, that if such as St. *Paul* describeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the church for ever, certain mean services there were of attendance; as about women at the time of their baptism, about the bodies of the sick and dead, about the necessities of travellers, wayfaring men, and such like, wherein the church did commonly use them when need required, because they lived of the alms of the church, and were fittest for such purposes; St. *Paul* doth therefore, to avoid scandal, require that none but women well experienced and virtuously given, neither any under threescore years of age, should be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the church so highly esteemed as virgins. But seeing neither of them did or could receive ordination, to make them ecclesiastical persons were absurd. The ancientest therefore of the fathers mention those three degrees of ecclesiastical order specified, and no more. *When your captains* (saith *Tertullian*) *that is to say, the deacons, presbyters and bishops* *say, who shall teach the laity that they must be constant?* Again, *What should I mention laymen* (saith *Optatus*) *yea, or divers of the ministry it self? To what purpose deacons, which are in the third, or presbyters in the second degree of priesthood, when the very heads and princes of all, even certain of the bishops themselves were content to redeem life with the loss of heaven?* Heaps of allegations in a case so evident and plain are needless. I may securely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the church of *England*, no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical orders, namely, *bishops, presbyters* and *deacons*, which had their beginning from Christ and his blessed apostles themselves. As for *deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, arch-deacons, chancellors, officials, commissaries*, and such other like names, which being not found in holy scripture, we have been thereby through some mens error, thought to allow of ecclesiastical degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all these are in truth but titles of office, whereunto partly ecclesiastical persons, and partly others, are in sundry forms and conditions admitted, as the state of the church doth need; degrees of order still continuing the same they were from the first beginning. Now what habit or attire doth become each order to use in the course of common life, both for the gravity of his place, and for example sake to other men, is a matter frivolous to be disputed of. A small measure of wisdom may serve to teach them how they should cut their coats. But seeing all well ordered polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain special distinct ornaments to sever each sort of men from other when they are in publick, to the end that all may receive such compliments of civil honour as are due to their rooms and callings, even when their persons are not known, it argueth a disproportioned mind in them, whom so decent orders displease.

Of oblations, foundations, endowments, tithes, all intended for perpetuity of religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church-livings be made frustrate.

79. We might somewhat marvel what the apostle St. *Paul* should mean, to say that *covetousness is idolatry*, if the daily practice of men did not shew, that whereas nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, we honour for the most part wealth as God. Fain we would teach our selves to believe, that for worldly goods it sufficeth frugally and honestly to use them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt to others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert some small contemptible portion thereof to charitable uses, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully satisfied. But forasmuch as we cannot rightly honour God, unless both our souls and bodies be sometime employed meerly in his service; again, sith we know that religion requireth at our hands the taking away of so great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own business, and the bestowing of the same in his;

suppose we that nothing of our wealth and substance is immediately due to God, but all our own to bestow and spend as our selves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unless with part we acknowledge his supreme dominion by whose benevolence we have the whole, how give we honour to whom honour belongeth; or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what nation in the world did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly set down as a principle clear in nature, an axiom that ought not to be call'd in question, a truth manifest and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honour God with their substance, in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by spending them in lawful manner, and by using them without offence, but also by alienating from our selves some reasonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up the same to him as a sign that we gladly confess his sole and sovereign dominion over all, is a duty which all men are bound unto, and a part of that very worship of God, which, as the law of God and nature it self requireth, so we are the rather to think all men no less stridly bound thereunto than to any other natural duty, inasmuch as the hearts of men do so cleave to these earthly things, so much admire them for the sway they have in the world, impute them so generally either to nature or to chance and fortune, so little think upon the grace and providence from which they come, that unless by a kind of continual tribute we did acknowledge God's dominion, it may be doubted that in short time men would learn to forget whose tenants they are, and imagine that the world is their own absolute, free and independant inheritance. Now concerning the kind or quality of gifts which God receiveth in that sort, we are to consider them, partly as first they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to serve for divine uses. In that they are testimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt but such they should be as besecmeth most his glory to whom we offer them. In this respect the fatness of *Abel's* sacrifice is commended; the flower of all men's increase assigned to God by *Solomon*; the gifts and donations of the people rejected as oft as their cold affection to Godward made their presents to be little worth. Somewhat the heathens saw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their gods did not think they might consecrate any thing which was *impure* or *unsound*, or *already given*, or else *not truly their own to give*. Again, in regard of use, for as much as we know that God hath himself no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them because it is our good to be so exercised, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to have them used for the endles continuance of religion; there is no place left of doubt or controversy, but that we in the choice of our gifts, are to level at the same mark, and to frame our selves to his kown intents and purposes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himself by commandment requireth, or that which the publick consent of the church thinketh good to allot, or that which every man's private devotion doth best like, in as much as the gift which we offer proceedeth not only as a testimony of our affection towards God, but also as a means to uphold religion, the exercise whereof cannot stand without the help of temporal commodities; if all men be taught of nature to wish, and as much as in them lieth to procure the perpetuity of good things; if for that very cause we honour admire their wisdom, who having been founders of commonweals, could devise how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if, especially in this respect, we prefer *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the *Spartan* before the *Athenian* polity, it must needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable service in honouring him with our substance, so our service that way is then most acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuity. The first permanent donations of honour in this kind are temples. Which works do so much set forward the exercise of religion, that while the world was in love with religion, it gave to no sort greater reverence than to whom it could point and say, *These are the men that have built us synagogues*. But of churches we have spoken sufficiently heretofore. The next things to churches are the ornaments of churches, memorials which men's devotion hath added to remain in the treasure of God's house, not only for uses wherein the exercise of religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casual necessities, whereunto the church is on earth subject, and partly to the end that while they are kept, they may continually serve as testimonies, giving all men to understand that God hath in every age and

Purum, proprium, profanum, sumum
Fest. l. 14.

nati-

- nation such as think it no burden to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the tabernacle of God, and then of the temple of *Jerusalem*, arising out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as we commonly speak, a *Nemo scit*, the value of them above that which any man would imagine. After that the tabernacle was made, furnished with all necessaries, and set up, although in the wilderness their ability could not possibly be great, the very metal of those vessels, which the princes of the twelve tribes gave to God for their first presents, amounted even to two thousand and four hundred shekels of silver, an hundred and twenty shekels of gold, every shekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the temple which *Solomon* erected we may partly conjecture, when over and besides wood, marble, iron, brass, vestments, precious stones and money, the sum which *David* delivered into *Solomon's* hands for that purpose was of gold in mass eight thousand, and of silver seventeen thousand cichars, every cichar containing a thousand and eight hundred shekels, which riseth to nine hundred ounces in every one cichar, whereas the whole charge of the tabernacle did not amount unto thirty cichars. After their return out of *Babylon*, they were not presently in case to make their second temple of equal magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding what they could they did. Inasmuch that the buildings finished, there remained in the coffers of the church to uphold the fabrick thereof, six hundred and fifty cichars of silver, one hundred of gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his own gift a thousand drams of gold, fifty vessels of silver, five hundred and thirty priests vestments; by other the princes of the fathers twenty thousand drams of gold, two thousand and two hundred pieces of silver; by the rest of the people twenty thousand of gold, two thousand of silver, threescore and seven attires of priests. And they furthermore bound themselves towards other charges to give by the pole, in what part of the world soever they should dwell, the third of a shekel, that is to say, the sixth part of an ounce yearly. ^a This out of foreign provinces they always sent in gold. Whereof ^b *Mithridates* is said to have taken up by the way before it could pass to *Jerusalem* from *Asia*, in one adventure, eight hundred talents, *Crassus* after that to have borrowed of the temple it self eight thousand; at which time *Eleazar* having both many other rich ornaments, and all the tapistry of the temple under his custody, thought it the safest way to grow unto some composition; and so to redeem the residue by parting with a certain beam of gold about seven hundred and an half weight, a prey sufficient for one man, as he thought, who had never bargained with *Crassus*: till then, and therefore upon the confidence of a solemn oath that no more should be looked for, he simply delivered up a large morsel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moveable treasures are subject, the law of *Moses* did both require eight and twenty cities, together with their fields and whole territories in the land of *Jewry*, to be reserved for God himself, and not only provide for the liberty of farther additions, if men of their own accord should think good, but also for the safe preservation thereof unto all posterities, that no man's avarice or fraud, by defeating so virtuous intents, might discourage from like purposes. God's third endowment did therefore of old consist in lands. Furthermore, some cause no doubt there is why besides sundry other more rare donations of uncertain rate, the tenth should be thought a revenue so natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the spoils which *Abraham* had taken in war, he delivered unto *Melchisedeck* the tythes. The vow of *Jacob*, at such time as he took his journey towards *Haran*, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me bread to eat, and cloaths to put on, so that I may return to my father's house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God; and this stone which I have set up as a pillar, the same shall be God's house; and of all thou shalt give me I will give unto thee the tithe.* And as *Abraham* gave voluntarily, as *Jacob* vowed to give God tithes, so the law of *Moses* did require at the hands of all men the self-same kind of tribute, the tenth of their corn, wine, oil, fruit, cattle, and whatsoever increase his heavenly providence should send. Inasmuch that *Paynims* being heretofore followers of their steps, paid tithes likewise: Imagine we that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some special inducement to judge the tenth of our worldly profits the most convenient for God's portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the forms which give them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter weight? *Three* being the mystical number of God's unsearchable perfection within himself; *Seven* the number whereby our

owa perfections through grace are most ordered; and *ten* the number of natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order; and the foundation of order, number; and of number, ten the highest we can rise unto without iteration of numbers under it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature, than by assigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all the possessor? There are in *Philo* the *Jew*, many arguments to shew the great congruity and fitness of this number in things consecrated unto God. But because over-nice and curious speculations become not the earnestness of holy things, I omit what might be farther observed, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general sacred tribute; whereby it cometh to pass that the meanest and the very poorest amongst men yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greatest, and many times in affection more, have this as a sensible token always assuring their minds, that in his sight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptance, protection, divine privileges and pre-eminences whatsoever, equals and peers with them unto whom they are otherwise in earthly respects inferiors; being furthermore well assured, that the top as it were thus presented to God, is neither lost, nor unfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctify to them again the whole mass, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bless all. In which consideration the *Jews* were accustomed to name their tithes, the *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge do only fence and preserve that which is contained, whereas their tithes and offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heap out of which they were taken. God demanded no such debt for his own need, but for their only benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themselves whom they think they relieve, they wound; except men will haply affirm, that God did by fair speeches and large promises, delude the world in saying, *Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house*, (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all) *and prove if I will not open unto you the windows of heaven, and pour down upon you an immeasurable blessing*. That which *St. James* hath concerning the effect of our prayers unto God, is for the most part of like moment in our gifts: We pray and obtain not, because he which knoweth our hearts, doth know our desires are evil. In like manner we give, and we are not the more accepted, because he beholdeth how unwisely we spill our gifts in the bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing be given him. But for our own good, it always becometh that whatsoever we offer up into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthy of all honour*. With the church of Christ, touching these matters, it standeth as it did with the whole world before *Moses*. Whereupon for many years men being desirous to honour God in the same manner as other virtuous and holy personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther ability did serve, by such device as might cause their works of piety to remain always, it came by these means to pass that the church from time to time had treasure, proportionable unto the poorer or wealthier estate of christian men. And as soon as the state of the church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to think it most natural and most fit that God should receive, as before, of all men his ancient accustomed revenues of tithes. Thus therefore both God and nature have taught to convert things temporal to eternal uses, and to provide for the perpetuity of religion, even by that which is most transitory. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the law requireth precisely the best of what we possess; and to prevent all damages by way of commutation, where instead of natural commodities or other rights the price of them might be taken, the law of *Moses* determined their rates, and the payments to be always made by the sicle of the sanctuary, wherein there was great advantage of weight above the ordinary currant sicle. The truest and surest way for God to have always his own, is by making him payment in kind out of the very self-same riches which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every man's conscience sake. That which cometh from God to us, by the natural course of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because least spotted with the stain of unlawful or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices daily change, nature which commonly is one, must needs be the most indifferent and permanent standard between God and man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the security of these things dependeth, as far as any thing may be ascertained amongst men, is that the tithes

*Deus deus-
um de-
mora d' G. in
necesse per
tenu. Philo
de A. 1. 1.*

*Massoreth se-
pes est legis;
divitiarum se-
pes decime.
R. Aquiba
in Pirik.
Aboth.*

Mal. 3.

*Nemo libenter
debet quod non
accipit sed ex-
pressit. Sen.
de Beesp.
l. 1. c. 1.*

Levit. 27. 25.

and

and right which man had in every of them before donation, doth by the act, and from the time of any such donation, dedication, or grant, remain the proper possession of God till the world's end, unless himself renounce or relinquish it. For if equity have taught us, that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours, no other can

alienate from us, but with our ^a own ^b deliberate consent; finally, that no man having past his consent or deed, may ^c change it to the prejudice of any other, should we presume to deal with God worse than God hath allowed any man to deal with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the law of *Moses*, and

consequently not thereby bound to the payment of tithes; yet because nature hath taught men to honour God with their substance, and scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for moral considerations hath been thought fittest by him whose wisdom could best judge; furthermore, seeing that the church of Christ hath long since entered into like obligation, it seemeth in these days a question altogether vain and superfluous, whether tithes be a matter of divine right: because howsoever at the first it might have been thought doubtful, our case is clearly the same now with theirs unto whom St. *Peter* sometime spake, saying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine*. When our tithes might have probably seemed our own, we had colour of liberty to use them as we our selves saw good. But having made them his whose they are, let us be warned by other men's example what it is *νωφισαδου*, to wash or clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God. For that all these are his possessions, and that he doth himself so reckon them, appeareth by the form of his own speeches. Touching gifts and oblations, *Thou shalt give them me*; touching oratories and churches, *My house* shall be called the house of prayer; touching tithes, *Will a man spoil God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have *spoiled*, notwithstanding ye ask wherein, as though ye were ignorant what injury there hath been offered in tithes: ye are heavily accursed, because with a kind of publick consent ye have joined your selves in one to rob me, imagining the commonness of your offence to be every man's particular justification. Touching lands, *Ye shall offer to the Lord a sacred portion of ground, and that sacred portion shall belong to the priests*. Neither did God only thus ordain amongst the *Jews*, but the very purpose, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their substance, was to invest him with the property of those benefits, the use whereof must needs be committed to the hands of men. In which respect the stile of ancient grants and charters is, *We have given unto God both for us and our heirs for ever*. Yea, *We know*, saith *Charles* the great, that *the goods of the church are the sacred endowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatsoever we deliver unto his church*. Whereupon the laws imperial do likewise divide all things in such sort, that they make some to belong by right of nature indifferently unto every man, some to be the certain goods and possessions of commonweals, some to appertain unto several corporations and companies of men, some to be privately men's own in particular, and some to be separated quite ^d from all men; which last branch compriseth things sacred and holy, because thereof God alone is owner. The sequel of which received opinion, as well without

Non videntur
rem amittere
quibus propria
non fuit, l. 38.
de Reg. jur.
Ezech. 45.
1, 2.

Mag. char.
c. 1.

Capit. Carol.
l. 6. c. 284.

^a Nullius au-
tem sunt res
sacra & reli-
giose & sac-
re. Quid enim
divini juris est,
id nullius in
bonis est. In-
stit. l. 2. tit.
1.

^e Soli cum diis
sacrilegi pug-
nam, Curt.
l. 7.

Sacrum sacro-
rum qui demer-
it rapseritve,
parricida esto.
Leg. 12. tab.
Capit. Carol.
l. 6. c. 283.
^f deposita pie-
tatis. Tertul.
Apologet.
Prudent.
Peristeph.

ever, that there is not an act more honourable than by all means to amplify and to defend the patrimony of religion, not any more ^e impious and hateful than to impair those possessions which men in former times, when they gave unto holy uses, were wont at the altar of God and in the presence of their ghostly superiors, to make as they thought inviolable by words of fearful execration, saying, *These things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to do) but if any shall, let his account be without favour in the last day, when he cometh to receive the doom which is due for sacrilege against that Lord and God unto whom we dedicate the same*. The best and most renowned prelates of the church of Christ have in this consideration rather sustained the wrath, than yielded to satisfy the hard desire of their greatest commanders on earth, covering with ill advice and counsel that which they willingly should have suffered God to enjoy. There are of martyrs, whom posterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the custody of such ^f treasures, they could by virtuous delusion invent how to save them from prey, even when the safety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, sometime an archdeacon under *Xistus* the bishop of *Rome*, did, whom when his judge understood

to be one of the church stewards, thirst of blood began to flake, and another humour to work, which first by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet speech did thus calmly disclose it self; *You that profess the christian religion, make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we shew towards you. Neither peradventure altogether without cause. But for my self, I am far from any such bloody purpose. Ie are not so willing to live, as I unwilling that out of these lips should proceed any capital sentence against you. Your bishops are said to have rich vessels of gold and silver, which they use in the exercise of their religion; besides the same is, that numbers sell away their lands and livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your church coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole posterity poor, must needs mightily enrich you, whose God we know was no coiner of money, but left behind him many wholesome and good precepts, as namely, that Cæsar should have of you the things that are fit for, and due to Cæsar. His wars are costly and chargeable unto him. That which you suffer to rust in corners, the affairs of the commonwealth do need. Your profession is not to make account of things transitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both safety of life, and freedom of using your conscience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth.* Which fair parley the happy martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it necessary to make some shift for the safe concealment of that which being now desired, was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards sought, he craved respite for three days to gather the riches of the church together, in which space against the time the governor should come to the doors of the temple, big with hope to receive his prey, a miserable rank of poor, lame and impotent persons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true inventory of the churches goods, and some few words used to signify how proud the church was of these treasures. If men did not naturally abhor sacrilege, to resist or to defeat so impious attempts would deserve small praise. But such is the general detestation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more uphold men's reputation than prosperous success, because in common construction, unless notorious improbity be joined with prosperity, it seemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have stained their hands with these odious spoils, do thereby fasten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in respect whereof, for that it passeth through the world as an undoubted rule and principle that sacrilege is open defiance to God, whatsoever afterwards they undertake, if they prosper in it, men reckon it but *Dionysius* his navigation; and if any thing befall them otherwise, it is not, as commonly, so in them ascribed to the great uncertainty of casual events, wherein the providence of God doth controul the purposes of men oftentimes, much more for their good than if all things did answer fully their hearts desire, but the censure of the world is ever directly against them both ^a bitter and peremptory.

To make such actions therefore less odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many coloured shifts and inventions have been used, as if the world did hate only wolves, and think the fox a goodly creature. The ^b time it may be will come, when they that either violently have spoiled, or thus smoothly defrauded God, shall find they did but deceive themselves. In the mean while there will be always some skilful persons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the church with

jaws that shall scarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an instant; others also, who having wastfully eaten out their own patrimony, would be glad to repair, if they might, decayed estates with the ruin they care not of what nor of whom, so the spoil were theirs; whereof in some part if they happen to speed, yet commonly they are men born under that constellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themselves as they are ready to impoverish others; it is their lot to sustain during life, both the misery of beggars and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague and revenge should follow sacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural secret disgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of such actions in the eye of a wise understanding heart, is it self a heavy punishment. Men of virtuous quality are by this sufficiently moved to beware how they answer and requite the mercies of God with

^a *Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum, propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesiam spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Episcopique & Sacerdotes, atque, quod majus est, Ecclesiam eorum abstulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortis in bello nec in fide stabilis fuerunt, nec victoris extiterunt; sed terra multi vulnerati, & plures interfecti viderunt, regnaque & regiones, & quod pejus est, regna caelestia perdidērunt, atque propriis hereditatibus caruerunt, & hæcenus carent. Verba Carol. Ma. in Capitu. Carol. I. 7. cap. 104.*

^b *Turno tempus erit magno cum optaveris emptum Iustinum Pallanta, & cum spolia ista diemque Oderis. Virg. Æn. lib. 10.*

Paxam non dico legum quæ sæpe per-rumpunt, sed ipsius interpretatæ dicitur quæ acerbissima est non videtur. Cic. Offic. 1. 3.

Impunita tu credes esse quæ inuisa sunt? aut nullum supplicium gravissimum existeris publico odio? Sen. de Benef. 1. 3. c. 17. Iren. 1. 4. c. 34. Orig. in 18. Num. hom. 11.

injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not absolutely say concerning the goods of the church, that they may in no case be seized on by men, or that no obligation, commerce and bargain made between man and man, can ever be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain cases I grant there are, wherein it is not so dark what God himself doth warrant, but that we may safely presume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as always to use and convert to our benefit whatsoever our religion hath honoured him withal. But surely under the name of that which may be, many things that should not be are often done. By means whereof the church most commonly for gold hath flanel; and whereas the usual law of old was *Glauco's his change*, the proverb is now, *A Church-Bargain*. And for fear lest covetousness alone should linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the house of God with that expedition which the mortal enemy thereof did vehemently wish, he hath by certain strong enchantments so deeply bewitched religion it self, as to make it in the end an earnest solicitor, and an eloquent persuader of sacrilege, urging confidently that the very best service which men of power can do to Christ, is without any more ceremony to sweep all, and to leave the church as bare as in the day it was first born; that fulness of bread having made the children of the household wanton, it is without any scruple to be taken away from them, and thrown to dogs; that they which laid the prices of their lands as offerings at the apostles feet, did but sow the seeds of superstition; that they which endowed churches with lands, poisoned religion; that tithes and obligations are now in the sight of God as the sacrificed blood of goats; that if we give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better bestowed otherwise; that *Ireneus Polycarp's* disciple should not have said, *We offer unto God our goods as tokens of thankfulness for that we receive*; neither *Origen*, *He which worshippeth God, must by gifts and obligations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; in a word, that to give unto God is error; reformation of error, to take from the church that which the blindness of former ages did unwisely give. By these or the like suggestions, received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the christian world, they have brought to pass, that as *David* doth say of man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole religion and service of God; *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threescore and ten years, or if strength do serve unto fourscore, what followeth, is likely to be small joy for them whatsoever they be that behold it*. Thus have the best things been overthrown, not so much by puissance and might of adversaries, as through defect of counsel in them that should have upheld and defended the same.

Of ordinations 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.

80. There are in a minister of God these four things to be considered, his Ordination which giveth him power to meddle with things sacred; the charge or portion of the church allotted unto him for exercise of his office; the performance of his duty, according to the exigence of his charge; and lastly, the maintenance which in that respect he receiveth. All ecclesiastical laws and canons which either concern the bestowing or the using of the power of ministerial order, have relation to these four. Of the first we have spoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient discharge of ecclesiastical duties, as the body of the people must needs be severed by divers precincts, so the clergy likewise accordingly distributed. Whereas therefore religion did first take place in cities, and in that respect was a cause why the name of pagans, which properly signifieth a country people, came to be used in common speech for the same that infidels and unbelievers were; it followed thereupon that all such cities had their ecclesiastical colleges, consisting of deacons and of presbyters, whom first the apostles or their delegates the evangelists did both ordain and govern. Such were the colleges of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Rome*, *Corinth*, and the rest, where the apostles are known to have planted our faith and Religion. Now because religion and the cure of souls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one presbyter his several cure apart, till *Evaristus* bishop in the see of *Rome* about the year 112. began to assign precincts unto every church or title which the christians held, and to appoint unto each presbyter a certain compass whereof himself should take charge alone, the commodiousness of this invention caused all parts of *Christendom* to follow it, and at the length among the rest our own churches about the year 636. became divided in like manner. But other distinction of churches there doth not appear any in the apostles writings, save only, according to those cities wherein they planted the gospel of Christ, and erected eccle-

ecclesiastical colleges. Wherefore to ordain *κατὰ πόλιν* throughout every city; and *Tit. i. 5.* *κατὰ ἑκάστην* throughout every church, do in them signify the same thing. Churches *Acts 14. 25.* then neither were, nor could be in so convenient sort limited as now they are; first, by the bounds of each state, and then within each state by more particular precincts, till at the length we descend unto several congregations, termed *Parishes*, with far narrower restraint than this name at the first was used. And from hence hath grown their error, who as oft as they read of the duty which ecclesiastical persons are now to perform towards the church, their manner is always to understand by that church, some particular congregation or parish church. They suppose that there should now be no man of ecclesiastical order, which is not tied to some certain parish. Because the names of all church-officers are words of relation, because a shepherd must have his flock, a teacher his scholars, a minister his company which he ministrerth unto, therefore it seemeth a thing in their eyes absurd and unreasonable, that any man should be ordained a minister, otherwise than only for some particular congregation. Perceive they not how by this means they make it unlawful for the church to employ men at all in converting nations? For if so be the church may not lawfully admit to an ecclesiastical function, unless it tie the party admitted unto some particular parish, then surely a thankless labour it is, whereby men seek the conversion of infidels, which know not Christ, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their special congregations and flocks. But to the end it may appear how much this one thing among many more hath been mistaken, there is first no precept requiring that presbyters and deacons be made in such sort, and not otherwise. Albeit therefore the apostles did make them in that order, yet is not their example such a law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will consider that which the apostles themselves did, surely no man can justly say, that herein we practise any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each christian city a college of presbyters and deacons to administer holy things. *Evaristus* did a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Christ, begin the distinction of the church into parishes. Presbyters and deacons having been ordained before to exercise ecclesiastical functions in the church of *Rome* promiscuously, he was the first that tied them each one to his own station. So that of the two, indefinite ordination of presbyters and deacons doth come more near the apostles example, and the tying of them to be made only for particular congregations, may more justly ground it self upon the example of *Evaristus*, than of any apostle of Christ. It hath been the opinion of wise and good men heretofore, that nothing was ever devised more singularly beneficial unto God's church, than this which our honourable predecessors have to their endless praise found out, by the erecting of such houses of study, as those two most famous universities do contain, and providing that choice wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy vocation for which they have been so long nourished and brought up, or else give place and suffer others to succeed in their rooms, that so the church may be always furnished with a number of men, whose abilities being first known by public trial in church-labours there where men can best judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be accordingly. All this is frustrate, those worthy foundations we must dissolve, their whole device and religious purpose which did erect them is made void, their orders and statutes are to be cancelled and disannulled, in case the church be forbidden to grant any power of order, unless it be with restraint to the party ordained unto some particular parish or congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of presbyters and of deacons, that the very nature of their ordination is unto necessary local restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The emperor *Justinian* doth say of tutors, *Certe rei vel cause tutor dari non potest, quia persona, non cause vel rei, tutor datur.* *Just. l. 1. tit. 14. sect. 4.* He that should grant a tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certain thing or cause, should do but idly, because tutors are given for personal defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or causes. So he that ordaining a presbyter or a deacon should, in the form of ordination, restrain the one or the other to a certain place, might with much more reason be thought to use a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reasonably to require such local restraint, as a thing which must of necessity concur evermore with all lawful ordination. Presbyters and deacons are not by ordination consecrated unto places, but unto functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by virtue thereof bequeathed unto God, severed and sancti-

sied to be employed in his service, which is the highest advancement that mortal creatures on earth can be raised unto, the church of Christ hath not been acquainted in former ages with any such prophane and unnatural custom, as doth hallow men with ecclesiastical functions of order only for a time, and then dismiss them again to the common affairs of the world. Whereas, contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath been exercised, we may be by sundry good and lawful occasions translated, retaining nevertheless the self-same power which was first given. It is some grief to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to uphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it, do not seem to give thereto any credit, if we may judge their minds by their actions. There are amongst them that have done the work of ecclesiastical persons, sometime in the Families of noblemen, sometime in much more publick and frequent congregations; there are that have successively gone through perhaps seven or eight particular churches after this sort; yea, some that at one and the same time have been, some which at this present hour are, in real obligation of ecclesiastical duty, and possession of commodity thereto belonging, even in sundry particular churches within the land; some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their liberty, as to be fastned or tied unto any place; some which have bound themselves to one place, only for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given other places the like experience and trial of them. All this I presume they would not do, if their persuasion were as strict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding of these and such other the like confusions, as are incident unto the cause and question whereof we presently treat, there is not any thing more material, than first to separate exactly the nature of the ministry from the use and exercise thereof: secondly, to know that the only true and proper act of ordination is, to invest men with that power which doth make them ministers, by consecrating their persons to God and his service in holy things, during term of life, whether they exercise that power or no; thirdly, that to give them a title or charge where to use their ministry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's ministers; and therefore the laws which concern only their election or admission unto place of charge, are not applicable to enfringe any way their ordination; fourthly, that as oft as any ancient constitution, law, or canon is alledged concerning either ordinations or elections, we forget not to examine whether the present case be the same which the ancient was, or else do contain some just reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same rules which former affairs of the church, now altered, did then require. In the question of making ministers without title, which to do, they say is a thing unlawful, they should at the very first have considered what the name of *Title* doth imply, and what affinity or coherence ordinations have with titles; which thing observed would plainly have shewed them their own error. They are not ignorant, that when they speak of a title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a minister in some charge, that the place of charge wherein a minister doth execute his office, requireth some house of God for the people to resort unto, some definite number of souls unto whom he there administreth holy things, and some certain allowance whereby to sustain life; that the fathers at the first named *Oratories*, and houses of prayer titles; thereby signifying how God was interested in them, and held them as his own possessions. But because they know that the church had ministers before christian temples and oratories were, therefore some of them understand by a title, a *definite congregation* of people only, and so deny that any ordination is lawful, which maketh ministers that have no certain flock to attend: forgetting how the seventy whom Christ himself did ordain ministers, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a title especially to the maintenance of the minister, infringe all ordination made, except they which receive orders be first entituled to a competent ecclesiastical benefice, and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present title to some such benefice, they have likewise some other title of annual rent or pension, whereby they may be relieved, in case

Unlawful to ordain a minister without a title, *Abbr. p.* 243. & *pag.* 246. The law requireth, that every one admitted unto orders having for his present relief some ecclesiastical benefice, should also have some other title unto some annual rent or pension, whereby he might be relieved, in case he were not able through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment, to execute his ecclesiastical office and function.

through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment they grow unable to execute their ecclesiastical function. So that every man lawfully ordained must bring a bow which hath two strings, a title of present right, and another to provide for future pos-

possibility or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide, by mis-conceiving the true purpose of certain canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a minister without a title; not that simply it is unlawful so to ordain, but because it might grow to an inconveniency, if the church did not somewhat restrain that liberty. For seeing they which have once received ordination, cannot again return into the world, it becometh them which ordain to foresee how such shall be afterwards able to live, lest their poverty and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their calling. Which evil prevented, those very laws which in that respect forbid, do expressly admit ordinations to be made at large, and without title; namely, if the party so ordained have of his own for the sustenance of this life; or if the bishop which giveth him orders, will find him competent allowance, till some place of ministrations, from whence his maintenance may arise, be provided for him; or if any other fit and sufficient means be had against the danger before-mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient canon of the church, which is, or ought to be with us in force, doth make ordinations at large unlawful, and as the state of the church doth stand, they are most necessary. If there be any conscience in men touching that which they write or speak, let them consider as well what the present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the ordinances of former ages did appoint; as well the weight of those causes for which our affairs have altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our fathers and predecessors did sometime strictly and severely keep that, which for us to observe now is neither meet, nor always possible. In this our present cause and controversy, whether any not having title of right to a benefice, may be lawfully ordained a minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a benefice doth signify some standing ecclesiastical revenue, taken out of the treasure of God, and allotted to a spiritual person, to the end he may use the same, and enjoy it as his own for term of life, unless his default cause deprivation: the clergy for many years after Christ, had no other benefices, but only their canonical portions, or monthly dividends allowed them, according to their several degrees and qualities, out of the common stock of such gifts, oblations and tithes, as the fervour of christian piety did then yield. Yea, that even when ministers had their churches and flocks assigned unto them in several; yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till such time as bishops, and churches cathedral being sufficiently endowed with lands, other presbyters enjoyed, instead of their first benefices, the tithes and profits of their own congregations whole to themselves. Is it not manifest, that in this realm, and so in other the like dominions, where the tenure of lands is altogether grounded on military laws, and held as in fee under princes which are not made heads of the people by force or voluntary election, but born the sovereign Lords of those whole and entire territories, which territories their famous progenitors obtaining by way of conquest, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the rest to others with reservation of sovereignty and capital interest; the building of churches, and consequently the assigning of either parishes or benefices, was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principal owners of land; in which consideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did so far benefit the church, had by common consent granted (as great equity and reason was) a right for them and their heirs till the world's end, to nominate in those benefices men whose quality the bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence inevitably such inequality of parishes hath grown, as causeth some, through the multitude of people which have resort unto one church, to be more than any one man can wield, and some to be of that nature by reason of chapels annexed, that they which are incumbents should wrong the church, if so be they had not certain stipendiaries under them, because where the corps of the profit or benefice is but one, the title can be but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reason, whereby it may clearly appear how expedient it is, and profitable for the church to admit ordinations without title, this little may suffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations against it are out of ancient canons; how untrue their confident asseverations, that only through negligence of popish prelates, the custom of making such kind of ministers hath prevailed in the church of *Rome* against their canons, and that with us it is expressly against the laws of our own government, when a minister doth serve as a stipendiary curate, which kind of service nevertheless the greatest rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howsoever they are loth peradventure to be named curates, stipendiaries they are,
and

and the labour they bestow is in other mens cures; a thing not unlawful for them to do, yet unseemly for them to condemn which practise it. I might here discover the like over-sight throughout all their discourses, made in behalf of the peoples pretended right to elect their ministers, before the bishop may lawfully ordain. But because we have elsewhere at large disputed of popular elections, and of the right of patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoever the people under any pretence of colour may seem to challenge, about admission and choice of the pastors that shall feed their souls, I cannot see what one duty there is which always ought to go before ordination, but only care of the parties worthiness as well for integrity and virtue, as knowledge; yea for virtue more: in as much as defect of knowledge may sundry ways be supplied, but the scandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

Of the learning that should be in ministers, their residence, and the number of their livings.

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that three-fold blot or blemish of notable ignorance, unconscionable absence from the cures, whereof men have taken charge, and unfariable hunting after spiritual preferments, without either care or conscience of the publick good. Whereof, to the end that we may consider, as in God's own sight and presence with all uprightness, sincerity and truth, let us particularly weigh and examine in every of them, first, how far forth they are reproveable by reasons and maxims of common right; secondly, whether that which our laws do permit, be repugnant to those maxims, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practised in this case, neither on the one hand defending that which must be acknowledged out of square, nor on the other side condemning rashly whom we lift for whatsoever we disallow. Touching arguments therefore taken from the principles of common right, to prove that ministers

should ^a be learned, that they ought to be ^b resident upon their livings, and that ^c more than one only benefice or spiritual living may not be granted unto one man; the first, because St. *Paul* requireth in a minister ability to teach, to convince, to distribute the word

^a T. C. l. 1. p. 70. ^b 66. ^c 69. 1 Tim. 3. 2. Titus 1. 9. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Hosea 4. 6. Matthe. 15. 14. Luke 2. 8. Acts 20. 2. 1 Sam. 1. 19. 1 Tim. 4. 12. John 10. 4. 1 Pet. 5. 2. Acts 20. 28. 1 Theff. 2. 17. *Council. Nic. Cap.* 15. Matthe. 6. 24. 1 Cor. 7. 24.

rightly; because also the Lord himself hath protested they shall be no priests to him which have rejected knowledge, and because if the blind lead the blind, they must both needs fall into the pit; the second, because teachers are shepherds, whose flocks can be no time secure from danger; they are watchmen whom the enemy doth always besiege; their labours in the word and sacraments admit no intermission; their duty requireth instruction and conference with men in private; they are the living oracles of God, to whom the people must resort for counsel; they are commanded to be patterns of holiness, leaders, feeders, supervisors amongst their own; it should be their grief, as it was the apostles, to be absent, though necessarily, from them over whom they have taken charge; finally, the last, because plurality and residence are opposite; because the placing of one clerk in two churches is a point of merchandize and filthy gain; because no man can serve two masters; because every one should remain in that vocation whereunto he is called; what conclude they of all this? Against ignorance, against non-residence, and against plurality of livings, is there any man so raw and dull, but that the volumes which have been written both of old and of late, may make him in so plentiful a cause eloquent? For if by that which is generally just and requisite, we measure what knowledge there should be in a minister of the gospel of Christ; the arguments which light of nature offereth; the laws and statutes which scripture hath; the canons that are taken out of ancient synods; the decrees and constitutions of sincerest times; the sentences of all antiquity; and in a word, even every man's full consent and conscience is against ignorance in them that have charge and cure of souls. Again, what availeth it if we be learned and not faithful? Or what benefit hath the church of Christ, if there be in us sufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the pains and industry therefore, wherewith men are in conscience bound to attend the work of their heavenly calling, even as much as in them lyeth bending thereunto their whole endeavour, without either fraud, sophistication, or guile; I see not what more effectual obligation or bond of duty there should be urged, than their own only vow and promise made unto God himself at the time of their ordination. The work which they have undertaken requireth both care and fear. Their sloth that negligently perform it, maketh them subject to malediction. Besides, we also know that the fruit of our pains in this function, is life both to our selves and others. And do we yet need incitements to labour? Shall we stop our ears both against those conjuring exhor-

exhortations which apostles, and against the fearful comminations which prophets have uttered out of the mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation of our sluggishness in this behalf? St. Paul, *Attend to your selves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you over-seers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Again, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and the dead at his coming, preach the word; be instant.* Jeremiah, *Wo unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture; I will visit you for the wickedness of your works, saith the Lord; the remnant of my sheep I will gather together out of all countries, and will bring them again to their folds; they shall grow and increase, and I will set up shepherds over them; which shall feed them.* Ezekiel, *Should not the shepherds, should they not feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye cloath your selves with the wool, but the weak ye have not strengthened, the sick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away: Ye have not enquired after that which was lost, but with cruelty and rigor have ruled.*—And veric 8. *Wherefore, as I live, I will require, &c.* Nor let us think to excuse our selves, if haply we labour, though it be at random, and sit not altogether idle abroad. For we are bound to attend that part of the flock of Christ, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made us over-seers. The residence of ministers upon their own peculiar charge, is by so much the rather necessary, for that absenting themselves from the place where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reap the comfort which sweetneth life to them that spend it in these travels upon their own. For it is in this as in all things else, which are through private interest dearer, than what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in part, and according to the rate of a general regard. As for plurality, it hath not only the same inconveniencies which are observed to grow by absence; but over and besides, at the least in common construction, a shew of that worldly humour which men do think should not reign so high. Now from hence their collections are as followeth; first, a repugnancy or contradiction between the principles of common right, and that which our laws in special considerations have allowed: secondly, a nullity or fruition of all such acts as are by them supposed opposite to those principles, an invalidity in all ordinations of men unable to preach, and in all dispensations which mitigate the law of common right for the other two: And why so? Forsooth, because whatever we do in these three cases, and not by virtue of common right, we must yield it of necessity done by warrant of peculiar right or privilege. Now a privilege is said to be that, that for favour of certain persons cometh forth against common right; things prohibited are dispensed with, because things permitted are dispatched by common right, but things forbidden require dispensations. By which descriptions of a privilege and dispensation it is (they say) apparent, that a privilege must license and authorize the same which the law against ignorance, non-residence, and plurality doth infringe; and so be a law contrariant or repugnant to the law of nature and the law of God, because all the reasons whereupon the positive law of man against these three was first established, are taken and drawn from the law of nature, and the law of God. For answer whereunto, we will but lead them to answer themselves. First therefore, if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the self-same subject to be meant on both parts, where opposition is pretended, it will follow that either the maxims of common right do enforce the *very same things* not to be good which we say are good, grounding our selves on the reasons by virtue whereof our privileges are established; or if the one do not reach unto that particular subject for which the other have provided, then is there no contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally must be false. And therefore if the principles of common right do at any time truly enforce that particular not to be good, which privileges make good, it argueth invincibly that such privileges have been grounded upon some error. But to say, that every privilege is opposite unto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath gross absurdity. For the voice of equity and justice is, that a general law doth never derogate from a special privilege; whereas if the one were contrary to the other, a general law being in force should always dissolve a privilege. The reason why many are deceived by imagining that so it should do, and why men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the *subject* or *matter* it self; which matter indefinitely considered in laws of common right, is in privileges

considered as *beset and limited with special circumstances*; by means whereof to them which respect it but by way of generality, it seemeth one and the same in both, although it be not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts do always propose perfection, not such as none can attain unto, for then in vain should we ask or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must aim at; to the end that as largely as human providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Moral laws are the rules of politick; those politick, which are made to order the whole church of God, rules unto all particular churches; and the laws of every particular church, rules unto every particular man within the body of the same church. Now because the higher we ascend in these rules, the further still we remove from those specialties, which being proper to the subject whereupon our actions must work, are therefore chiefly considered by us, by them least thought upon, that wade altogether in the two first kinds of general directions, their judgment cannot be exact and sound concerning either laws of churches, or actions of men in particular, because they determine of effects by a part of the causes only out of which they grow; they judge conclusions by demi-premises, and half principles; they lay them in the balance stript from those necessary material circumstances which should give them weight; and by shew of falling uneven with the scale of most universal and abstracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why men altogether conversant in study, do know how to teach, but not how to govern; men experienced contrariwise govern well, yet know not which way to set down orderly the precepts and reasons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, must join with his forms and conceits of general speculation, the matter wherein our actions are conversant. For by this shall appear what equity there is in those privileges and peculiar grants or favours, which otherwise will seem repugnant to justice, and because in themselves considered, they have a shew of repugnancy, this deceiveth those great clerks, which hearing a privilege defined to be an *especial right brought in by their power and authority. that make it for some publick benefit, against the general course of reason*, are not able to comprehend how the word *against* doth import *exception* without any *opposition* at all. For inasmuch as the hand of justice must distribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with respect had no less of particular circumstances, than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all sorts with one measure, the wills, counsels, qualities and states of men being divers. For example, the law of common right bindeth all men to keep their promises, perform their compacts, and answer the faith they have given either for themselves or others. Notwithstanding he which bargaineth with one under years, can have no benefit by this allegation, because he bringeth it against a person which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain men from the law of common right is against God, against nature, against whatsoever may avail to strengthen and justify that law before alledged; or else acknowledge (as the truth is) that special causes are to be ordered by special rules; that if men grown unto ripe age disadvantage themselves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done is strong and in force against them, because they are able to dispose and manage their own affairs; whereas youth for lack of experience and judgment, being easily subject to circumvention, is therefore justly exempt from the law of common right, whereunto the rest are justly subject? This plain inequality between men of years, and under years, is a cause why equity and justice cannot apply equally the same general rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a special privilege. Privileges are either transitory or permanent: Transitory, such as serve only some one turn, or at the most extend no farther than to this or that man, with the end of whose natural life they expire; permanent, such as the use whereof doth continue still, for that they belong unto certain kinds of men and causes which never dye. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for just considerations one sort of men enjoyeth above another, both in the church and commonwealth, no man suspecting them of contrariety to any branch of those laws or reasons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general laws and rules, whereby it cannot be denied but the church of God standeth bound to provide that the ministry may be learned, that they which have charge may reside upon it, and that it may not be free for them in scandalous manner to multiply ecclesiastical livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the laws of the church of *England* do admit, which may be thought

Ius singulare est, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem auctoritate constituentium introductum est. Paulus ff. de legib.

Privilegium personale cum persona extinguitur, & privilegium datum actioni transit cum actione. Op. de Regulis. p. 1. 227.

repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what special consideration they seem to admit the same. Considering therefore, that to furnish all places of cure in this realm, it is not an army of twelve thousand learned men that would suffice, nor two universities that can always furnish as many as decay in so great a number, nor a fourth part of the living with cure, that when they fall are able to yield sufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plain that unless the greatest part of the people should be left utterly without the publick use and exercise of religion, there is no remedy but to take into the ecclesiastical order a number of men meanly qualified in respect of learning? For whatsoever we may imagine in our private closets, or talk for communication sake at our boards, yea, or write in our books through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each man's duty, if once we come from the theory of learning, to take out so many learned men, let them be diligently viewed out of whom the choice shall be made, and thereby an estimate made what degree of skill we must either admit, or else leave numbers utterly destitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men endued with sense of common equity will soon discern, that, besides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to descend to a lower step, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When we commend any man for learning, our speech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when laws do require learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any function, our measure to judge a learned man by, must be some certain degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man so qualified. And if every man that listeth may set that degree himself, how shall we ever know when laws are broken, when kept, seeing one man may think a lower degree sufficient, another may judge them insufficient, that are not qualified in some higher degree. Wherefore of necessity either we must have some judge, in whose conscience they that are thought and pronounced sufficient, are to be so accepted and taken, or else the law it self is to set down the very lowest degree of fitness that shall be allowable in this kind. So that the question doth grow to this issue. *St. Paul* requireth learning in presbyters, yea such learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is sound, and to disprove them that gain-say it. What measure of ability in such things, shall serve to make men capable of that kind of office, he doth not himself precisely determine, but referreth it to the conscience of *Titus*, and others which Tit. 1. 9. had to deal in ordering presbyters. We must therefore of necessity make this demand, whether the church, lacking such as the apostle would have chosen, may with good conscience take out of such as it hath in a meaner degree of fitness, them that may serve to perform the service of publick prayer, to minister the sacraments unto the people, to solemnize marriage, to visit the sick, and bury the dead, to instruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet so able to benefit and feed Christ's flock. We constantly hold, that in this case the apostles law is not broken. He requireth more in presbyters, than there is found in many whom the church of *England* alloweth. But no man being tied unto impossibilities, to do that we cannot, we are not bound. It is but a stratagem of theirs therefore, and a very indirect practice, when they publish large declamations to prove that learning is required in the ministry, and to make the silly people believe that the contrary is maintained by the bishops, and upheld by the laws of the land; whereas the question in truth is not, whether learning be required, but whether a church, wherein there is not sufficient store of learned men to furnish all congregations, should do better to let thousands of souls grow savage, to let them live without any publick service of God, to let their children dye unbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like pagans, without any thing so much as read unto them concerning the way of life, than, as it doth in this necessity, to make such presbyters as are so far forth sufficient, although they want that ability of preaching which some others have. In this point therefore we obey necessity, and of two evils we take the less; in the rest a publick utility is sought, and in regard thereof some certain inconveniencies tolerated, because they are recompensed with greater good. The law giveth liberty of non-residence for a time to such as will live in universities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that so they may afterwards the more edify, and the better instruct their congregations. The church in their absence is not destitute, the peoples salvation not neglected for the present time, the time of their absence is in the intendment of law bestowed to the churches great advantage and benefit; those necessary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, than if their pastors had continually abidden with them.

them. So that the law doth hereby provide in some part to remedy and help that evil, which the former necessity hath imposed upon the church. For compare two men of equal meanness, the one perpetually resident, the other absent for a space in such sort as the law permitteth. Allot unto both some nine years continuance with cure of souls. And must not three years absence, in all probability and likelihood, make the one more profitable than the other unto God's church, by so much as the increase of his knowledge, gotten in those three years, may add unto six years travel following? For the greater ability there is added to the instrument, wherewith it pleaseth God to save souls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwise hardlier effected. As much may be said touching absence granted to them that attend in the families of bishops, which schools of gravity, discretion and wisdom, preparing men against the time that they come to reside abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fittest places that any ingenious mind can wish to enter into, between departure from private study, and access to a more publick charge of souls; yea no less expedient, for men of the best sufficiency and most maturity in knowledge, than the very universities themselves are for the ripening of such as be raw. Employment in the families of noblemen, or in princes courts, hath another end for which the self-same leave is given, not without great respect to the good of the whole church. For assuredly, whosoever doth well observe how much all inferior things depend upon the orderly courses and motions of those great orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the angels assisting them should be driven to betake themselves to other stations, although by nature they were not tyed where they now are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending their rooms above should become vacant. For we are not to dream in this case of any platform which bringeth equally high and low unto parish-churches, nor of any constraint to maintain at their own charge men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the majesty and greatness of *English* nobility, the other so improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, seem not indeed to have conceived what either is. But the eye of the law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and secret dispositions of men, it beholdeth how far one star differeth from another in glory, and as mens several degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal personages privileges correspondent to their high estates, and that not only in civil, but even in spiritual affairs, to the end they may love that religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminishes their dignity and greatness, but to do them good doth them honour also, and by such extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the church of God, the same which the church of God esteemeth them, more worth than thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the laws of this realm have given liberty of non-residence to some, that their knowledge may be increased, and their labours by that means be made afterwards the more profitable to others, lest the houses of great-men should want that daily exercise of religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the laws themselves with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in granting to some that liberty of addition or plurality, which necessarily inforceth their absence, is a mere both just and conscionable regard, that as men are in quality, and as their services are in weight for the publick good, so likewise their rewards and encouragements by special privilege of law, might somewhat declare how the state it self doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their bestial and savage rudeness, which think that oxen should only labour, and asses feed. Thus to readers in universities, whose very paper and book-expences, their ancient allowances and stipends at this day do either not, or hardly sustain; to governors of colleges, lest the great over-plus of charges necessarily enforced upon them, by reason of their place, and very slenderly supplied, by means of that charge in the present condition of things, which their founders could not foresee; to men called away from their cures, and employed in weightier business, either of the church or common-wealth, because to impose upon them a burden which requireth their absence, and not to release them from the duty of residence, were a kind of cruel and barbarous injustice; to residents in cathedral churches, or upon dignities ecclesiastical, soasmuch as these being rooms of greater hospitality, places of more respect and consequence than the rest, they are the rather to be furnished with men of best quality, and the men for their qualities sake to be favoured above others: I say, unto all these in
regard

regard of their worth and merit, the law hath therefore given leave, while themselves bear weightier burdens, to supply inferior by deputation, and in like consideration partly, partly also by way of honour to learning, nobility and authority, permitteth, that men which have taken theological degrees in schools, the suffragans of bishops, the household-chaplains of men of honour, or in great offices, the brethren and sons of Lords temporal, or of knights, if God shall move the hearts of such to enter at any time into holy orders, may obtain to themselves a faculty or licence to hold two ecclesiastical livings, though having cure; any spiritual person of the queen's council, three such livings; her chaplains, what number of promotions her self in her own princely wisdom thinketh good to bestow upon them. But, as it fareth in such cases, the gap which for just considerations we open unto some, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom such favours were neither meant, nor should be communicated. The greatness of the harvest, and the scarcity of able workmen hath made it necessary, that law should yield to admit numbers of men but slenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, because whom all other worldly hopes have forsaken, they commonly reserve ministerial vocation as their last and surest refuge, ever open to forlorn men; the church that should nourish them whose service she needeth, hath obtruded upon her their service that know not otherwise how to live and sustain themselves. These finding nothing more easy than means to procure the writing of a few lines to some one or other which hath authority; and nothing more usual than too much facility in condescending unto such requests; are often received into that vocation, wherunto their unworthiness is no small disgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of *Jeroboam's* prophane apostasy, than that he chose to have his clergy the scum and refuse of his whole land? Let no man spare to tell it them, that they are not faithful towards God, that burden wilfully his church with such swarms of unworthy creatures. I will not say of all degrees in the ministry, that which *St. Chrysostom* doth of the highest, *He that will undertake so weighty a charge, had need to be a man of great understanding, rarely assisted with divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other virtues, to have in him more than a man*: But surely this I will say with *Chrysostom*, *We need not doubt whether God be highly displeased with us, or what the cause of his anger is, if things of so great fear and holiness as are the least and lowest duties of his service, be thrown wilfully on them whose not only mean, but bad and scandalous quality doth defile whatsoever they handle*. These eye-sores and blemishes in continual attendants about the service of God's sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly resort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them, through a wearisome contempt of their persons, which for a time only live by religion, and are for recompence, in fine, the death of the nurse that feedeth them. It is not obscure, how incommodious the church hath found both this abuse of the liberty which law is enforced to grant; and not only this, but the like abuse of that favour also, which law in other considerations already mentioned affordeth, touching residence and plurality of spiritual livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the church, against the purpose of those very laws, which notwithstanding are pretended in defence and justification thereof, we must needs acknowledge no less repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of tyrants to the principles of just sovereignty. Howbeit not so those special privileges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serve malice. There is in the patriarch of heathen philosophers this precept, *Let no husbandman, nor no handicraftsman be a priest*. The reason whereupon he groundeth, is a maxim in the law of nature; it importeth greatly the good of all men that God be revered, with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publicly employed in his service, should live of base and manuary trades. Now compare here with the apostles words, *Ye know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and them that are with me*. What think we? Did the apostle any thing opposite herein, or repugnant to the rules and maxims of the law of nature? The self-same reasons that accord his actions with the law of nature, shall declare our privileges and his laws no less consonant. Thus therefore we see, that although they urge very colourably the apostles own sentences, requiring that a minister should be able to divide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charge should attend unto it themselves, which in absence they cannot do, and that they which have divers cures, must of necessity be absent from some, whereby the law apostolick seemeth apparently broken, which law requiring attendance, cannot otherwise be understood

Chrysost. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 15.

ἵνα ἡ εὐσεβεία καὶ ἡ ἁγιότης τοῦ ἱεροῦ μὴ ὀκλήσῃ
ἵνα οἱ ἐκείνοι οὐκ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ Χριστός
ἵνα οἱ ἐκείνοι οὐκ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ Χριστός

Acts 20. 34.
1 Cor. 4. 12.
1 Thes. 2. 9.
2 Thes. 3. 8.

than so as to charge them with perpetual residence : Again, though in every of these causes they indefinitely heap up the sentences of fathers, the decrees of popes, the ancient edicts of imperial authority, our own national laws and ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding evermore their prohibitions partly on the laws of God, and partly on reasons drawn from the light of nature, yet hereby to gather and infer contradiction between those laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain cases have allowed the ordaining of sundry ministers, whose sufficiency for learning is but mean ; again, the licensing of some to be absent from their flocks, and of others to hold more than one only living which hath cure of souls ; I say, to conclude repugnancy between these especial permissions, and the former general prohibitions which set not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both sorts of law concern. If then the considerations be reasonable, just and good, whereupon we ground whatsoever our laws have by special right permitted, if only the effects of abused privileges be repugnant to the maxims of common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatsoever they have built thereupon, falleth necessarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon surmise, or vain supposal of opposition between our special and the principles of common right, they gather that such as are with us ordained ministers, before they can preach, be neither lawful, because the laws already mentioned forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeed ministers, although we commonly so name them, but whatsoever they execute by virtue of such their pretended vocation is void ; that all our grants and tolerations as well of this as the rest, are frustrate and of no effect ; the persons that enjoy them possess them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all hours ; finally, that other just and sufficient remedy of evils there can be none, besides the utter abrogations of these our mitigations, and the strict establishment of former ordinances to be absolutely executed whatsoever follow : Albeit the answer already made, in discovery of the weak and unsound foundation, whereupon they have built these erroneous collections, may be thought sufficient ; yet because our desire is rather to satisfy, if it be possible, than to shake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the causes of all particulars more formally and largely, than the equity of our own defence doth require.

There is crept into the minds of men, at this day, a secret pernicious and pestilent conceit, that the greatest perfection of a christian man doth consist in discovery of other mens faults, and in wit to discourse of our own profession. When the world most abounded with just, righteous and perfect men, their chiefest study was the exercise of piety, wherein for their safest direction, they reverently hearkened to the readings of the law of God, they kept in mind the oracles and aphorisms of wisdom, which tended unto virtuous life ; if any scruple of conscience did trouble them for matter of actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counsel and advice were had, for fear lest rashly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgment is riper, but because our desires are another way.

* Ἄλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ πράξις ἐστίν, ὅτ' ὁ τὸν λόγον ἐξήρασαν ἡρώδης ἐισαγὰς φιλοσοφῆσαι, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποστολαῖς ὁμοίαν τὴν ποιήσαντες τοῖς καμύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡλίαν ἀκούσας μὴ ἐπιμελῶς ταῖς ἐν ἡμῶν πρᾶξις ὡς ἐπὶ πρᾶξις ὡς ἐπὶ ἀποστολῶν. ὡς πρὶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἔδει τοῖς ἀποστολῶν ὡς πρὶν ἀποστολῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποστολῶν ὡς πρὶν ἀποστολῶν. *Anti. Eib. l. 2. c. 5.*

Their scope was obedience, ours is skill ; their endeavour was reformation of life, ^a our virtue nothing but to hear gladly the reproof of vice ; they in the practise of their religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we especially our ears and tongues. We are grown as

in many things else, so in this, to a kind of intemperancy, which (only sermons excepted) hath almost brought all other duties of religion out of taste. At the least they are not in that account and reputation which they should be. Now, because men bring all religion in a manner to the only office of hearing sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited, do embrace any special opinion different from other men, the sermons that relish not that opinion, can in no wise please their appetite. Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the string they look for, are respected as unprofitable, the rest as unlawful ; and indeed no ministers, if the faculty of sermons want. For why ? A minister of the word should, they say, be able rightly to *divide* the word. Which apostolick canon many think they do well observe, when in opening the sentences of holy scripture, they draw all things favourably spoken unto one side ; but whatsoever is reprehensive, severe and sharp, they have others on the contrary part, whom that must always concern ; by which their over-partial and un-indifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongst the people to divide the word, they make the word

word a mean to divide and distract the people. *Ὁρδοῦμεν*, *to divide aright*, doth note in the apostles writings soundness of doctrine only; and in meaning standeth opposite to *ἡντιοῦμεν*, *the broaching of new opinions against that which is received*. For questionless the first things delivered to the church of Christ, were pure and sincere truth. Which whosoever did afterwards oppugn, could not chuse but divide the church into two moieties; in which division, such as taught what was first believed, held the truer part; the contrary side, in that they were teachers of novelty, erred. For prevention of which evil there are in this church many singular and well devised remedies; as namely the use of subscribing to the articles of religion before admission to degrees of learning, or to any ecclesiastical living: the custom of reading the same articles, and of approving them in publick assemblies, wherefoever men have benefices with cure of souls; the order of testifying under their hands allowance of the book of Common-prayer, and the book of ordaining ministers; finally, the discipline and moderate severity which is used, either in otherwise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturb the church with doctrines which tend unto innovation; it being better that the church should want altogether the benefit of such men's labours, than endure the mischief of their inconformity to good laws; in which case, if any repine at the course and proceedings of justice, they must learn to content themselves with the answer of *M. Curius*, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the body ^{Valer. l. 6. c. 3.} of the commonwealth; in whose behalf because it might have been pleaded, that the party was a man serviceable, he therefore began his judicial sentence with this preamble, *Non esse opus Reip. eo civi qui parere nesciret*; *The commonwealth needeth men of quality, yet never those men which have not learned how to obey*. But the ways which the church of *England* hath taken to provide, that they who are teachers of others may do it soundly, that the purity and unity as well of ancient discipline as doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding singularities we may all glorify God with one heart and one tongue, they of all men do least approve, that do most urge the apostles rule and canon. For which cause they alledge it not so much to that purpose, as to prove that unpreaching ministers (for so they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the church of God. *St. Augustin* hath said of the will of man, that *simply to will proceedeth from nature, but our well-willing is from grace*. We say as much of the minister of God; *publickly to teach and instruct the church, is necessary in every ecclesiastical minister; but ability to teach by sermons, is a grace which God doth bestow on them, whom he maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their duty*. That therefore wherein a minister differeth from other christian men is not, as some have ^{Ox. man. 1. 21.} childishly imagined, the *sound preaching of the word of God*; but as they are lawfully and truly governors, to whom authority of regiment is given in the commonwealth, according to the order which polity hath set, so canonical ordination in the church of Christ, is that which maketh a lawful minister, *as touching the validity of any act which appertaineth to that vocation*. The cause why *St. Paul* willed *Timothy* not to be over-hasty in ordaining ministers, was (as we very well may conjecture) because imposition of hands doth consecrate and make them ministers, whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable discharge of their duties or no. If want of learning and skill to preach, did frustrate their vocation, ministers ordained before they be grown unto that maturity, should receive new ordination, whensoever it chanceth that study and industry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the office; than which what conceit can be more absurd? Was not *St. Augustine* himself contented to admit an assistant in his own church, a man of small erudition, considering that what he wanted in knowledge, was supplied by those virtues which made his life a better orator, than more learning could make others, whose conversation was less holy? Were the priests sithence *Moses* all able and sufficient men, learnedly to interpret the law of God? Or was it ever imagined that this defect should frustrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by virtue of their priesthood? Surely, as in magistrates the want of those gifts which their office needeth, is cause of just imputation of blame in them that wittingly chuse insufficient and unfit men, when they might do otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor every action of magistracy frustrate in that respect; so whether it were of necessity, or even of very carelessness, that men unable to preach should be taken in pastors rooms, nevertheless it seemeth to be an error in them which think, the lack of any such perfection defeateth utterly the calling. To wish that all men were qualified as their places and dignities require, to hate all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let, to covet speedy redress of those things whatsoever, whereby the church sustaineth detriment, these good and virtu-

The author
of the ab-
stract.

ous desires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Notwithstanding, some in the true vehemency and others under the fair pretence of these desires, have adventured that which is strange, that which is violent and unjust. There are which in confidence of their general allegation concerning the knowledge, the residence and the single livings of ministers, presume not only to annihilate the solemn ordinations of such as the church must of force admit, but also to urge a kind of universal proscription against them, to set down articles, to draw commissions, and almost to name themselves of the *Quorum*, for enquiry into men's estates and dealings, whom at their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselves list, and that not for any violation of laws either spiritual or civil, but because men have trusted the laws too far, because they have held and enjoyed the liberty which law granteth, because they had not the wit to conceive as these men do, that laws were made to entrap the simple, by permitting those things in shew and appearance, which indeed should never take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a secret condition to be put in practice, *If they should be profitable and agreeable with the word of God*; which condition failing in all ministers that cannot preach, in all that are absent from their livings, and in all that have divers livings (for so it must be presumed, though never as yet proved) therefore as men which have broken the law of God and nature,^a they are depriveable at all hours. Is this the justice of that discipline whereunto all christian churches must stoop and submit themselves? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the world? I will no way diminish the force of those arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another glass, there are civil as well as ecclesiastical insufficiencies, non-residences, and pluralities; yea, the reasons which light of nature hath ministered against both are of such affinity, that much less they cannot enforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great offices be persons of mean worth, the contempt

^a Μεγάλων κύριος κερδεύωντες ἂν διπλοῦς ὡς μεγάλη βλάβη ἴσσι. Aristot. Polit. 2. c. 11.

^b Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri. Mamertin. paneg. ad Julian.

^c Neque enim equum visum est absentem Reipub. causa inter reos referri, dum Reipub. operatur. Ulpian. l. 15. Si maritus ad legem Julian. de adulter.

^d Arist. Polit. l. 2. c. 11. See the like preamble framed by the author of the abstract, where he fancieth a bishop deposing one unapt to preach, whom himself had before ordained.

whereinto their Authority groweth, ^a weakeneth the sinews of the whole state. Notwithstanding, where many governors are needful, and they not many whom their quality can commend, ^b the penury of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable. Cities, in the absence of their governors, are as ships wanting pilots at sea: But were it therefore ^c justice to punish whom superior authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere? In committing ^d many offices to one

man, there are apparently these inconveniences; the commonwealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable men, which might be trained up in those rooms; it is not easy for one man to discharge many men's duties well; in service of warfare and navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatsoever is undertaken, if one or two should ingross such offices, as being now divided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Nevertheless, be it far from the mind of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kind of grants, though made with very special respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their offices with speech to this or the like effect; *For as much as you A B by the space of many years have done us that faithful service in most important affairs, for which we always judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time very great and weighty offices, which hitherto you quietly enjoy: We are now given to understand, that certain grave and learned men have found in the books of ancient philosophers, divers arguments drawn from the common light of nature, and declaring the wonderful discommodities which use to grow by dignities thus heaped together in one; for which cause, at this present, moved in conscience and tender care for the publick good, we have summoned you hither to dispossess you of those places, and to depose you from those rooms whereof, indeed by virtue of our own grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other, to think us rash, light, or inconstant, in so doing: For we tell you plain, that herein we will both say and do that thing which the noble and wise emperor sometime both said and did in a matter of far less weight than this: Quod inconsulto fecimus, consulto revocamus, That which we unadvisedly have done, we advisedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part, the greatest harm I would wish them who think that this were

were consonant with equity and right, is, that they might but live where all things are with such kind of justice ordered, till experience have taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof we speak, namely, what course were the best and safest, whereby to remedy such evils as the church of God may sustain, where the present liberty of the law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of God's own sacred house and family. The *Romans* being a people full of generosity, and by nature courtous, did no way more shew their gentle disposition, than by easy condescending to set their bondmen at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the commonwealth, was bestowed for the most part as an ordinary reward of virtue, some few now and then also purchasing freedom with that which their just labours could gain, and their honest frugality save. But as the empire daily grew up, so the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured, and virtue not cared for; neither did any thing seem opprobrious, out of which there might arise commodity and profit, so that it could be no marvel in a state thus far degenerated; if when the more ingenuous sort were become base, the baser laying aside all shame and face of honesty, did some by robberies, burglaries, and prostitution of their bodies, gather wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the same at the hands of their lords, by serving them as vile instruments in those attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thousand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite historian, having mentioned so foul disorders, giveth his judgment and censure of them in this sort:

Such eye-sores in the commonwealth have occasioned many virtuous minds to condemn altogether the custom of granting liberty to any bond slave, for as much as it seemed a thing absurd, that a people which commands all the world, should consist of so vile refuse. Dionys. Hal. car. Rom. antiq. l. 4.

But neither is this the only custom wherein the profitable inventions of former ages are depraved by latter ages; and for my self I am not of their opinion, that with the abrogation of so grossly used customs, which abrogation might peradventure be cause of greater inconveniences ensuing: but as much as may be, I would rather advise that redress were sought through the careful providence of chief rulers and overseers of the commonwealth, by whom a yearly survey being made of all that are manumitted, they which seem worthy might be taken and divided into tribes with other citizens, the rest dispersed into colonies abroad, or otherwise disposed of, that the commonwealth might sustain neither harm nor disgrace by them. The ways to meet with disorders growing by abuse of laws, are not so intricate and secret, especially in our case, that men should need either much advertisement, or long time for the search thereof. And if counsel to that purpose may seem needful, this church (God be thanked) is not destitute of men endued with ripe judgment, whensoever any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which end, at this present, to propose any special inventions of my own, might argue in a man of my place and calling more presumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it entire unto graver consideration, ending now with request only and most earnest suit, first, that they which give ordination would, as they tender the very honour of Jesus Christ, the safety of men, and the endless good of their own souls, take heed lest unnecessarily, and through their default the church be found worse or less furnished than it might be: Secondly, that they which by right of patronage have power to present unto spiritual livings, and may in that respect much damnify the church of God, would, for the ease of their own account in the dreadful day, somewhat consider what it is to betray for gain the souls which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity and solemn promise given at the first to God and his church by them, from whose original interest, together with the self-same title of right, the same obligation of duty likewise is descended: Thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of dispensations is committed, or which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such preferments as appertain unto learned men, would bethink themselves what it is to respect any thing either above or beside merit; considering how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and quality there is so little respect had, or so great unto them whose defects are very mean, that nothing doth seem more strange than the one sort, because they are not accounted of, and the other because they are; it being every man's hope and expectation in the church of God, especially that the only purchase of greater rewards should be always greater deserts, and that nothing should ever be able to plant a thorn where a vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honourable personages, and they who by virtue of any principal office in the commonwealth, are enabled to qualify a certain number, and make them capable of favours or faculties above others, suffer not their names to be abused,

contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholesome laws, by men in whom there is nothing notable besides covetousness and ambition : Fifthly, that the graver and wiser sort in both universities, or whosoever they be, with whose approbation the marks and recognizances of all learning are bestowed, would think the apostles caution against unadvised ordinations, not impertinent or unnecessary to be born in mind, even when they grant those degrees of schools, which degrees are not *gratie gratis data*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratia gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a testimony given to the church and commonwealth concerning men's sufficiency for manners and knowledge : A testimony upon the credit whereof sundry statutes of the realm are built ; a testimony so far available, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of divers men's abilities to serve in the affairs of the realm ; a testimony wherein if they violate that religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and do thereby induce into error such as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in question, let them look that God shall return back upon their heads, and cause them in the state of their own corporations to feel, either one way or other, the punishment of those harms which the church through their negligence doth sustain in that behalf : Finally, and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any special indulgence or favour, which the laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the church, and in conscience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by using to their own advantage whatsoever they see tolerated ; no man being ignorant, that the cause why absence in some cases hath been yielded unto, and in equity thought sufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through industry elsewhere ; the reason likewise wherefore pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very sovereign and special care, that as fathers in the ancient world did declare the pre-eminence of priority in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their first-born ; so the church by a course not unlike, in assigning men's rewards, might testify an estimation had proportionably of their virtues, according to the ancient rule apostolick, *They which excel in labour, ought to excel in honour* ; and therefore unless they answer faithfully the expectation of the church herein, unless sincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to sow because they reap, and to sow so much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of such benignities they formally bind themselves, let them be well assured, that the honey which they eat with fraud, shall turn in the end into true gall, for as much as laws are the sacred image of his wisdom, who most severely punisheth those colourable and subtil crimes, that seldom are taken within the walk of human justice. I therefore conclude, that the grounds and maxims of common right, whereupon ordinations of ministers unable to preach, tolerations of absence from their cures, and the multiplications of their spiritual livings, are disproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful universally and without exception ; that the laws which indefinitely are against all these things, and the privileges which make for them in certain cases, are not the one repugnant to the other ; that the laws of God and nature are violated through the effects of abused privileges ; that neither our ordinations of men unable to make sermons, nor our dispensations for the rest, can be justly proved frustrate, by virtue of any such surmised opposition between the special laws of this church, which have permitted, and those general which are alledged to disprove the same ; that when privileges by abuse are grown incommodious, there must be redress ; that for remedy of such evils, there is no necessity the church should abrogate either in whole or in part the specialities before-mentioned ; and that the most to be desired, were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands, which may give passage unto any abuse.

For the main hypothesis or foundation of these conclusions, let that before set down in the 9th, be read together with this last the 81st paragraph.

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O F T H E

L A W S

O F

Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K VI.

Containing their fifth Assertion, That our laws are corrupt and repugnant to the laws of God, in matter belonging to the power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in that we have not throughout all churches certain lay-elders, established for the exercise of that power.

THE same men which in heat of contention, do hardly either speak or give ear to reason, being after sharp and bitter conflicts retired to a calm remembrance of all their former proceedings; the causes that brought them into quarrel, the course which their striving affections have followed, and the issue whereunto they are come, may peradventure as troubled waters, in small time of their own accord, by certain easy degrees settle themselves again; and so recover that clearness of well advised judgment, whereby they shall stand at the length indifferent both to yield and admit any reasonable satisfaction, where before they could not endure with patience to be gain-said. Neither will I despair of the like success in these unpleasant controversies touching ecclesiastical polity; the time of silence which both parts have willingly taken to breathe, seeming now as it were a pledge of all men's quiet contentment to hear with more indifferency the weightiest and last remains of that cause, jurisdiction, dignity, dominion ecclesiastical. For, let not any imagine that the bare and naked difference of a few ceremonies, could either have kindled so much fire, or have caused it to flame so long; but that the parties which herein laboured mightily for change, and (as they say) for reformation, had somewhat more than this mark whereto aim.

Having therefore drawn out a compleat form, as they suppose, of publick service to be done to God, and set down their plot for the office of the ministry in that behalf; they very well knew how little their labours, so far forth bestowed, would avail them in the end, without a claim of jurisdiction to uphold the fabrick which they had erected; and this neither likely to be obtained but by the strong hand of the people, nor the people unlikely to favour it; the more, if overture were made of their own interest, right and title thereunto. Whereupon there are many which have conjectured this to be the cause, why in all their projects of their discipline (it being manifest that their drift is to wrest the key of spiritual authority out of the hands of former governors, and equally to possess therewith the pastors of all several congregations) the people first for surer accomplishment, and then for better defense thereof, are pretended necessary actors in those things, whereunto their ability for the most part is as slender, as their title and challenge unjust.

Notwithstanding (whether they saw it necessary for them to persuade the people, without whose help they could do nothing, or else (which I rather think) the affection which they bear towards this new form of government, made them to imagine it God's own ordinance,) their doctrine is, that by the law of God, there must be for ever in all congregations certain lay-elders, ministers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in as much as our Lord and Saviour by testament (for so they presume) hath left all ministers or pastors in the church executors equally to the whole power of spiritual jurisdiction, and with them hath joined the people as colleagues. By maintenance of which assertion there is unto that part apparently gained a twofold advantage, both because the people in this respect are much more easily drawn to favour it, as a matter of their own interest; and for that, if they chance to be crossed by such as oppose against them, the colour of divine authority, assumed for the grace and countenance of that power in the vulgar sort, furnisheth their leaders with great abundance of matter, be-hoveful for their encouragement to proceed always with hope of fortunate success in the end, considering their cause to be as *David's* was, a just defense of power given them from above, and consequently their adversaries quarrel the same with *Saul's*, by whom the ordinance of God was withstood.

Numb. 16.

Now, on the contrary side, if their surmise prove false; if such, as in justification whereof no evidence sufficient either hath been or can be alledged (as I hope it shall clearly appear after due examination and trial) let them then consider, whether those words of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, against *Moses* and against *Aaron*, *It is too much that ye take upon you, seeing all the congregation is holy*, be not the very true abstract and abridgment of all their published admonitions, demonstrations, supplications, and treatises whatsoever, whereby they have laboured to avoid the rooms of their spiritual superiors before authorized, and to advance the new fancied scepter of lay-presbyterial power.

The nature of spiritual jurisdiction.

Acts 20. 21.
1 Tim. 5. 19.
Mark 6. 15.
Mat 28. 19.
1 Cor. 11. 24.

BUT before there can be any settled determination, whether truth do rest on their part or on ours, touching lay-elders; we are to prepare the way thereunto, by explication of some things requisite and very needful to be considered; as first, how besides that spiritual power which is of order, and was instituted for performance of those duties whereof there hath been speech already had, there is in the church no less necessary a second kind, which we call the power of jurisdiction. When the apostle doth speak of ruling the church of God, and of receiving accusations, his words have evident reference to the power of jurisdiction. Our Saviour's words to the power of order, when he giveth his disciples charge, saying, *Preach, baptize: do this in remembrance of me.* Τιμα μὲν τὸ θεῖον ὡς αἶπον τῶ ὄλῳ, καὶ κώλον. Ἐπίσημον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζετε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τὸ ἀρχεῖν θεοῦ, καὶ τὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν χρεῖσθαι. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* A bishop (saith *Ignatius*) doth bear the image of God and of Christ; of God in ruling, of Christ in administering holy things. By this therefore we see a manifest difference acknowledged between the power of ecclesiastical order, and the power of jurisdiction ecclesiastical.

The spiritual power of the church being such as neither can be challenged by right of nature, nor could by human authority be instituted, because the forces and effects thereof are supernatural and divine, we are to make no doubt or question but that from him which is the head, it hath descended unto us that are the body now invested therewith. He gave it for the benefit and good of souls, as a mean to keep them in the path which leadeth unto endless felicity, a bridle to hold them within their due and convenient bounds, and, if they do go astray, a forceable help to reclaim them. Now although there be no kind of spiritual power, for which our Lord Jesus Christ did not give both commission to exercise, and direction how to use the same, although his laws in that behalf, recorded by the holy evangelists, be the only ground and foundation, whereupon the practice of the church must sustain it self; yet, as all multitudes once grown to the form of societies, are even thereby naturally warranted to enforce upon their own subjects particularly those things which publick wisdom shall judge expedient for the common good; so it were absurd to imagine the church it self, the most glorious amongst them, abridged of this liberty, or to think that no law, constitution or canon, can be further made either for limitation or amplification in the practice of our Saviour's ordinances, whatsoever occasion be offered through variety of times and things, during the state of this inconstant world, which bringeth forth daily such new evils

and

as must of necessity by new remedies be redress'd, did both of old enforce our venerable predecessors, and will always constrain others, sometime to make, sometime to augment, and again to abridge sometime; in sum, often to vary, alter and change customs incident unto the manner of exercising that power, which doth it self continue always one and the same. I therefore conclude, that spiritual authority is a power which Christ hath given to be used over them which are subject unto it for the eternal good of their souls, according to his own most sacred laws, and the wholesome positive constitutions of his church.

In doctrine referred unto action and practice, as this is which concerns spiritual jurisdiction, the first sound and perfect understanding is the knowledge of the end, because thereby both use doth frame, and contemplation judge all things.

Of penitency, the chiefest end propounded by spiritual jurisdiction. Two kinds of penitency, the one a private duty toward God, the other a duty of external discipline. Of the virtue of repentance from which the former duty proceedeth: And of contrition, the first part of that duty.

Seeing that the chiefest cause of spiritual jurisdiction is, to provide for the health and safety of men's souls, by bringing them to see and repent their grievous offences committed against God, as also to reform all injuries offered with the breach of christian love and charity toward their brethren in matters of ecclesiastical cognizance; the use of this power shall by so much the plainlier appear, if first the nature of repentance it self be known.

We are by repentance to appease whom we offend by sin. For which cause, whereas all sin deprives us of the favour of Almighty God, our way of reconciliation with him is the inward secret repentance of the heart; which inward repentance alone sufficeth, unless some special thing, in the quality of sin committed, or in the party that hath done amiss, require more. For besides our submission in God's sight, repentance must not only proceed to the private contentation of men, if the sin be a crime injurious; but also farther, where the wholesome discipline of God's church exacteth a more exemplary and open satisfaction. Now the church being satisfied with outward repentance, as God is with inward, it shall not be amiss for more perspicuity to term this latter always the virtue, the former the discipline of repentance; which disciplining hath two sorts of penitents to work upon, in as much as it hath been accustomed to lay the offices of repentance on some seeking, others shunning them; on some at their own voluntary request, on others altogether against their wills, as shall hereafter appear by store of ancient examples. Repentance being therefore either in the sight of God alone, or else with the notice also of Men: without the one, sometime thoroughly performed, but always practised more or less in our daily devotions and prayers, we can have no remedy for any fault. Whereas the other is only required in sins of a certain degree and quality; the one necessary for ever, the other so far forth as the laws and order of God's church shall make it requisite. The nature, parts and effects of the one always the same; the other limited, extended and varied by infinite occasions.

Penitentia
secundæ, &
unius, quantū
in actu nego-
tium est, tan-
to potior
probatio est,
ut non solum
conscientia
proferatur,
sed aliquo
etiam actu
administre-
tur.
Second pen-
itency, fol-
lowing that
before bap-
tism, and be-
ing not more
than once
admitted in
one man, re-
quireth by so

much the greater labour to make it manifest, for that it is not a work which can come again in trial, but must be rehearsed fore with some open solemnity executed, and not to be discharged with the privacy of conscience alone, Terent. de pœn.

The virtue of repentance in the heart of man is God's handy-work, a fruit or effect of divine grace, which grace continually offereth it self even unto them that have forsaken it, as may appear by the words of Christ in St. John's revelation, *I stand at the door and knock*: Nor doth he only knock without, but also within assist to open, whereby access and entrance is given to the heavenly presence of that saving power, which maketh man a repaired temple for God's good spirit again to inhabit. And albeit the whole train of virtues, which are implied in the name of grace, be infused at one instant; yet because when they meet and concur unto any effect in man, they have their distinct operations rising orderly one from another, it is no unnecessary thing that we note the way or method of the Holy Ghost, in framing man's sinful heart to repentance. A work, the first foundation whereof is laid by opening and illuminating the eye of faith, because by faith are discovered the principles of this action, whereunto unless the understanding do first assent, there can follow in the will towards penitency no inclination at all. Contrariwise, the resurrection of the dead, the judgment of the world to come, and the endless misery of sinners being apprehended,

ed, this worketh fear; such as theirs was, who feeling their own distress and perplexity, in that passion besought our Lord's apostles earnestly to give them counsel what they should do. For fear, impotent and unable to advise it self, yet this good it hath, that men are thereby made desirous to prevent, if possibly they may, whatsoever evil they dread. The first thing that wrought the *Ninivites* repentance, was fear of destruction within forty days. Signs and miraculous works of God, being extraordinary representations of divine power, are commonly wont to stir any the most wicked with terror, lest the same power should bend it self against them. And because tractable minds, though guilty of much sin, are hereby moved to forsake those evil ways which make his power in such sort their astonishment and fear, therefore our Saviour denounced his curse against *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida*; saying, That if *Tyre* and *Sidon* had seen that which they did, those signs which prevailed little with the one, would have brought the others to repentance. As the like thereunto did in the men given to curious arts, of whom the apostolick history saith, that *fear came upon them*, and *many which had followed vain sciences, burnt openly the very books out of which they had learned the same*. As fear of contumely and disgrace amongst men, together with other civil punishments, are a bridle to restrain from any heinous acts, whereinto men's outrage would otherwise break; so the fear of divine revenge and punishment, where it takes place, doth make men desirous to be rid likewise from that inward guiltiness of sin, wherein they would else securely continue. Howbeit, when faith hath wrought a fear of the event of sin, yet repentance hereupon ensueth not, unless our belief conceive both the possibility and means to avert evil: The possibility, in as much as God is merciful, and most willing to have sin cured: The means, because he hath plainly taught what is requisite, and shall suffice unto that purpose. The nature of all wicked men is, for fear of revenge to hate whom they most wrong; the nature of hatred, to wish that destroyed which it cannot brook: and from hence ariseth the furious endeavours of godless and obdurate sinners to extinguish in themselves the opinion of God, because they would not have him to be, whom execution of endless woe doth not suffer them to love.

Every sin against God abateth, and continuance in sin extinguisheth our love towards him. It was once said to the angel of *Ephesus* having sinned, *Thou art fallen away from thy first love*; so that, as we never decay in love till we sin, in like sort neither can we possibly forsake sin, unless we first begin again to love. What is love towards God, but a desire of union with God? And shall we imagine a sinner converting himself to God, in whom there is no desire of union with God, presupposed? I therefore conclude, that fear worketh no man's inclination to repentance, till somewhat else have wrought in us love also; our love and desire of union with God ariseth from the strong conceit which we have of his admirable goodness: The goodness of God which particularly moveth unto repentance, is his mercy towards mankind, notwithstanding sin: For, let it once sink deeply into the mind of man, that howsoever we have injured God, his very nature is averse from revenge, except unto sin we add obstinacy, otherwise always ready to accept our submission, as a full discharge or recompence for all wrongs; and can we chuse but begin to love him whom we have offended, or can we but begin to grieve that we have offended him whom we love? Repentance considereth sin as a breach of the law of God, an act obnoxious to that revenge, which notwithstanding may be prevented, if we pacify God in time.

The root and beginning of penitency therefore, is the consideration of our own sin, as a cause which hath procured the wrath, and a subject which doth need the mercy of God. For unto man's understanding there being presented, on the one side, tribulation and anguish upon every soul that doth evil; on the other, eternal life unto them which by continuance in well-doing seek glory, and honour, and immortality; on the one hand a curse to the children of disobedience; on the other, to lovers of righteousness all grace and benediction: Yet between these extremes, that eternal God, from whose unspotted justice and undeserved mercy the lot of each inheritance proceedeth, is so inclinable rather to shew compassion than to take revenge, that all his speeches in holy scripture are almost nothing else but intreaties of men to prevent destruction by amendment of their wicked lives; all the works of his providence little other than mere allurements of the just to continue steadfast, and of the unrighteous to change their course; all his dealings and proceedings towards true converts, as have even filled the grave writings of holy men with these and the like most sweet sentences: repentance (if I may so speak) stoppeth God in his way, when being provoked by crimes past, he cometh

cometh to reveilige them with most just punishments; yea, it tyeth as it were the hands of the avenger, and doth not suffer him to have his will: Again,

The merciful eye of God towards men hath no power to withstand penitency, at what time soever it comes in presence. And again,

God doth not take it so in evil part, though we wound that which he hath required us to keep whole, as that after we have taken hurt, there should be in us no desire to receive his help. Finally, lest I be carried too far in so large a sea, there was never any man condemned of God but for neglect, nor justified, except he had care of repentance.

From these considerations, setting before our eyes our inexcusable both unthankfulness in disobeying so merciful, foolishness in provoking so powerful a God; there ariseth necessarily a pensive and corrosive desire that we had done otherwise; a desire which suffereth us to foreclose no time, to feel no quickness within our selves, to take neither sleep nor food with contentment, never to give over supplications, confessions, and other penitential duties, till the light of God's reconciled favour shine in our darkened soul.

^a *Fulgentius* asking the question why *David's* confession should be held for effectual penitence, and not *Saul's*; answereth, that the one hated sin, the other feared only punishment in this world; *Saul's* acknowledgment of Sin, was fear; *David's* both fear and also love.

This was the fountain of *Peter's* tears, this the life and spirit of *David's* eloquence, in those most admirable hymns intituled *Penitential*, where the words of sorrow for sin do melt the very bowels of God remitting it; and the comforts of grace in remitting sin, carry him which sorrowed, rapt as it were into heaven, with ecstasies of joy and gladness. The first motive of the *Ninevites* unto repentance, was their belief in a sermon of fear; but the next and most immediate, an axiom of love; *Who can tell whether God will turn away his fierce wrath, that we perish not?* No conclusion such as theirs, Let every man turn from his evil way, but one of the premises such as theirs were, fear and love. Wherefore the well-spring of repentance is faith; first breeding fear, and then love; which love causes hope, hope resolution of attempt; *I will go to my father, and say, I have sinned against heaven, and against thee*; that is to say, I will do what the duty of a convert requireth.

Now in a penitent's or convert's duty there are included, first the aversion of the will from sin; secondly, the submission of our selves to God by supplication and prayer; thirdly, the purpose of a new life, testified with present works of amendment: Which three things do very well seem to be comprised in one definition by them which handle repentance, as a virtue that hateth, bewaileth, and sheweth a purpose to amend sin: we offend God in thought, word, and deed, to the first of which three they make contrition; to the second, confession; and to the last, our works of satisfaction, answerable.

Contrition doth not here import those sudden pangs and convulsions of the mind, which cause sometimes the most forsaken of God to retract their own doings; it is no natural passion, or anguish, which riseth in us against our wills; but a deliberate aversion of the will of man from sin, which being always accompanied with grief; and grief oftentimes partly with tears, partly with other external signs; it hath been thought, that in these things contrition doth chiefly consist: Whereas the chiefest thing in contrition is that alteration whereby the will, which was before delighted with sin, doth now abhor and shun nothing more. But forasmuch as we cannot hate sin in our selves without heaviness and grief, that there should be in us a thing of such hateful quality, the will averted from sin, must needs make the affection suitable; yea, there's great reason why it should so do: For since the will by conceiving sin hath deprived the soul of life; and of life there is no recovery without repentance, the death of sin; repentance not able to kill sin, but by withdrawing the will from it; the will impossible to be withdrawn, unless it concur with a contrary affection to that which accompanied it before in evil: Is it not clear, that as an inordinate delight did first begin sin, so repentance must begin with a just sorrow, a sorrow of heart, and such a sorrow as renteth the heart; neither a feigned nor slight sorrow; not feigned, lest it increaseth sin; nor slight, lest the pleasures of sin over-match it.

Wherefore of grace, the highest cause from which man's penitency doth proceed; of faith, fear, love, hope, what force and efficacy they have in repentance; of parts and duties thereunto belonging, comprehended in the school-mens definitions; finally, of the first among those duties, contrition, which disliketh and bewaileth iniquity, let this suffice.

And because God will have offences by repentance, not only abhorred within our selves, but also with humble supplication displayed before him; and a testimony of amendment to be given, even by present works worthy repentance, in that they are contrary

Basil. Epist.
Seleuc. p. 126.
Phil. 4. 12.
1. Tim. 4. 12.
Chr. in 1. Cor.
Hom. 8. Qu. 10.
Marc. Erem.
Ful. de rem.
lib. 2. cap.
15.

Jon. c. 3. 9.

trary to those we renounce and disclaim; although the virtue of repentance do require that her other two parts, confession and satisfaction, should here follow; yet seeing they belong as well to the discipline, as to the virtue of repentance, and only differ, for that in the one they are performed to man, in the other to God alone; I had rather distinguish them in joynt-handling, than handle them apart, because in quality and manner of practice they are distinct.

Of the discipline of repentance instituted by Christ, practised by the fathers, converted by the school-men into a sacrament; and of confession, that which belongeth to the virtue of repentance, that which was used among the Jews, that which papacy imagineth a sacrament, and that which ancient discipline practised.

Matth. 16.
19.

I. OUR Lord and Saviour, in the sixteenth of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, giveth his apostles regiment in general over God's church. For they that have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, are thereby signified to be stewards of the house of God, under whom they guide, command, judge and correct his family. The souls of men are God's treasure, committed to the trust and fidelity of such as must render a strict account for the very least which is under their custody. God hath not invested them with power to make a revenue thereof, but to use it for the good of them whom Jesus Christ hath most dearly bought.

Matth. 18.
17.

And because their office therein consisteth of sundry functions, some belonging to doctrine, some to discipline, all contained in the name of the keys, they have for matters of discipline, as well litigious as criminal, their courts and consistories erected by the heavenly authority of his most sacred voice, who hath said *Dic Ecclesie*, tell the church; against rebellious and contumacious persons, which refuse to obey their sentence, armed they are with power to eject such out of the church, to deprive them of the honours, rights and privileges of christian men, to make them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom society was hateful.

Matth. 18.

18.

John 20. 23.

1 Cor. 5. 3.

2 Cor. 2. 6.

1 Tim. 1. 20.

Furthermore, lest their acts should be slenderly accounted of, or had in contempt; whether they admit to the fellowship of saints, or seclude from it, whether they bind offenders, or set them again at liberty, whether they remit or retain sins, whatsoever is done by way of orderly and lawful proceeding, the Lord himself hath promised to ratify. This is that grand original warrant, by force whereof the guides and prelates in God's church, first his apostles, and afterwards others following them successively, did both use and uphold that discipline, the end whereof is to heal mens consciences, to cure their sins, to reclaim offenders from iniquity, and to make them by repentance just.

Neither hath it of ancient time, for any other respect, been accustomed to bind by ecclesiastical censures, to retain so bound till tokens of manifest repentance appeared, and upon apparent repentance to release, saving only because this was received as a most expedient method for the cure of sin.

The course of discipline in former ages reformed open transgressors, by putting them into offices of open penitence, especially confession, whereby they declared their own crimes in the hearing of the whole church, and were not from the time of their first convention, capable of the holy mysteries of Christ, till they had solemnly discharged this duty.

Offenders in secret knowing themselves altogether as unworthy to be admitted to the Lord's table, as the other which were withheld; being also persuaded, that if the church did direct them in the offices of their penitency, and assist them with publick prayers, they should more easily obtain that they sought, than by trusting wholly to their own endeavours; finally, having no impediment to stay them from it but bashfulness, which countervailed not the former inducements; and besides, was greatly eased by the good construction, which the charity of those times gave to such actions, wherein mens piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God, did purchase them much more love than their faults (the testimonies of common frailty) were able to procure disgrace, they made it not nice to use some one of the ministers of God, by whom the rest might take notice of their faults, prescribe them convenient remedies, and in the end after publick confession, all join in Prayer unto God for them.

The first beginner of this custom had the more followers, by means of that special favour which always was with good consideration shewed towards voluntary penitents above the rest.

But as professors of christian belief grew more in number, so they waxed worse; when kings and princes had submitted their dominions unto the scepter of Jesus Christ, by means whereof persecution ceasing, the church immediately became subject to those evils which peace and security bringeth forth; there was not now that love which before kept all things in tune, but every where schisms, discords, dissensions amongst men, conventicles of hereticks, bent more vehemently against the sounder and better sort than very infidels and heathens themselves; faults not corrected in charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to use when the deadliest opportunities should be offered.

Whereupon, soasmuch as publick confessions became dangerous and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded men, and in divers respects advantageous to the enemies of God's church; it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite, that voluntary penitents should surcease from open confession.

Instead whereof, when once private and secret confession had taken place with the *Latins*, it continued as a profitable ordinance, till the *Lateran* council had decreed, that all men once in a year at the least, should confess themselves to the priest.

So that being a thing thus made both general and also necessary, the next degree of estimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and lifted up to the nature of a sacrament; that as Christ did institute baptism to give life, and the eucharist to nourish life, so penitence might be thought a sacrament ordained to recover life, and confession a part of the sacrament.

They define therefore their private penitency to be a sacrament of remitting sins after baptism: The virtue of repentance, a detestation of wickedness, with full purpose to amend the same, and with hope to obtain pardon at God's hands.

Wheresoever the prophets cry *repent*, and in the gospel St. *Peter* maketh the same exhortation to the *Jews* as yet unbaptized, they would have the virtue of repentance only to be understood; the sacrament, where he advieth *Simon Magus* to repent, because the sin of *Simon Magus* was after baptism.

Now although they have only external repentance for a sacrament, internal for a virtue, yet make they sacramental repentance nevertheless to be composed of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Which is absurd; because contrition being an inward thing, belongeth to the virtue, and not to the sacrament of repentance, which must consist of external parts, if the nature thereof be external. Besides, which is more absurd, they leave out absolution, whereas some of their school divines, handling penance in the nature of a sacrament, and being not able to espy the least resemblance of a sacrament, save only in absolution (for a sacrament by their doctrine must both signify, and also confer or bestow some special divine grace) resolved themselves, that the duties of the penitent could be but meer preparations to the sacrament, and that the sacrament itself was wholly in absolution. And albeit *Thomas*, with his followers, have thought it safer to maintain, as well the services of the penitent, as the words of the minister necessary unto the essence of their sacrament; the services of the penitent, as a cause material; the words of absolution, as a formal; for that by them all things are perfected to the taking away of sin; which opinion now reigneth in all their schools, since the time that the council of *Trent* gave it solemn approbation, seeing they all make absolution, if not the whole essence, yet the very form whereunto they ascribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their sacrament; surely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath small congruity with reason.

Again, soasmuch as a sacrament is compleat, having the matter and form which it ought, what should lead them to set down any other parts of sacramental repentance, than confession and absolution, as *Durandus* hath done?

For touching satisfaction, the end thereof, as they understand it, is a further matter which resteth after the sacrament administered, and therefore can be no part of the sacrament.

Will they draw in contrition with satisfaction, which are no parts, and exclude absolution (a principal part) yea, the very complement, form and perfection of the rest, as themselves account it? But for their breach of precepts in art, it skilleth not, if their doctrine otherwise concerning penitency, and in penitency touching confession, might be found true.

We say, let no man look for pardon, which doth smother and conceal sin, where in duty it should be revealed.

The cause why God requirerh confession to be made to him is, that thereby testifying a deep hatred of our own iniquity, the only cause of his hatred and wrath towards us, we might, because we are humble, be so much the more capable of that compassion and tender mercy, which knoweth not how to condemn sinners that condemn themselves.

Soto in 4.
sent. d. 14. q.
1. art. 1.
In ead. dist.
q. 2. art. 1.

Scot. sent. 1.
4. d. 14. q. 4.

Sect. 14. c. 3.
Docet Sancta
Synodus Sa-
cramenti pe-
nitentie for-
mam, in qua
præcipue ip-
sus vis sita
est, in illis
ministris ver-
bis positam
esse, ego te
absolvo. Sunt
autem quasi
materia hujus
sacramenti,
ipsius peni-
tentis actus,
nempe con-
tritio, con-
fessio, & sa-
tisfactio.

Luke 7: 47.

Tantum re-
levat confes-
sio derelictio-
rum, quan-
tum dissimu-
lacio exagger-
rat. Confes-
sio autem sa-
tisfactionis
consilium est,
dissimulatio
contumacia.
Tert. de pen.
Chrys. hom.
30. in. Epist.
ad Heb.

If it be our Saviour's own principle, that the conceit we have of our debt forgiven, proportioneth our thankfulness and love to him, at whose hands we receive pardon; doth not God foresee, that they which with ill-advised modesty seek to hide their sin like *Adam*, that they which rake it up under ashes, and confess it not, are very unlikely to requite with offices of love afterwards, the grace which they shew themselves unwilling to prize at the very time when they sue for it; inasmuch as their not confessing what crimes they have committed, is a plain signification how loth they are that the benefit of God's most gracious pardon should seem great? Nothing more true than that of *Tertullian*, *confession doth as much abate the weight of mens offences, as concealment doth make them heavier*. For he which confesseth, hath purpose to appease God; he, a determination to persist and continue obstinate, which keeps them secret to himself. St. *Chrysostome* almost in the same words, *Wickedness is by being acknowledged lessened, and doth but grow by being hid*. If men, having done amiss, let it slip, as though they knew no such matter, what is there to stay them from falling into one and the same evil? To call our selves sinners availeth nothing, except we lay our faults in the ballance, and take the weight of them one by one. Confess thy crimes to God, disclose thy transgressions before thy judge, by way of humble supplication and suit, if not with tongue, at the least with heart, and in this sort seek mercy. A general persuasion that thou art a sinner, will neither so humble, nor bridle thy soul, as if the catalogue of thy sins examined severally, be continually kept in mind.

This shall make thee lowly in thine own eyes; this shall preserve thy feet from falling, and sharpen thy desires towards all good things. The mind, I know, doth hardly admit such unpleasant remembrances; but we must force it; we must constrain it thereunto.

It is safer now to be bitten with the memory, than hereafter with the torment of sin. Levit. 16. 21. The *Jews*, with whom no repentance for sin is available without confession, either conceived in mind or uttered (which latter kind they call usually *יְרִיר* confession delivered by word of mouth) had first that general confession which once every year was made, both severally by each of the people for himself upon the day of expiation, and by the priest for them all. On the day of expiation, the high priest maketh three express confessions, acknowledging unto God the manifold transgressions of the whole nation, his own personal offences likewise, together with the sins as well of his family, as of the rest of his rank and order.

All Israel is
bound on the
day of expia-
tion to re-
pent and
confess.
R. Mos. in
lib. Mits-
worth hag-
adol. par. 2.
præ. 16.

They had again their voluntary confessions, at the times and seasons when men be-
thinking themselves of their wicked conversation past, were resolved to change their
course, the beginning of which alteration was still confession of sins.

Thirdly, over and besides these, the law imposed upon them also that special con-
fession, which they in their book called *בְּיָדָם* confession of that particular
fault for which we namely seek pardon at God's hands.

Num. 5. 6. The words of the law concerning confession in this kind, are as followeth: When
a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, and transgress against the
Lord, their sin which they have done (that is to say, the very deed it self in particular)
they shall acknowledge.

Lev. 5. 5. In *Leviticus*, after certain transgressions there mentioned, we read the like: When
a man hath sinned in any one of these things, he shall then confess, how in that thing
he hath offended. For such kind of special sins, they had also special sacrifices; where-
in the manner was, that the offender should lay his hands on the head of the sacrifice
which he brought, and should there make confession to God, saying, *Now, O Lord,*
that I have offended, committed sin, and done wickedly in thy sight, this or this being
my fault; behold I repent me, and am utterly ashamed of my doings; my purpose is,
never to return more to the same crime.

Misne Tora
Tractatu Te-
shuba cap. 1.
& R. M. in
lib. Misnoth.
par. 2. chap.
6.

Mos. in Mis-
noth, par. 2.
præ. 16.
To him
which is sick,
and draweth
towards
death, they
say, Confess.
Idem.

None of them, whom either the house of judgment had condemned to die, or of
them which are to be punished with stripes, can be clear by being executed or scourged,
till they repent and confess their faults.

Finally, there was no man amongst them at any time, either condemned to suffer
death, or corrected, or chastized with stripes, none ever sick and near his end, but
they called upon him to repent and confess his sins.

Of malefactors convict by witnesses, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or other-
wise chastised, their custom was to exact, as *Joshua* did of *Achan*, open confession;
My son, now give glory to the Lord God of Israel, confess unto him, and declare unto
me what thou hast committed, conceal it not from me. Jos. 7. 19.

Concerning injuries and trespasses which happen between men, they highly com-
mend such as will acknowledge before many.

It

It is in him which repenteth accepted as an high sacrifice, if he will confess before many, make them acquainted with his over-sights, and reveal the transgressions which have passed between him and any of his brethren; saying, I have verily offended this man, thus and thus I have done unto him, but behold I do now repent and am sorry. Contrariwise, whosoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect repentance; for so it is written, *He that hides his sins shall not prosper*: Which words of *Solomon* they do not farther extend, than only to sins committed against men, which are in that respect meet before men to be acknowledged particularly. But in sins between man and God, there is no necessity that man should himself make any such open and particular recital of them; to God they are known, and of us it is required that we cast not the memory of them carelessly and loosely behind our backs, but keep in mind, as near as we can, both our own debt, and his grace which remitteth the same.

Wherefore to let pass *Jewish* confession, and to come unto them which hold confession in the ear of the priest commanded; yea, commanded in the nature of a sacrament, and thereby so necessary that sin without it cannot be pardoned; let them find such a commandment in holy scripture, and we ask no more.

John the Baptist was an extraordinary person, his birth, his actions of life, his office extraordinary.

It is therefore recorded for the strangeness of the act, but not to set down as an everlasting law for the world, *That to him Jerusalem and all Judea made confession of their sins*; Mat. 3. 6. Besides, at the time of this confession, their pretended sacrament of repentance as they grant, was not yet instituted; neither was it sin after baptism which penitents did there confess; when that which befel the seven sons of *Sceva* for using the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in their conjurations, was notified to *Jews and Grecians* in *Ephesus*, it brought Acts 19. 18. an universal fear upon them, insomuch that divers of them which had believed before, but not obeyed the laws of Christ as they should have done, being terrified by this example, came to the apostle, and confessed their wicked deeds.

Which good and virtuous act, no wise man, as I suppose, will disallow, but commend highly in them, whom God's good spirit shall move to do the like when need requireth.

Yet neither hath this example the force of any general commandment, or law to make it necessary for every man to pour into the ears of the priest whatsoever hath been done amiss, or else to remain everlastingly culpable and guilty of sin; in a word, it proveth confession practised as a virtuous act but not commanded as a sacrament.

Now concerning *St. James* his exhortation, whether the former branch be considered, James 5. 16. which saith, *Is any sick among you; let him call for the ancients of the church, and let them make their prayers for him*; or the latter, which stirreth up all christian men unto mutual acknowledgment of faults amongst themselves; *Lay open your minds, make your confessions one to another*; is it not plain, that the one hath relation to that gift of healing, which our Saviour promised his church, saying, *They shall lay their hands on the sick, and the sick shall recover health*? Mar. 16. 18. Relation to that gift of healing, whereby the Apostle imposed his hands on the father of *Publius*, and made him miraculously a sound man; relation finally to that gift of healing, which so long continued in practice after the Apostles times, that whereas the *Novatianists* denied the power of the church of God in curing sin after baptism, *St. Ambrose* asked them again, *Why it might not as well prevail with God for spiritual, as for corporal and bodily health*; yea wherefore (saith he) *do ye* Amb. de poen. 1. 1. c. 7. *your selves lay hands on the diseased, and believe it to be a work of benediction or prayer, if haply the sick person be restored to his former safety*? And of the other member which toucheth mutual confession, do not some of themselves, as namely *Cajetan*, deny, that any other confession is meant, than only that *which seeketh either association of prayers, or reconciliation; or pardon of wrongs*? Is it not confessed by the greatest part of their own Annot. Rhem. in Jac. 5. retinue, that we cannot certainly affirm sacramental confession to have been meant or spoken of in this place? Howbeit, *Bellarmino*, delighted to run a course by himself where colourable shifts of wit will but make the way passable, standeth as formally for this place, and not less for that in *St. John*, than for this: *St. John* saith, *If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness*; doth 1 John 1. 9. *St. John* say, if we confess to the priest, God is righteous to forgive; and if not, that our sins are unpardonable? No, but the titles of God *just* and *righteous* do import that he pardoneth sin only for his promise sake; *And there is not* (they say) *any promise of forgiveness upon confession made to God without the priest*; not any promise, but with this condition, and yet this condition no where exprest.

Is it not strange, that the scripture speaking so much of repentance and of the several duties which appertain thereunto, should ever mean, and no where mention that one condition, without which all the rest is utterly of none effect; or will they say, because our

Saviour hath said to his ministers, *Whose sins ye retain*, &c. and because they can remit no more than what the offenders have confessed, that therefore by the virtue of his promise, it standeth with the righteousness of God to take away no man's sins until by auricular confession they be opened unto the priest?

They are men that would seem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Christ the fathers held no such opinion: they did not gather by our Saviour's words any such necessity of seeking the priest's absolution from sin, by secret and (as they now term it) sacramental confession. Publick confession they thought necessary by way of discipline, not private confession, as in the nature of a sacrament, necessary.

For to begin with the purest times, it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing most clear, that the ancient *ἐξομολογῆσις* or confession, designed by *Tertullian* to be a discipline of humiliation and submission, framing men's behaviour in such sort as may be fittest to move pity; the confession which they use to speak of in the exercise of repentance was made openly in the hearing of the whole, both ecclesiastical, consistory, and assembly.

Plerofq; hoc opus ut publicationem sui aut suffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præsumo pudoris magis memores quam salutis, velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione conscientiam medentium vitant & ita cum e-rubescencia sua pereunt. Tert. de penit. Qui necessitatem sacrificandi pecunia apud Magistratum redimebant, accepta securitatis Syngrapha libellatici dicebatur.

This is the reason wherefore he perceiving that divers were better content their sores should secretly fester and eat inward, than be laid so open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwise bashfulness; and to reform the same, persuadeth with them, saying, *Amongst thy brethren and fellow servants which are partakers with thee, of one and the same nature, fear, joy, grief, sufferings (for of one common Lord and Father we have all received one spirit) why shouldest thou not think with thy self, that they are but thine own self? wherefore dost thou avoid them, as likely to insult over thee, whom thou knowest subject to the same haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoice, it must needs be that the whole will labour and strive to help that wherewith a part of it self is molested.*

St. Cyprian being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of persecution had thro' fear betrayed their faith, and notwithstanding thought by shift to avoid in that case the necessary discipline of the church, wrote for their better instruction the book intituled *De lapsis*; a treatise concerning such as had openly forsaken their religion and yet were loth openly to confess their fault in such manner as they should have done: in which book he compareth with this sort of men, certain others which had but a purpose only to have departed from the faith; and yet could not quiet their minds, till this very secret and hidden fault was confessed, *How much both greater in faith (saith St. Cyprian) and also as touching their fear, better are those men who altho' neither sacrifice, nor libel could be objected against them, yet because they thought to have done that which they should not, even this their intent they dolefully open unto God's priests? They confess that whereof their conscience accuseth them, the burthen that presseth their minds they discover; they forslow not of smaller and slighter evils, to seek remedy.* He saith they declared their fault, not to one only man in private, but revealed it to God's priests; they confessed it before the whole consistory of God's ministers.

Hom. 1. de initio quarag. dætiæ.

Salvianus (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who ascribe those homilies to him which have hitherto by common error past under the counterfeit name of *Eusebius Emese-nus*) I say, *Salvianus* tho' coming long after Cyprian in time, giveth nevertheless the same evidence for this truth, in a case very little different from that before alledged; his words are these, *Whereas (most dearly beloved) we see that penance oftentimes is sought and sued for by holy souls, which even from their youth have bequeathed themselves a precious treasure unto God, let us know that the inspiration of God's good Spirit moveth them so to do for the benefit of his church, and let such as are wounded learn to enquire for that remedy whereunto the very fountest do thus offer and obtrude as it were themselves, that if the virtuous do bewail small offences, the other cease not to lament great.* And surely, when a man that hath less need, performeth *sub oculis Ecclesiæ*, in the view, sight and beholding of the whole church, an office worthy of his faith and compunction for sin, the good which others thereby reap is his own harvest, the heap of his rewards groweth by that which another gaineth, and thro' a kind of spiritual usury from that amendment of life which others learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers.

Hom. 10. ad Monachos.

The same *Salvianus* in another of his homilies, *If faults haply be not great and grievous (for example, if a man have offended in word, or in desire, worthy of reproof, if in the wantonness of his eye, or the vanity of his heart) the stains of words and thoughts are by daily prayer to be cleansed, and by private compunction to be scourged out: But if any man examining inwardly his own conscience, have committed some high and capital offence, as if by bearing false witness he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by rashness of perjury have violated the sacred name of truth; if with the mire of lustful uncleanness he have*

fulled the veil of baptism and the gorgeous robe of virginity; if by being the cause of any man's death, he hath been the death of the new man within himself; if by conference with sooth-fayers, wizards and charmers, he hath enthralled himself to Satan; these and such like committed crimes, cannot thoroughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and secret satisfaction; but greater causes do require greater and sharper remedies, they need such remedies as are not only sharp, but solemn, open, and publick. Again, Let that soul (saith he) answer me, which thro' pernicious shamefacedness is now so abasht to acknowledge his sin in conspectu fratrum, before his brethren, as he should have been abasht to commit the same, what will he do in the presence of that divine tribunal where he is to stand arraign'd in the assembly of a glorious and celestial host? I will hereunto add but St. Ambrose's testimony: For the places which I might alledge are more than the cause it self needeth: There are many (saith he) who, fearing the judgment that is to come, and feeling inward remorse of conscience, when they have offered themselves unto penitency, and are enjoyned what they shall do; give back for the only skar which they think that publick supplication will put them into.

He speaketh of them which sought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themselves from open confession, which they that are penitents for publick crimes could not possibly have done, and therefore it cannot be said he meaneth any other than secret sinners in that place. Gemadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, in his book touching ecclesiastical assertions, maketh but two kinds of confession necessary, the one in private to God alone for smaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are heinous and great: *Altho'* (saith he) a man be bitten with conscience of sin, let his will be from thenceforward to sin no more; let him before he communicate, satisfy with tears and prayers, and then putting his trust in the mercy of almighty God (whose wont is to yield godly confession) let him boldly receive the sacrament. But I speak this of such as have not burthened themselves with capital sins. Them I exhort to satisfy, first by publick penance, that so being reconciled by the sentence of the priest, they may communicate safely with others. Thus still we hear of publick confessions, altho' the crimes themselves discover'd were not publick; we hear that the cause of such confessions was not the openness, but the greatness of mens offences; finally, we hear that the same being now held by the church of Rome to be sacramental, were the only penitential confessions used in the church for a long time, and esteemed as necessary remedies against sin.

They which will find auricular confessions in Cyprian, therefore, must seek out some other passage, than that which Bellarmine alledgeth, *Whereas in smaller faults which are not committed against the Lord himself, there is a competent time assigned unto penitency; and that confession is made, after that observation and tryal had been had of the penitents behaviour, neither may any communicate till the bishop and clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and stayedly observed, according to the discipline of the Lord, in these most grievous and extreame crimes?* St. Cyprian's speech is against rashness in admitting idolaters to the holy communion, before they had shew'd sufficient repentance, considering that other offenders were forced to stay out their time, and that they made not their publick confession, which was the last act of penitency, till their life and conversation had been seen into, not with the eye of auricular scrutiny, but of pastoral observation, according to that in the council of Nice, where thirteen years being set for the penitency of certain offenders, the severity of this degree is mitigated with special caution: *That in all such cases, the mind of the penitent and the manner of his repentance is to be noted, that as many as with fear, and tears, and meekness, and the exercise of good works, declared themselves to be converts indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the bishop at his discretion might use more lenity.* If the council of Nice suffice not, let Gracian the founder of the canon law expound Cyprian, who sheweth that the stint of time in penitency is either to be abridged, or enlarged, as the penitent's faith and behaviour shall give occasion: *I have easlier found out men (saith St. Ambrose) able to keep themselves free from crimes than conformable to the rules which in penitency they should observe.* St. Gregory bishop of Nisse complaineth and inveigheth bitterly against them, who in the time of their penitency lived even as they had done always before; *Their countenance as chearful, their attire as neat, their diet as costly, and their sleep as secure as ever, their worldly business purposely followed, to exile pensive thoughts for their minds repentance pretended, but indeed nothing less except:* These were the inspections of life, whereunto St. Cyprian alludeth; as for auricular examinations he knew them not.

Were the Fathers then without use of private confession as long as publick was in use? I affirm no such thing. The first and ancientest that mentioneth this confession is Origen, by whom it may seem that men being loth to present rashly themselves and their faults unto the view of the whole church, thought it best to unfold first their minds to some one special

Graviores, & atrores, & publicas curas requirunt, Hom. 8. ad Romanos.

Lib. 2. de pen. cap. 9.

Cypri. Epist.

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Orig. in P. Ed.
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Ambr. l. 2. de
pœn. c. 9.

Si non tam se-
solvere cupi-
unt quam sa-
cerdotem li-
gere. Aug. in
pom. de pœn.

man of the clergy, which might either help them himself, or refer them to an higher court if need were. *Be therefore circumspect* (saith Origen) *in making choice of the party, to whom thou meanest to confesse thy sin; know thy physician before thou use him; if he findeth malady such as needeth to be made publick, that others may be the better by it and thy self sooner help, his counsel must be obeyed.* That which moved sinners thus voluntarily to detect themselves both in private and in publick, was fear to receive with other christian men the mysteries of heavenly grace, till God's appointed stewards and ministers did judge them worthy. It is in this respect that St. Ambrose findeth fault with certain men which sought imposition of penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but would be presently admitted communicants. *Such people* (saith he) *do seek by so rash and preposterous desires, rather to bring the priest into bonds than to loose themselves.* In this respect it is that St. Augustine hath likewise said, *When the wound of sin is so wide, and the disease so far gone that the medicable body and blood of our Lord may not be touched, men are by the bishop's authority to sequester themselves from the altar, till such time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the same authority.*

Furthermore, because the knowledge how to handle our own sores is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards our selves for the most part an over soft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick; or else, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timorous scrupulosities, and sometime into those extreame discomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads again, men thought it the safest way to disclose their secret faults, and to crave imposition of penance from them whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath left in his church to be spiritual and ghostly physicians, the guides and pastors of redeemed souls, whose office doth not only consist in general persuasions unto amendment of life, but also in private particular cure of diseased minds.

Hom. de
pœn. N. iniv.

Aug hom. de
pœn. citatur
a Grat. dist.
1. c. judices.
A præpositis
Sacramento-
rum accipiat
satisfactionis
sue modum.

Jam. 5. 16.

Cassia col.
20. c. 8.
Greg. Niss.
oratione in
eos qui alios
acerbe judi-
cant.

Howsoever the Novatians presume to plead against the church (saith Salvianus) *that every man ought to be his own penitentiary, and that it is a part of our duty to exercise, but not of the church's authority to impose or prescribe repentance;* the truth is otherwise, the best and strongest of us may need, in such cases, direction: *What doth the church in giving penance, but shew the remedies which sin requireth? or what do we in receiving the same but fulfil her precept? what else but sue unto God with tears, and fasts, that his merciful ears may be opened?* St. Augustine's exhortation is directly to the same purpose; *Let every man whilst he hath time judge himself, and change his life of his own accord, and when this is resolved, let him from the disposers of the holy sacraments, learn in what manner he is to pacify God's displeasure.* But the greatest thing which made men forward and willing upon their knees to confess whatsoever they had committed against God, and in no wise to be withheld from the same with any fear of disgrace, contempt, or obloquy, which might ensue, was their fervent desire to be helped and assisted with the prayers of God's saints. Wherein, as St. James doth exhort unto mutual confession; alledging this only for a reason, *that just mens devout prayers are of great avail with God;* so it hath been heretofore the use of penitents for that intent to unburthen their minds, even to private persons; and to crave their Prayers. Whereunto, Cassianus alluding, counselleth, *That if men possess with dulness of spirit be themselves unapt to do that which is required, they should in meek affection seek health at the least by good and virtuous mens prayers unto God for them.* And to the same effect Gregory bishop of Nisse, *humble thy self, and take unto thee such of thy brethren as are of one mind, and do bear kind affection towards thee, that they may together mourn and labour for thy deliverance. Shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may blend my own with them.*

Leo 1. Ep. 78.
ad Epil. Cam-
pan. citat. a
Grat. de pœn.
d. 1. c. sufficit.

Ambr. l. 2. de
pœn. c. 10.
Tertul. de
pœn.

But because of all men there is or should be none in that respect more fit for troubled and distressed minds to repair unto than God's Ministers, he proceedeth further, *Make the priest, as a father, partaker of thy affliction and grief; be bold to impart unto him the things that are most secret, he will have care both of thy safety and of thy credit.*

Confession (saith Leo) *is first to be offered to God, and then to the priest, as to one which maketh supplication for the sins of penitent offenders.* Suppose we, that men would ever have been easily drawn, much less of their own accord have come unto publick confession, whereby they know they should sound the trumpet of their own disgrace; would they willingly have done this, which naturally all men are loth to do, but for the singular trust and confidence which they had in the publick prayers of God's church? *Let thy mother the church weep for thee* (saith Ambrose) *let her wash and bathe thy faults with her tears: our Lord doth love that many should become suppliant for one.* In like sort, long before him Tertullian, *some few assembled make a church; and the church is as Christ himself; when thou dost therefore put forth thy hands to the knees of thy brethren, thou touchest Christ, it is Christ unto whom thou art a suppliant; so when they pour out tears over them, it is even Christ that taketh compassion; Christ which prayeth when they pray: neither can that easily be denied, for which the Son is himself contented to become a suiter.* Where-

Whereas in these considerations therefore, voluntary penitents had been long accustomed for great and grievous crimes, tho' secret, yet openly both to repent and confess, as the canons of ancient discipline required; the *Greek* church first, and in process of time the *Latin* altered this order, judging it sufficient and more convenient that such offenders should do penance and make confession in private only. The cause why the *Latins* did, *Leo* declar-
eth, saying, *Altho' that ripeness of faith be commendable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to incur shame before all men, yet because every ones crimes are not such, that it can be free and safe for them to make publication of all things wherein repentance is necessary; let a custom, so unfit to be kept, be abrogated, lest many forbear to use remedies of penitency, whilst they either blush or are afraid to acquaint their enemies with those acts for which the laws may take hold upon them. Besides, it shall win the more to repentance, if the consciences of sinners be not emptied into the peoples ears.* And to this only cause doth *Sozomen* impute the change which the *Grecians* made, by ordaining throughout all churches certain penitentiaries to take the confessions, and appoint the penances of secret offenders. *Socrates* (for this also may be true that more inducements than one did set forward an alteration so generally made) affirmeth the *Grecians* (and not unlikely) to have specially respected therein the occasion which the *Novatianists* took at the multitude of public penitents to insult over the discipline of the church, against which they still cried out wheresoever they had time and place, *He that sheweth sinners favour, doth but teach the innocent to sin*: And therefore they themselves admitted no man to their communion upon any repentance which once was known to have offended after baptism, making sinners thereby not the fewer, but the closer, and the more obdurate, how fair soever their pretence might seem.

The *Grecians* canon for some one presbyter in every church to undertake the charge of penitency, and to receive their voluntary confessions which had sinned after baptism, continued in force for the space of above some hundred years, till *Nestarius*, and the bishops of churches under him begun a second alteration, abolishing even that confession which their penitentiaries took in private. There came to the penitentiary of the church of *Constantinople* a certain gentlewoman, and to him she made particular confession of her faults committed after baptism, whom thereupon he advised to continue in fasting and prayer, that as with tongue she had acknowledged her sins, so there might appear likewise in her some work worthy of repentance: But the gentlewoman goeth forward, and detecteth her self of a crime, whereby they were forced to disrobe an ecclesiastical person, that is, to degrade a deacon of the same church. When the matter by this mean came to publick notice, the people were in a kind of tumult offended, not only at that which was done, but much more, because the church should thereby endure open infamy and scorn. The clergy was perplexed and altogether doubtful what way to take, till one *Eudemon* born in *Alexandria*, but at that time a priest in the church of *Constantinople*, considering that the causes of voluntary confession, whether publick or private, was especially to seek the church's aid, as hath been before declared, lest men should either not communicate with others, or wittingly hazard their souls if so be they did communicate, and that the inconvenience which grew to the whole church, was otherwise exceeding great, but especially grievous by means of so manifold offensive detestations, which must needs be continually more, as the world did it self wax continually worse; for antiquity together with the gravity and severity thereof (saith *Sozomen*) had already begun by little and little to degenerate into loose and careless living, whereas before offences were less, partly through bashfulness in them which open their own faults, and partly by means of their great austerity which fate as judges in this business; these things *Eudemon* having weighed with himself, resolved easily the mind of *Nestarius*, that the penitentiary's office must be taken away, and for participation in God's holy mysteries every man be left to his own conscience, which was, as he thought, the only means to free the church from danger of obloquy and disgrace. Thus much (saith *Socrates*) *I am the bolder to relate, because I received it from Eudemon's own mouth, to whom mine answer was at that time; whether your counsel, Sir, have been for the church's good, or otherwise, God knoweth. But I see, you have given occasion, whereby we shall not now any more reprehend one another's faults, nor observe that apostolick precept, which saith, have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather be ye also reprovers of them.* With *Socrates*, *Sozomen* both agree in the occasion of abolishing penitentiaries; and moreover testifieth also, that in his time living with the younger *Theodosius*, the same abolition did still continue, and that the bishops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by *Nestarius*.

Wherefore to implead the truth of this history, cardinal *Baronius* alledgeth that *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Eudemon* were all *Novatianists*; and that they falsify in saying (for so they report) that as many as held the consubstantial being of Christ, gave their assent to the

Tanta hæc Socrati testanti præstanda est fides, quanta cæteris hæreticis de suis dogmatibus tractantibus; quippe Novatianus, scilicet cum fuerit, quam vere ac sincere hæc scripserit adversus prænitentiam in Ecclesia administrari solitam, quemlibet credo posse facile judicare. *Baron. l. an. Chr. 56.*

Sozomenum eandem prorsus causam fovisse certum est. Nec Eudæmonem illum alium quam Novatianæ sectæ hominem fuisse credendum est. *Ibidem.*

Sacerdos ille merito à Nectario est gradu amotus officioque depositus, quo factio Novatiani (ut mos est hæreticorum) quamcumque licet levem, ut sinceris dogmatibus detraherent, accipere aut occasionem, non tantum Presbyterum Pœnitentiarum in ordinem redactum, sed & Pœnitentiam ipsam unâ cum eo fuisse proscriptam, calumniose admodum conclamant, cum tamen illa potius Theatralis fieri interdum solita peccatorum fuerit abrogata. *Ibidem.*

and follow, he doth disallow and reprove. His speech to *Eudæmon* before set down, is proof sufficient that he writeth nothing but what was famously known to all, and what himself did with had been otherwise. As for *Sozomen* his correspondency with hereticks, having shewed to what end the church did first ordain *penitentiaries*, he addeth immediately, that *Novatianists* which had no care of repentance could have no need of this office. Are these the words of a friend or enemy? Besides, in the entrance of that who's narration; *Not to sin* (saith he) *at all, would require a nature more divine than ours is: But, God hath commanded to pardon sinners; yea, although they transgress and offend often.* Could there be any thing spoken more directly opposite to the doctrine of *Novatian*? *Eudæmon* was presbyter under *Nectarius*.

To *Novatianists* the emperor gave liberty of using their religion quietly by themselves, under a bishop of their own, even within the city, for that they stood with the church in defence of the catholick faith against all other hereticks besides. Had therefore *Eudæmon* favoured their heresy, their camps were not pitched so far off but he might at all times have found easy access unto them. Is there any man that hath lived with him, and hath touched him that way? if not, why suspect we him more than *Nectarius*? Their report touching *Grecian* catholick bishops, who gave approbation to that which was done, and did also the like themselves in their own churches, we have no reason to discredit without some manifest and clear evidence brought against it. For of catholick bishops, no likelihood but that their greatest respect to *Nectarius*, a man honoured in those parts no less than the bishop of *Rome* himself in the western churches, brought them both easily and speedily unto conformity with him; *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Apollinarians*, and the rest that stood divided from the church, held their *penitentiaries* as before. *Novatianists* from the beginning had never any, because their opinion touching penitency was against the practice of the church therein, and a cause why they severed themselves from the church; so that the very state of things, as they then stood, giveth great shew of probability to his speech who hath affirmed, *That them only which held the Son consubstantial with the Father, and Novatianists which joined with them in the same opinion, had no penitentiaries in their churches, the rest retained them.* By this it appeareth therefore how *Baronius* finding the people's relation plain, that *Nectarius* did abolish even those private secret confessions which he had been before accustomed to make him that was *penitentiary*, laboureth what he may to discredit the authors of the report, and leave it imprinted in mens minds, that whereas *Nectarius* did but abrogate publick confession, *Novatianists* have maliciously forged the abolition of private, as if the odds between these two were so great in the balance of their judgment which equally hated or contemned both; or, as if it were not more clear than light, that the first alteration which established *penitentiaries* took away the burthen of publick confession in that kind of penitents; and therefore the second must either abrogate private, or nothing.

Cardinal *Bellarmino* therefore finding that against the writers of the history it is but in vain to stand upon so doubtful terms, and exceptions, endeavoureth mightily to prove, even by their report, no other confession taken away than publick which *penitentiaries* used in private to impose upon publick offenders; *For why! It is* (saith he) *very certain that the name of penitents in the fathers writings signifieth only publick penitents; certain, that to hear the confessions of the rest was more than one could possibly have done; certain, that Sozomen, to shew how the Latin church retained in his time what the Greek had clean cast off, declareth the whole order of publick penitency used in the church of*

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Rome,

Rome, but of private he maketh no mention. And, in these considerations, *Bellarmino* will have it the meaning both of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, that the former episcopal constitution which first did erect *penitentiaries*, could not concern any other offenders than such as publickly had sinned after baptism. That only they were prohibited to come to the holy communion, except they did first in secret confess all their sins to the *penitentiary*, by his appointment openly acknowledge their open crimes, and do publick penance for them: That whereas before *Novatian's* uprising, no man was constrainable to confess publickly any sin, this canon enforced publick offenders thereunto, till such time as *Nectarius* thought good to extinguish the practice thereof.

Let us examine therefore these subtle and fine conjectures, whether they be able to hold the touch. *It seemeth good* (saith *Socrates*) *to put down the office of these priests which had charge of penitency; what charge that was, the kinds of penitency then usual must make manifest.* ^{Τὸς ἑκὸς τῆς} ^{ΠΕΝΙΤΗΝΙΑΣ ΠΡΟ-} ^{ΕΥΛΑΙΩ ΠΡΟΣ-} ^{ΒΟΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ.} There is often speech in the fathers writings, in their books frequent mention of penitency, exercised within the chambers of our heart, and seen of God and not communicated to any other, the whole charge of which penitency is imposed of God, and doth rest upon the sinner himself. But if penitents in secret, being guilty of crimes whereby they knew they had made themselves unfit guests for the table of our Lord, did seek direction for their better performance of that which should set them clear; it was in this case the *penitentiary's* office to take their confessions, to advise them the best way he could for their souls good, to admonish them, to counsel them, but not to lay upon them more than private penance. As for notorious persons whose crimes were known, to convict, judge, and punish them was the office of the ecclesiastical consistory; *penitentiaries* had their institution to another end. But unless we imagine that the antient time knew no other repentance than publick, or that they had little occasion to speak of any other repentance, or else that in speaking thereof they used continually some other name, and not the name of repentance whereby to express private penitency, how standeth it with reason, that whensoever they write of penitents, it should be thought they meant only publick penitents? The truth is, they handle all three kinds, but private and voluntary repentance much oftner, as being of far more general use; whereas publick was but incident unto few, and not oftner than once incident unto any. Howbeit because they do not distinguish one kind of penitency from another by difference of names, our safest way for construction, is to follow circumstance of matter, which in this narration will not yield it self applicable only unto publick penance, do what they can that would so expound it.

They boldly and confidently affirm, that no man being compellable to confess publickly any sin before *Novatius's* time, the end of instituting *penitentiaries* afterwards in the church was, that by them men might be constrained unto publick confession. Is there any record in the world which doth testify this to be true? There is that testify the plain contrary; for *Sozomen*, declaring purposely the cause of their institution, saith, *That whereas men openly craving pardon at God's hands (for publick confession, the last act of penitency, was always made in the form of a contrite prayer unto God,) it could not be avoided, but they must withal confess what their offences were.* This, in the opinion of their prelate, seemed from the first beginning (as we may probably think) to be somewhat burthenfom; that men, whose crimes were unknown, should blaze their own faults, as it were on the stage, acquainting all the people with whatsoever they had done amiss. And therefore to remedy this inconvenience they laid the charge upon one only priest, chosen out of such as were of best conversation, a silent and a discreet man, to whom they which had offended might resort and lay open their lives. He, according to the quality of every one's transgressions, appointed what they should do or suffer, and left them to execute it upon themselves. Can we with a more direct and evident testimony, that the office here spoken of, was to ease voluntary penitents from the burthen of publick confessions, and not to constrain notorious offenders thereunto? That such offenders were not compellable to open confessions till *Novatian's* time, that is to say, till after the days of persecution under *Decius* the Emperor, they, of all men, should not so peremptorily avouch: with whom, if *Fabian* bishop of *Rome*, who suffered martyrdom in the first year of *Decius*, be of any authority and credit, it must inforce them to reverse their sentence; his words are so plain and clear against them. *For such as commit those crimes, whereof the Apostle hath said, they that do them shall never inherit the kingdom of heaven, must (saith he) be forced unto amendment, because they slip down to hell, if ecclesiastical authority stay them not.* ^{Fab. Decret.} ^{Ep. 2. Tom. 1.} ^{Conc. p. 358.} Their conceit of impossibility that one man should suffice to take the general charge of penitency in such a church as *Constantinople*, hath risen from a mere erroneous supposal, that the antient manner of private confession was like the shrift at this day usual in the church of *Rome*, which tieth all men at one certain time to make confession; whereas

whereas confession was then neither looked for till men did offer it, nor offered for the most part by any other than such as were guilty of heinous transgressions, nor to them any time appointed for that purpose. Finally, the drift which *Sozomen* had in relating the discipline of *Rome*, and the form of publick penitency there retained even till his time, is not to signify that only publick confession was abrogated by *Nectarius*, but that the west or *Latin* church held still one and the same order from the very beginning, and had not, as the *Greek*, first cut off publick voluntary confession by ordaining, and then private by removing *penitentiaries*. Wherefore, to conclude, it standeth, I hope, very plain and clear, first against the one cardinal, that *Nectarius*, did truly abrogate confession in such sort as the ecclesiastical history hath reported; and, secondly, as clear against them both, that it was not publick confession only which *Nectarius* did abolish.

Necess quod
sibi blandian-
tur illi de facto
Nectarii, cum
id potius secre-
torum peccat-
orum confes-
sionem com-
probet, & non
aliud quam
presbyterum
poenitentialem
illo officio suo
moverit; uti
amplissime
deducit D. Jo-
hannes Haffie-
lus Paniel. in
Cypri. lib. de
aunot. y8. &
in lib. Tertul-
de poen. an-
not. i.

The paradox, in maintenance whereof *Hessels* wrote purposely a book touching this argument, to shew that *Nectarius* did but put the *penitentiary* from his office, and not take away the office it self, is repugnant to the whole advice which *Eudemone* gave, of leaving the people from that time forwards to their own consciences, repugnant to the conference between *Socrates* and *Eudemone* wherein complaint is made of some inconvenience which the want of office would breed; finally, repugnant to that which the history declareth concerning other churches, which did as *Nectarius* had done before them, not in deposing the same man (for that was impossible) but in removing the same office out of their churches, which *Nectarius* had banished from his. For which cause, *Belarmine* doth well reject the opinion of *Hessels*, howsoever it please *Pamelius* to admire it as a wonderful happy invention. But in sum, they are all gravelled, no one of them able to go smoothly away, and to satisfy either others or himself with his own conceit concerning *Nectarius*.

Only in this they are stiff, that auricular confession *Nectarius* did not abrogate, left if so much should be acknowledged, it might enforce them to grant that the *Greek* church at that time held not confession, as the *Latin* now doth, to be the part of a sacrament instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ, which therefore the church till the worlds end hath no power to alter. Yet seeing that as long as publick voluntary confession of private crimes did continue in either church (as in the one it remained not much above 200 years, in the other about 400) the only acts of such repentance were; first, the offenders intimation of those crimes to some one presbyter, for which imposition of penance was sought; secondly, the undertaking of penance imposed by the bishop; thirdly, after the same performed and ended, open confession to God in the hearing of the whole church; whereupon, fourthly, ensued the prayer of the church; fifthly, then the bishop's imposition of hands; and so sixthly, the parties reconciliation or restitution to his former right in the holy sacrament. I would gladly know of them which make only private confession a part of their sacrament of penance, how it could be so in those times? For where the sacrament of penance is ministred, they hold that confession to be sacramental which he receiveth who must absolve; whereas during the fore-rehearsed manner of penance, it can no where be shewed, that the priest to whom secret information was given did reconcile or absolve any; for how could he, when publick confession was to go before reconciliation, and reconciliation likewise in publick thereupon to ensue? So that if they did account any confession sacramental, it was surely publick, which is now abolished in the church of *Rome*, and as for that which the church of *Rome* doth so esteem, the antients neither had it in such estimation, nor thought it to be of so absolute necessity for the taking away of sin, but (for any thing that I could ever observe out of them) although not only in crimes open and notorious, which made men unworthy and incapable of holy mysteries, their discipline required first publick penance, and then granted that which St. *Hierom* mentioneth, saying, *The priest layeth his hand upon the penitent, and by invocation intreateth that the holy Ghost may return to him again; and so after having enjoined solemnly all the people to pray for him, reconcileth to the altar him who was delivered to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, that his spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord.* Altho' I say not only in such offences being famously known to the world, but also, if the same were committed secretly, it was the customs of those times both that private intimation should be given and publick confession made thereof; in which respect whereas all men did willingly the one, but would as willingly have withdrawn themselves from the other had they known how; *Is it tolerable (saith St. Ambrose) that to sue to God thou shouldest be ashamed, which blasphemest not to seek and sue unto man? shouldst thou grieve thee to be a suppliant to him from whom thou canst not possibly hide thy self; when to open thy sins to him, from whom, if thou wouldest, thou mightest conceal them, it doth not any thing at all trouble thee? This thou art loth to do in the church, where, all being sinners, nothing is more opprobrious indeed than concealment of sin, the most humble the best thought of, and*

Sacerdos im-
ponit manum
subjecto, redi-
tum spiritus
Sancti invocet
atque ita eum
qui traditus
fuerat Satanae
in interitum
carnis, ut Spi-
ritus saluus fie-
ret indicla in
populum ora-
tione altari re-
conciliat. Hier.
advers. Lucif.
Ambr. de
poen. l. 2. c. 10.

the lowliest accounted the justest. All this notwithstanding, we should do them very great wrong to father any such opinion upon them, as if they did teach it a thing impossible for any sinner to reconcile himself unto God without confession unto the priest.

Would *Chrysostom* thus persuaded have said, *Let the enquiry and punishment of thy offences be made in thy own thoughts; let the tribunal whereat thou arraignest thy self be without witnesses; let God, and only God, see thee and thy confession?* Chryf. Hom. 1. Πρὸς μυστικὰς ἐξομολογήσεις παρὰ τοῦ

λογισμοῦ ἡντιῶ τῶν πεπληρωμένων ἡ ἰζητάσις, ἀμάρτυρον ἔγω τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁ Θεὸς ἰδόντι μόνῳ ἐξομολογούμενον.

Would *Cassianus* so believing have given counsel, *That if any were withheld with baseness from discovering their faults to men, they should be so much the more instant and constant in opening them by supplication to God himself, whose wont is to help without publication of mens shame, and not to upbraid them when he pardoneth?* Cassian. Col. lat. 20. c. 8.

Finally, would *Prosper* settled in his opinion have made it, as touching reconciliation to God, a matter indifferent, *Whether men of ecclesiastical order did detect their crimes by confession, or leaving the world ignorant thereof, would separate voluntarily themselves, for a time from the altar, tho' not in affection, yet in execution of their ministry, and so bewail their corrupt life? Would he have willed them as he doth to make bold of it, that the favour of God being either way recovered by fruits of forcible repentance, they should not only receive whatsoever they had lost by sin, but also after this their new enfranchisement, aspire to endle's joys of that supernal city?* To conclude, we every where find the use of confession, especially publick, allowed of and commended by the fathers; but that extrem and rigorous necessity of auricular and private confession, which is at this day so mightily upheld by the church of *Rome*, we find not. First, it was not then the faith and doctrine of God's church, as of the papacy at this present. Secondly, that the only remedy for sin after baptism, is sacramental penitency. Thirdly, that confession in secret, is an essential part thereof. Fourthly, that God himself cannot now forgive sin without the priest. That, because forgiveness at the hands of the priest must arise from confession in the offenders, therefore to confess unto him, is a matter of such necessity as being not either in deed, or at the least in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and must consequently in scripture be commanded wheresoever any promise or forgiveness is made. No, no; these opinions have youth in their countenance, antiquity knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them.

But to let pass the papacy. For as much as repentance doth import alteration within the mind of a sinful man, whereby, thro' the power of God's most gracious and blessed Spirit, he seeth, and with unfeigned sorrow acknowledgeth former offences committed against God; hath them in utter detestation, seeking pardon for them in such sort as a christian should do, and with a resolute purpose setteth himself to avoid them; leading, as near as God should assist him, for ever after an unspotted life; and in the order (which christian religion hath taught for procurement of God's mercy towards sinners) confession is acknowledged a principal duty, yea, in some cases, confession to man, not to God only; it is not in reformed churches denied by the learned sort of divines, but that even this confession, cleared from all errors, is both lawful and behoeful for God's people. Calv. Inst. 1. 3. c. 4. sect. 7.

Confession by man being either private or publick; private confession to the minister alone touching secret crimes, or absolution thereupon ensuing, as the one, so the other is neither practised by the *French* discipline, nor used in any of those churches which have been cast by the *French* mould. Open confession to be made in the face of the whole congregation by notorious malefactors they hold necessary; howbeit not necessary towards the remission of sins; but only in some sort to content the church, and that one man's repentance may seem to strengthen many, which before have been weaken'd by one man's fall. Sed tantum ut ecclesiæ sit aliqua ratione satisfactum, & omnes unius poenitentia confirmantur, qui fuerant unius peccatis & scandalis vulnerati. Sa. de cl. in Psal. 32. v. 5. Harm. Conf. Sect. 8. ex 5. cap. confess. Bohem.

Saxons and *Bohemians* in their discipline constrain no man to open confession. Their doctrine is, that whose faults have been publick, and thereby scandalous unto the world, such, when God giveth them the spirit of repentance, ought as solemnly to return as they have openly gone astray. First, for the better testimony of their own unfeigned conversion unto God. Secondly, the more to notify their reconciliation unto the church. And lastly, that others may make benefit of their example.

But concerning confession in private, the churches of *Germany*, as well the rest as *Lutherans* agree, that all men should at certain times confess their offences to God in the hearing of God's ministers, thereby to shew how their sins displease them; to receive instruction for the wariar carriage of themselves hereafter; to be soundly resolved, if any scruple or snare of conscience do entangle their minds; and which is most material, to the end that men may at God's hand seek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of

Cap. 5. Confess. Bohem.

those keys which the minister of God using according to our blessed Saviour's institution in that case it is their part to accept the benefit thereof, as God's most merciful ordinance for their good, and without any distrust or doubt to embrace joyfully his grace so given them according to the word of our Lord, which hath said, *Whose sins ye remit they are remitted.* So that grounding upon this assured belief, they are to rest with minds encouraged and persuaded concerning the forgiveness of all their sins, as out of Christ's own word and power by the ministry of the keys.

It standeth with us in the church of *England*, as touching publick confession thus:

First, seeing day by day we in our church begin our publick prayers to almighty God with publick acknowledgment of our sins, in which confession every man, prostrate as it were before his glorious Majesty, crieth against himself, and the minister with one sentence pronounceth univerſally all clear whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not, under the general terms of confession, represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? such compliments are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce his gifts, as *David* speaketh. The difference of general and particular forms in confession and absolution is not so material that any man's safety or ghostly good should depend upon it. And for private confession and absolution it standeth thus with us:

As for private confession, abuses and errors set a-part, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty. Jewel, defense, part 156.

The minister's power to absolve is publicly taught and professed, the church not denied to have authority either of abridging or enlarging the use and exercise of that power, upon the people no such necessity imposed of opening their transgression unto men, as if remission of sins otherwise were impossible; neither any such opinion had of the thing it self, as though it were either unlawful or unprofitable, save only for these inconveniences which the world hath by experience observed in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the church of *England* hath hitherto thought it the safer way to refer mens hidden crimes unto God and themselves only; howbeit, not without special caution for the admonition of such as come to the holy sacrament, and for the comfort of such as are ready to depart the world. First, because there are but few that consider how much that part of divine service, which consists in partaking the holy eucharist, doth import their souls; what they lose by neglect thereof, and what by devout practice they might attain unto: Therefore, lest carelessness of general confession should, as commonly it doth, extinguish all remorse of men's particular enormous crimes, our custom (whenever men present themselves at the Lord's table) is, solemnly to give themselves fearful admonition, what woes are perpendicularly hanging over the heads of such as dare adventure to put forth their unworthy hands to those admirable mysteries of life, which have by rare examples been proved conduits of irremediable death to impenitent receivers; whom therefore, as we repel being known, so being not known, we cannot but terrify. Yct, with us, the ministers of God's most holy word and sacraments, being all put in trust with the custody and dispensation of those mysteries wherein our communion is, and hath been ever accounted the highest grace that men on earth are admitted unto, have therefore all equally the same power to withhold that sacred mystical food from notorious evil-livers, from such as have any way wronged their neighbours, and from parties between whom there doth open hatred and malice appear, till the first sort have reformed their wicked lives, the second recompensed them unto whom they were injurious, and the last condescended unto some course of christian reconciliation whereupon their mutual accord may ensue. In which cases for the first branch of wicked life; and the last, which is open enmity, there can arise no great difficulty about the exercise of his power: In the second, concerning wrongs, they may, if men shall presume to define or measure injuries according to their own conceits, be depraved oftentimes as well by error, as partiality, and that no less to the minister himself, than in another of the people under him.

The knowledge therefore which he taketh of wrongs must rise, as it doth in the other

two, not from his own opinion or conscience, but from the evidence of the fact which is committed; yea, from such evidence as neither doth admit denial nor defence. For if the offender, having either color of law to uphold, or any other pretence to excuse his own uncharitable and wrongful dealings, shall wilfully stand in defence thereof, it serveth as barr judgment

Nos à communione quonquam prohibere non possumus. Quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum sit mortalit, sed medicinalis, nisi aut sponte confessum, aut aliquo sive seculari, sive ecclesiastico judicio accusatum atque convictum. Quis enim sibi utrumque audeat assumere, ut cuiquam ipse sit & accusator & iudex?

to the power of the minister in this kind.

†

judgment in these affairs) although in this sort our separating of them be not to strike them with the mortal wound of excommunication, but to stay them rather from running desperately headlong into their own harm; yet it is not in us to sever from the holy communion but such as are either found culpable by their own confession, or have been convicted in some publick, secular or ecclesiastical court. For, who is he, that dares take up on him to be any man's both accuser and judge? evil persons are not rashly, and (as we list) to be thrust from communion with the church. Inasmuch that if we cannot proceed against them by any orderly course of judgment, they rather are to be suffered for the time than molested. Many there are reclaimed, as *Peter*; many, as *Judas*, known well enough, and yet tolerated; many which must remain undescried till the day of appearance, by whom the secret corners of darkness shall be brought into open light.

Leaving therefore unto his judgment them, whom we cannot stay from casting their own souls into so great hazard, we have, in the other part of penitential jurisdiction in our power and authority to release sin, joy on all sides, without trouble or molestation unto any. And, if to give, be a thing more blessed than to receive, are we not infinitely happier in being authorized to bestow the treasure of God, than when necessity doth constrain to withdraw the same?

They which, during life and health, are never destitute of ways to delude repentance, do notwithstanding oftentimes when their last hour draweth on both feel that sting which before lay dead in them, and also thirst after such helps as have been always, till then, unfavoury. St. *Ambrose's* words touching late repentance are somewhat hard, *If a man be penitent and receive absolution (which cannot in that case be denied him) even at the very point of death, and so depart, I dare not affirm he goeth out of the world well; I will counsel man to trust to this, because I am loth to deceive any man, seeing I know not what no to think of it. Shall I judge such a one a cast away? Neither will I avouch him safe: All I am able to say, is, let his estate be left to the will and pleasure of almighty God. Wilt thou be therefore delivered of all doubt? Repent while yet thou art healthy and strong. If thou defer it till time give no longer possibility of sinning, thou canst not be thought to have left sin, but rather sin to have forsaken thee.* Such admonitions may in their time and place be necessary, but in no wise prejudicial to the generality of God's heavenly promise, *Whensoever a sinner doth repent from the bottom of his heart, I will put out all his iniquity.* And of this, altho' it hath pleased God not to leave to the world any multitude of examples, lest the careless should too far presume, yet one he hath given and that most memorable, to withhold from despair in the mercies of God, at what instant soever man's unfeigned conversion be wrought. Yea, because to countervail the fault of delay, there are in the latest repentance oftentimes the surest tokens of sincere dealing; therefore upon special confession made to the minister of God, he presently absolveth in this case the sick party from all sins by that authority which Jesus Christ hath committed unto him, knowing that God respecteth not so much what time is spent, as what truth is shewed in repentance.

In some, when the offence doth stand only between God and man's conscience, the counsel is good, which St. *Chrysostom* giveth, *I wish thee not to bewray thy self publickly, nor to accuse thy self before others. I wish thee to obey the prophet, who saith, disclose thy way unto the Lord, confess thy sins before him; tell thy sins to him that he may blot them out. If thou be abashed to tell unto any other, wherein thou hast offended, rebearse them every day between thee and thy soul. I wish thee not to confess them to thy fellow servant, who may upbraid thee with them; tell them to God, who will cure them; there is no need for thee in the presence of witnesses to acknowledge them; let God alone see thee at thy confession.* I pray and beseech you, that you would more often than you do, confess to God eternal, and reckoning up your trespasses, desire his pardon. I carry you not into a theatre or open court of many of your fellow servants, I seek not to detect your crimes before men; disclose your conscience before God, unfold your selves to him, lay forth your wounds before him the best physician that is, and desire of him salve for them. If hereupon it follow, as it did with *David*, *I thought, I will confess against my self my wickedness unto thee, O Lord, and thou forgiveest me the plague of my sin,* we have our de-

T t 2

fire,

Non enim temere, & quodammodo libet, sed propter judicium, ab ecclesie communione separandi sunt mali, ut si propter judicium auferri non possint, tolerentur potius, velut palee cum tritico. Multi corriguntur, ut Petrus; multi tolerantur, ut Judas; multi adestuntur, donec veniat dominus, & illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum. Rhenan. admonit. de dogmat. Tertul.

Lib. 3. de pen.

Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuses, sed obedi te volo prophetae dicenti, revela Domino viam tuam. Ante Deum confitere peccata tua; peccata tua dicito ut ea deleat; si confunderis alicui dicere quae peccasti, dicito ea quotidie in anima: Non dico ut confitearis confervo qui exprobrat; Deo dicito qui ea curat; non necesse est praesentibus testibus confiteri, solum te Deo confitentem videat. Rogo & oro ut crebrius Deo immortalis confiteamini, & enumeratis vestris delictis veniam petatis. Non te in theatrum confervorum duco, non hominibus peccata tua conor detegere. Repete coram Deo confitentiam tuam, te explicas, ostende medico praesantissimo vulnera tua, & pete ab eo medicamentum. Chrysost. hom. 31. ad Hebr. & in Psal. 59. hom. de pen. & confess. & hom. 5. de incarn. Dei natura, homil. itemque de Lazaro.

fire, and there remaineth only thankfulness accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which being not avoided, we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwise, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in seeking after it, if we continue disquieted and not delivered from anguish, mistrusting whether that we do be sufficient; it argueth that our sore doth exceed the power of our own skill, and that the wisdom of the pastor must bind up those parts, which being bruised are not able to be recured of themselves.

Of Satisfaction.

There resteth now satisfaction only to be considered; a point which the fathers do often touch, albeit they never aspire to such mysteries as the papacy hath found enwrapped within the folds and plaits thereof. And it is happy for the church of God, that we have the writings of the fathers to shew what their meaning was. The name of satisfaction, as the antient fathers mean it, containeth whatsoever a penitent should do in the humbling himself unto God, and testifying by deeds of contrition the same which confession in words pretendeth; *He which by repentance for sins* (saith Tertullian, speaking of fickle minded men) *had a purpose to satisfy the Lord, will now by repenting his repentance, make Satan satisfaction; and be so much the more hateful to God, as he is unto God's enemy more acceptable.* Is it not plain, that satisfaction doth here include the whole work of penitency, and that God is satisfied when we are restored through sin into favour by repentance? *How canst thou* (saith Chrysostom) *move God to pity thee, when thou wilt not seem as much as to know that thou hast offended?* By appealing, pacifying, and moving God to pity, St. Chrysostom meaneth the very same with the Latin fathers, when they speak of satisfying God. *We feel* (saith Cyprian) *the bitter smart of his rod and scourge, because there is in us neither care to please him without good deeds, nor to satisfy him for our evil.* Again, *Let the eyes which have looked on idols, spunge out their unlawful acts with those sorrowful tears, which have power to satisfy God.* The master of sentences alledgeth out of St. Augustine, that which is plain enough to this purpose: *Three things there are in perfect penitency, compunction, confession, and satisfaction; that as we three ways offend God, namely in heart, word and deed; so by three duties we may satisfy God.*

Tert. de poen.

Chrysost. in
Cor. hom. 8.
τὴν ὀδὴν ἡμεῶν
αὐτοῦ.
Cyprian. ep. 8. &
ep. 26. sent.
l. 4. dist. 16.

Satisfaction, as a part, comprehended only that which the papists meant by *worthy of repentance*; and if we speak of the whole work of repentance it self, we may in the phrase of antiquity, term it very well *satisfaction*.

Satisfaction is a work which justice requireth to be done for contentment of persons injured: neither is it in the eye of justice a sufficient satisfaction, unless it fully equal the injury for which we satisfy. Seeing then that sin against God eternal and infinite, must needs be an infinite wrong; justice, in regard thereof, doth necessarily exact an infinite recompence, or else inflict upon the offender infinite punishment. Now, because God was thus to be satisfied, and man not able to make satisfaction; in such sort his unspeakable love and inclination to save mankind from eternal death, ordained in our behalf a mediator, to do that which had been for any other impossible. Wherefore all sin is remitted in the only faith of Christ's passion, and no man without belief thereof justified; *Bonavent. in sentent. 4. dist. 15. 9. 9.* Faith alone maketh Christ's satisfaction ours, howbeit that faith alone which after sin maketh us by conversion his.

For in as much as God will have the benefit of Christ's satisfaction both thankfully acknowledged, and duly esteemed of all such as enjoy the same, he therefore imparteth so high a treasure unto no man, whose faith hath not made him willing by repentance to do even that which of it self, how unavailable soever, yet being required and accepted with God, we are in Christ thereby made capable and fit vessels to receive the fruits of his satisfaction: yea, we so far please and content God, that because when we have offended he looked but for repentance at our hands; our repentance and the works thereof are therefore termed satisfactory, not for that so much is thereby done as the justice of God can exact, but because such actions of grief and humility in man after sin, are *illicites divine misericordiae* (as Tertullian speaketh of them) they draw that pity of God towards us, wherein he is for Christ's sake contented, upon our submission, to pardon our rebellion against him; and when that little which his law appointeth is faithfully executed, it pleaseth him in tender compassion and mercy to require no more.

Repentance is a name which noteth the habit and operation of a certain grace or virtue in us: Satisfaction, the effect which it hath, either with God or man. And it is not in this respect said amiss, the satisfaction importeth acceptance, reconciliation, and
amity;

amity; because that, through satisfaction on the one part made, and allowed on the other, they which before did reject are now content to receive; they to be won again which were lost; and they to love unto whom just cause of hatred was given. We satisfy therefore in doing that which is sufficient to this effect; and they towards whom we do it are satisfied, if they accept it as sufficient, and require no more: Otherwise we satisfy not, although we do satisfy. For so between man and man it oftentimes falleth out, but between man and God never. It is therefore true, that our Lord Jesus Christ by one most precious and propitiatory sacrifice, which was his body, a gift of infinite worth, offered for the sins of the whole world, hath thereby once reconciled us to God, purchased his general free pardon, and turned divine indignation from mankind. But we are not for that cause to think any office of penitence either needless or fruitless, on our own behalf. For then would not God require any such Duties at our hands; Christ doth remain everlastingly a gracious intercessor, even for every penitent. Let this assure us, that God, how highly soever displeased and incensed with our sins, is notwithstanding, for his sake, by our tears, pacified, taking that for satisfaction, which is done by us, because Christ hath by his satisfaction made it acceptable. For, as he is the high priest of ^{Apoc. 1. 6.} our salvation, so he hath made us priests likewise under him, to the end we might offer unto God praise and thankfulness while we continue in the way of life; and when we sin, the satisfactory or propitiatory sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. There is not any thing that we do, that could pacify God and clear us in his sight from sin, if the goodness and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ were not; whereas now beholding the ^{Cassia col. 20. c. 8.} poor offer of our religious endeavours, meekly to submit our selves as often as we have offended, he regardeth with infinite mercy those services which are as nothing, and with words of comfort reviveth our afflicted minds, saying, *It is I, even I, that taketh away thine iniquities for mine own sake.* Thus doth repentance satisfy God, changing his wrath and indignation unto mercy.

Anger and mercy are in us passions; but in him not so.

God (saith St. Basil) is no ways passionate, but because the punishments which his judgment doth inflict are like effects of indignation severe and grievous to such as suffer them; therefore we term the revenge which he taketh upon sinners, anger; and the withdrawing of his plagues, mercy. His wrath (saith St. Augustine) is not as ours, the trouble of a mind disturbed and disquieted with things amiss, but a calm, unpassionate, and just assignation of dreadful punishment to be their portion which have disobeyed; his mercy a free determination of all felicity and happiness unto men, except their sins remain as a bar betwixt it and them. So that when God doth cease to be angry with sinful men, when he receiveth them into favour, when he pardoneth their offences, and remembreth their iniquities no more (for all these signify but one thing) it must needs follow, that all punishments be- fore due in revenge of sin, whether they be temporal or eternal, are remitted.

For how should God's indignation import only man's punishment, and yet some punishment remain unto them towards whom there is now in God no indignation remaining? God (saith Tertullian) takes penitency at mens hands; and men at his, in lieu thereof, receive impunity; which notwithstanding doth not prejudice the chastisements which God, after pardon, hath laid upon some offenders, as on ^a the people of Israel, on ^b Moses, on ^c Miriam, on ^d David, either for their own ^e more sound amendment, or for ^f example unto others in this present world (for in the world to come, punishments have unto these intents no use, the dead being not in case to be better by correction, nor to take warning by executions of God's justice there seen) but assuredly to whomsoever he remiteth sin, their very pardon is in it self a full, absolute, and perfect discharge for revengeful punishment, which God doth now here threaten but with purpose of revocation if men repent, no where inflict but on them whom impenitency maketh obdurate.

^a 2 Sam. 12. 14. ^e Cui Deus verè propitius est non solum condonat peccata ne noceant ad futurum seculum, sed etiam castigat, ne semper peccare delectet. Aug. in Psal. 98. ^f Plectuntur quidam quo ceteri corrigantur; exempla sunt omnium, tormenta paucorum. Cyr. de lapsis. Ezek. 33. 14. Rom. 2. 5. 1/a. 1. 18.

Of the one therefore it is said, *Thou I tell the wicked, thou shalt dye the death, yet if he turneth from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live and not dye.* Of the other, *Thou, according to thine hardness and heart that will not repent, treasurest up to thy self wrath against the day of wrath, and evident appearance of the judgment of God.* If God be satisfied and do pardon sin, our justification restored is as perfect as it was at the first bestowed. For so the prophet Isaiah witnesseth, *Thou your sins were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow; though they were as scarlet, they shall be as white as wool.* And can we doubt concerning the punishment of revenge, which was due to sin, but that if God be satisfied and have forgotten his wrath, it must be, even as St. Augustine

* Si tēxit Deus peccata, noluit advertere; si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. *Aug. de pecc. mer. & rem. lib. 2. cap. 34.* Mirandum non est, & mortem corporis non fuisse eventuram homini, nisi præcēssisset peccatum, cujus etiam talis poena consequeretur, & post remissionem peccatorum eam fidelibus evenire, ut ejus timorem vincendo exerceatur fortitudo justitiæ. Sic & mortem corporis propter hoc peccatum Deus homini inflixit, & post peccatorum remissionem propter exercendam justitiā non ademit. Ante remissionem esse illa supplicia peccatorum, post remissionem autem certamina, exercitationesque iustorum. *Cyp. epist. 53.*

Augustine reasoneth, * *What God hath covered, he will not observe, and what he observeth not, he will not punish.* The truth of which doctrine is not to be shifted off by restraining it unto eternal punishment alone. For then would not *David* have said, *They are blessed to whom God imputeth not sin*; blessedness having no part or fellowship at all with malediction? Whereas to be subject to revenge for sin, although the punishment be but temporal, is to be under the curse of the law: wherefore, as one and the

same fire consumeth stubble and refineth gold, so if it please God to lay punishment on them whose sins he hath forgiven; yet is not this done for any destructive end of wasting and eating them out, as in plagues inflicted upon the impenitent; neither is the punishment of the one as of the other proportioned by the greatness of sin past, but according to that future purpose whereunto the goodness of God referreth it, and wherein there is nothing meant to the sufferer but furtherance of all happiness, now in grace, and hereafter in glory. *St. Augustine*, to stop the mouths of *Pelagians*, arguing, *That if God had imposed death upon Adam, and Adam's posterity, as a punishment of sin, death should have ceased when God procured sinners their pardon*; answereth, first, *It is no marvel, either that bodily death should not have happened to the first man, unless he had first sinned (death as punishment following his sin) or that after sin is forgiven, death notwithstanding befalleth the faithful; to the end that the strength of righteousness might be exercised by overcoming the fear thereof.* So that justly God did inflict bodily death on man for committing sin, and yet after sin forgiven took it not away, that his righteousness might still have whereby to be exercised. He fortifieth this with *David's* example, whose sin he forgave, and yet afflicted him for exercise and tryal of his humility. Briefly, a general axiom he hath for all such chastisements, *Before forgiveness, they are the punishment of sinners; and after forgiveness, they are exercises and tryals of righteous men.* Which kind of proceeding is so agreeable with God's nature and man's comfort, that it seemeth even injurious to both, if we should admit those furnished reservations of temporal wrath in God appeased towards reconciled sinners. As a father he delights in his childrens conversion, neither doth he threaten the penitent with wrath, or them with punishment which already mourn; but by promise assureth such of indulgence and mercy; yea, even of plenary pardon, which taketh away all, both faults and penalties: there being no reason, why we should think him the less just, because he sheweth himself thus merciful; when they, which before were obdurate, labour to appease his wrath with the pensive meditation of contrition, the meek humility which confession expresseth, and the deeds where-with repentance declareth it self to be an amendment as well of the rotten fruit, as the dried leaves, and withered root of the tree. For with these duties by us performed, and presented unto God in heaven by Jesus Christ, whose blood is a continual sacrifice of propitiation for us, we content, please, and satisfy God. Repentance therefore, even the sole virtue of repentance, without either purpose of shift or desire of absolution from the priest; repentance, the secret conversion of the heart, in that it consisteth of these three, and doth by these three pacify God, may be without hyperbolical terms most truly magnified, as a recovery of the soul of man from deadly sickness, a restitution of glorious light to his darken'd mind, a comfortable reconciliation with God, a spiritual nativity, a rising from the dead, a day-spring from the depth of obscurity, a redemption from more than *Egyptian* thralldom, a grinding of the old *Adam* even into dust and powder, a deliverance out of the prisons of hell, a full restoration of the seat of grace, and throne of glory, a triumph over sin, and a saving victory.

Amongst the works of satisfaction, the most respected have been always these three, *prayers, fasts, and alms-deeds*; by prayer we lift up our souls to him from whom sin and iniquity hath withdrawn them; by *fasting*, we reduce the body from thralldom under vain delights, and make it serviceable for parts of virtuous conversation; by *alms*, we dedicate to charity those worldly goods and possessions, which unrighteousness doth neither get, nor bestow well: the first, a token of piety intended towards God; the second, a pledge of moderation and sobriety in the carriage of our own persons: the last, a testimony of our meaning to do good to all men. In which three, the apostle, by way of abridgment, comprehendeth whatsoever may appertain to sanctimony, holiness, and good life: as contrariwise, the very mass of general corruption throughout the world, what is it but only forgetfulness of God, carnal pleasure, immoderate desire after worldly things, prophaneſs, licentiousness, covetousness? All offices to repentance have these two properties; there is in performance of them painfulness, and in their nature a contrariety unto sin. The one consideration, causeth them both in holy scripture and elsewhere

where to be termed judgment or revenges taken voluntarily on our selves, and to be furthermore also preservatives from future evils, in as much as we commonly use to keep with the greater care that which with pain we have recovered. And they are in the other respect contrary to sin committed; contrition, contrary to the pleasure; confession, to the error which is the mother of sin, and to the deeds of sin, the works of satisfaction contrary; therefore they are the more effectual to cure the evil habit thereof. Hereunto it was that St. Cyprian referred his earnest and vehement exhortation, *That they which had fallen, should be instant in prayer, reject bodily ornaments when once they had stripped themselves out of Christ's attire, abhor all food after Satan's morsels tasted, follow works of righteousness which wash away sin, and be plentiful in alms-deeds wherewith souls are delivered from death.* Not, as if God did, according to the manner of corrupt judges, take some money to abate so much in the punishment of malefactors. These duties must be offered (saith Salvianus) not in confidence to redeem or buy out sin, but as tokens of meek submission; neither are they with God accepted, because of their value, but for our affection sake which doth thereby shew it self. Wherefore, concerning satisfaction made to God by Christ only; and of the manner how repentance generally; particularly also, how certain special works of penitency, both are by the fathers, in their ordinary phrase of speech, called satisfactory, and may be by us very well so acknowledged, enough hath been spoken.

Our offences sometimes are of such nature as requireth that particular men be satisfied, or else repentance to be utterly void and of none effect. For if either through open rapine, or crooked fraud; if through injurious, or unconscionable dealing, a man have wittingly wronged others to enrich himself; the first thing evermore in this case required (ability serving) is restitution. For let no man deceive himself, from such offences we are not discharged, neither can be, till recompence and restitution to man, accompany the penitent confession we have made to almighty God. In which case, the law of Moses was direct and plain: *If any sin and commit a trespass against the Lord, and deny unto his neighbour that which was given him to keep, or that which was put unto him of trust; or doth by robbery, or by violence oppress his neighbour; or hath found that which was lost, and denieth it, and swears falsely: for any of these things that a man doth wherein he sinneth, he that doth thus offend and trespass, shall restore the robbery that he hath taken, or the thing he hath got by violence, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found; and for whatsoever he hath sworn falsely, adding perjury to injury, he shall both restore the whole sum, and shall add thereto a fifth part more, and deliver it unto him, unto whom it belongeth, the same day wherein he offereth for his trespass.*

Now, because men are commonly over-slack to perform this duty, and do therefore defer it sometime, till God hath taken the party wronged out of the world; the law providing that trespassers might not under such pretence gain the restitution which they ought to make, appointeth the kindred surviving to receive what the dead should, if they had continued. *But (saith Moses) if the party wronged have no kinsman to whom this damage may be restored, it shall then be rendered to the Lord himself for the priest's use.* The whole order of proceeding herein, is in sundry traditional writings set down by their great interpreters and scribes, which taught them that a trespass between a man and his neighbour can never be forgiven till the offender have by restitution made recompence for wrongs done; yea, they hold it necessary that he appeale the party grieved by submitting himself unto him; or, if that will not serve, by using the help and mediation of others; *In this case (say they) for any man to shew himself unappeasable and cruel, were a sin most grievous, considering that the people of God should be easy to relent, as Joseph was towards his brethren; finally, if so it fall out, that the death of him that was injured, prevent his submission which did offend, let him then (for so they determine that he ought) go accompanied with ten others unto the sepulchre of the dead, and there make confession of the fault, saying, I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and against this man, to whom I have done such or such injury; and if money be due, let it be restored to his heirs, or in case he have none known, leave it with the house of judgment: That is to say, with the senators, ancients, and guides of Israel.* We hold not christian people tied unto Jewish orders for the manner of restitution; but surely, restitution we must hold necessary, as well in our own repentance as theirs, for sins of wilful oppression and wrong.

Now, altho' it suffices, that the offices wherewith we pacify God or private men be secretly done; yet in cases where the church must be also satisfied, it was not to this end and purpose unnecessary, that the ancient discipline did farther require outward signs of contrition to be shewed, confession of sins to be made openly, and those works to be apparent which served as testimonies for conversion before men. Wherein, if either hypocrisy did at any time delude their judgment, they knew that God is he whom masks and mockeries cannot blind, that he which seeth mens hearts would judge them according unto

ταυτην αυ-
των δικη λα-
βειν, ημιν
αυτων κατη-
ραξ ηγδω-
σεν, οτι ο
νομ. Chry.
hom. 30. in
Ep. ad Heb.
Cyp. de lapsis.

Salv. ad Ecel.
cath. lib. 1.

Levit. 6. 2.

Num. 5. 8.

Quamdiu e-
nim res prop-
ter quam pec-
catum est, non
reducitur, si
reddi potest,
non agitur
penitentia,
sed fingitur.
Sen. 4. d. 15.

Op. ep. l. 1.

tion that bringeth health is, by this means, not regarded; recovery of soundness not sought for by the only medicine available, which is satisfaction; penitency thrown out of mens hearts; the remembrance of that heaviest and last judgment clean banish'd; the wounds of dying men, which should be healed, are covered; the stroke of death, which hath gone as deep as any bowels are to receive it, is overcast with the slight shew of a cloudy look. From the altar of Satan to the holy table of the Lord, men are not afraid to come, even belching, in a manner, the sacrificed morsels they have eaten; yea, their jaws yet breathing out the irksome savour of their former contagious wickedness, they seize upon the blessed body of our Lord, nothing terrified with that dreadful commination, which saith, *Whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ.* They vainly think it to be peace, which is gotten before they be purged of their faults, before their crime be solemnly confest, before their conscience be cleared by the sacrifice and imposition of the priest's hands, and before they have pacified the indignation of God. Why term they that a favour, which is an injury? Wherefore cloak they impiety with the name of charitable indulgence? Such facility giveth not, but rather taketh away peace; and is it self another fresh persecution or trial, whereby that fraudulent enemy maketh a secret havock of such as before he had overthrown; and now, to the end that he may clean swallow them, he casteth sorrow into a dead sleep, putteth grief to silence, wipeth away the memory of faults newly done, smothereth the signs that should rise from a contrite spirit, drieth up eyes which ought to send forth rivers of tears, and permitteth not God to be pacified with full repentance, whom heinous and enormous crimes have displeased.

By this then we see, that in St. *Cyprian's* judgment, all absolutions are void, frustrate, and of no effect, without sufficient repentance first shewed; whereas contrariwise, if true and full satisfaction have gone before, the sentence of man here given is ratified of God in heaven, according to our Saviour's own sacred testimony, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted.* The end of satisfaction.

By what works in the vertue, and by what in the discipline of repentance we are said to satisfy either God or men, cannot now be thought obscure. As for the inventors of sacramental satisfaction, they have both alter'd the natural order heretofore kept in the church, by bringing in a strange preposterous course to absolve before satisfaction be made, and moreover by this their misordered practice, are grown into sundry errors concerning the end whereunto it is referred.

They imagine, beyond all conceit of antiquity, that when God doth remit sin, and the punishment eternal thereunto belonging, he reserveth the torments of hell-fire to be nevertheless endured for a time, either shorter or longer, according to the quality of mens crimes. Yet so, that there is between God and man, a certain composition (as it were) or contract, by vertue whereof works assigned by the priests to be done after absolution, shall satisfy God as touching the punishment, which he otherwise would inflict for sin pardoned and forgiven.

Now, because they cannot assure any man, that if he performeth what the priest appointeth it shall suffice; this (I say) because they cannot do, inasmuch as the priest hath no power to determine or define of equivalency between sins and satisfactions; and yet if a penitent depart this life, the debt of satisfaction being either in whole or in part undischarged, they stedfastly hold that the soul must remain in unspeakable torment till all be paid: therefore, for help and mitigation in this case, they advise men to set certain copes-mates on work, whose prayers and sacrifices may satisfy God for such souls as depart in debt. Hence have arisen the infinite pensions of their priests, the building of so many altars and tombs, the enriching of so many churches with so many glorious and costly gifts, the bequeathing of lands and ample possessions to religious companies, even with utter forgetfulness of friends, parents, wife and children, all natural affection giving place unto that desire which men, doubtful of their own estate, have to deliver their souls from torment after death.

Yet, behold even this being done, how far forth it shall avail they are not sure; and therefore the last up-shot unto their former inventions is, that as every action of Christ did both merit for himself, and satisfy partly for the eternal, and partly for the temporal punishment due unto men for sin; so his saints have obtained the like privilege of grace, making every good work they do, not only meritorious in their own behalf, but satisfactory too for the benefit of others. Or if, having at any time grievously sinned, they do more to satisfy God than he in justice can expect or look for at their hands; the surplussage runneth to a common stock, out of which treasury containing whatsoever Christ did by way of satisfaction for temporal punishment, together with the satisfactory force which resideth in all the vertuous works of saints,

and in their satisfactions whatsoever doth abound, (I say) *From hence they hold God satisfied for such arrearages as men behind in accompt discharge not by other means; and for disposition hereof, as it is their doctrine that Christ remitteth not eternal death without the priest's absolution, so without the grant of the pope they cannot but teach it alike impossible, that souls in hell should receive any temporal release of pain. The sacrament of pardon from him being to this effect no less necessary, than the priest's absolution to the other.* So that by this postern-gate cometh in the whole mark of papal indulgences, a gain unestimable to him, to others a spoil; a scorn both to God and man. So many works of satisfaction pretended to be done by Christ, by faints, and martyrs; so many virtuous acts possessed with satisfactory force and virtue; so many supererogations in satisfying beyond the exigence of their own necessity; and this that the pope might make a monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at least to the gain of those which are his own. Such facility they have to convert a pretended sacrament into a revenue.

Of Absolution of Penitents.

Mat. 9. 2.
Mark 2. 7.
Luke 5. 21.

SIN is not helped but by being assured of pardon. It resteth therefore to be considered, what warrant we have concerning forgiveness, when the sentence of man absolveth us from sin committed against God. At the words of our Saviour, saying to the sick of the palsy, *Son, thy sins are forgiven thee*, exception was taken by the Scribes, who secretly reasoned against him, *Is any able to forgive sins, but God only?* Whereupon they condemn his speech as blasphemy; the rest, which believed him to be a Prophet sent from God, saw no cause wherefore he might not as lawfully say, and as truly, to whomsoever amongst them, *God hath taken away thy sins*, as *Nathan* (they all knew) had used the very like speech; to whom *David* did not therefore impute blasphemy, but embraced, as became him, the words of truth with joy and reverence.

Now there is no controversion, but as God in that special case did authorize *Nathan*, so Christ more generally, his apostles and the ministers of his word, in his name, to absolve sinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only in this, that whereas the one had prophetic evidence, the other have the certainty partly of faith, and partly of human experience, whereupon to ground their sentence; faith, to assure them of God's most gracious pardon in heaven unto all penitents, and touching the sincerity of each particular parties repentance as much, as outward sensible tokens or signs can warrant.

It is not to be marvelled, that so great a difference appeareth between the doctrine of *Rome* and ours, when we teach repentance. They imply in the name of repentance much more than we do. We stand chiefly upon the due inward conversion of the heart; they more upon works of eternal shew. We teach, above all things, that repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the world's end; they a sacramental penance, of their own devising and shaping. We labour to instruct men in such sort, that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn the way how to cure it self; they clean contrary, would make all sores seem incurable, unless the priests have a hand in them.

Ipsi peccantis actio non est pars sacramenti, nisi quatenus potestati sacerdotali subijcitur, & a sacerdote dirigatur vel jubetur. *Bell.* defasting, no alms, no repentance or restitution for whatsoever we have done, can help, except by him it be first imposed. It is the chain of their own doctrine, no remedy for mortal sin committed after baptism, but the sacrament of penance only; no sacrament of penance, if either matter or form be wanting; no ways to make those duties a material part of the sacrament, unless we consider them as required and exacted by the priest. Our Lord and Saviour, they say, hath ordained his priests judges in such sort, that no man which sinneth after baptism can be reconciled unto God, but by their sentence. For why? If there were any other way of reconciliation, the very promise of Christ should be false, in saying, *Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained.* Except therefore the

Touching the force of whose absolution they strangely hold, that whatsoever the penitent doth, his contrition, confession, and satisfaction have no place of right to stand as material parts in this sacrament, nor consequently any such force as to make them available for the taking away of sin, in that they proceed from the penitent himself, without the privy of the minister, but only as they are enjoined by the minister's authority and power. So that no contrition or grief of heart, till the priest exact it; no acknowledgments of sins, but that which he doth demand; no praying, no fastings, no alms, no repentance or restitution for whatsoever we have done, can help, except by him it be first imposed. It is the chain of their own doctrine, no remedy for mortal sin committed after baptism, but the sacrament of penance only; no sacrament of penance, if either matter or form be wanting; no ways to make those duties a material part of the sacrament, unless we consider them as required and exacted by the priest. Our Lord and Saviour, they say, hath ordained his priests judges in such sort, that no man which sinneth after baptism can be reconciled unto God, but by their sentence. For why? If there were any other way of reconciliation, the very promise of Christ should be false, in saying, *Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained.* Except therefore the

priest be willing, God hath by promise hampered himself so, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any man. Let him who hath offended crave as the publican did, *Lord, be thou merciful unto me a sinner*; let him, as *David*, make a thousand times his supplication, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according to the multitude of thy compassions, put away mine iniquities*; all this doth not help, till such time as the pleasure of the priest be known, till he have signed us a pardon, and given us our *quietus est*. God himself hath no answer to make, but such as that of the angel unto *Lot*, I can do nothing.

It is true, that our Saviour by these words, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted*, did ordain judges over our sinful souls, gave them authority to absolve from sin, and promise to ratify in heaven whatsoever they should do on earth in execution of this their office; to the end that hereby, as well his ministers might take encouragement to do their duty with all faithfulness, as also his peoples admonition, gladly with all reverence to be ordered by them; both parts knowing that the functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual assistance and approbation. Howbeit all this with two restraints, which every jurisdiction in the world hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend it self beyond due bounds; which bounds or limits have so confined penitential jurisdiction, that although there be given unto it power of remitting sin, yet no such sovereignty of power that no sin should be pardonable in man without it. Thus to enforce our Saviour's words, is as though we should gather, that because whatsoever *Joseph* did command in the land of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh's* grant is, it should be done; therefore he granteth that nothing should be done in the land of *Egypt* but what *Joseph* did command, and so consequently, by enabling his servant *Joseph* to command under him, disableth himself to command any thing without *Joseph*.

But by this we see how the papacy maketh all sin unpardonable, which hath not the priest's absolution; except peradventure in some extraordinary case, where albeit absolution be not had, yet it must be desired.

peccata sunt ab eo instituta, sacramenta: sine quibus peccata remittere Christus potest, sed extraordinarie & multo rarius hoc facit, quam per sacramenta. Noluit igitur eos extraordinariis remissionis peccatorum confidere, quæ, & rara sunt & incerta: sed ordinaria, ut ita dicam, visibilia sacramentorum querere remedia. Maldon. in Matt. 16. 19.

What is then the force of absolution? What is it which the act of absolution worketh in a sinful man? Doth it by any operation derived from it self alter the state of the soul? Doth it really take away sin, or but ascertain us of God's most gracious and merciful pardon? The latter of which two is our assertion, the former theirs.

At the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, saying unto the sick of the palsy, *Son, thy sins are forgiven thee*, the Pharisees which knew him not to be *Son of the living God*, took secret exception, and fell to reasoning with themselves against him; *Is any able to forgive sin but God only? The sins* (saith St. Cyprian) *that are committed against him, he alone hath power to forgive, which took upon him our sins, he which sorrowed and suffered for us, he whom the Father delivered unto death for our offences*. Whereunto may be added, that which *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath, *Our Lord is profitable every way, every way beneficial, whether we respect him as man, or as God; as God for giving, as man instructing and learning how to avoid sin*. * For it is I, even I that putteth away thine iniquities for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins, saith the Lord.

λῆς, κ; ὡς ἀδελφῶν, κ; ὡς Θεός. Τὰ ῥῆ ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ Θεὸς ἀφίκει, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐξημερῆσαι πικρὰν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν. • Εὐα. 43. 25.

Now, albeit we willingly confess with St. Cyprian, *The sins which are committed against him, he only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our sins, he which hath sorrowed and suffered for us, he, whom God hath given for our offences*. Yet still neither did St. Cyprian intend to deny the power of the minister, otherwise than if he presume beyond his commission to remit sin, where God's own will is it should be retained; for, against such absolutions he speaketh (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, or of no validity;) and, if rightly it be considered how higher causes in operation use to concur with inferior means, his grace with our ministry, God really performing the same which man is authorized to act as in his name, there shall need for decision of this point no great labour.

To remission of sins there are two things necessary; grace, as the only cause which taketh away iniquity; and repentance, as a duty or condition required in us. To make repentance such as it should be, what doth God demand but inward sincerity joined with fit and convenient offices for that purpose, the one referred wholly to our own consciences, the other best discerned by them whom God hath appointed judges in this court. So that having first the promises of God for pardon generally unto all offenders penitent; and

and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the unfallible testimony of a good conscience, the sentence of God's appointed officer and vicegerent to approve with impartial judgment the quality of that we have done, and as from his tribunal in that respect, to assail us of any crime; I see no cause but by the rules of our faith and religion we may rest our selves very well assured touching God's most merciful pardon and grace; who, especially for the strengthening of weak, timorous and fearful minds, hath so far indured his church with power to absolve sinners. It pleased God that men sometimes should, by missing this help, perceive how much they stand bound to him for so precious a benefit enjoyed. And surely, so long as the world lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, so dear were his ministers to the people, chiefly in this respect, that being through tyranny and persecution deprived of pastors, the doleful rehearsal of their lost felicities hath not any thing more eminent, than that sinners distressed should not know how or where to unload their burthens. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who so much every where extol the grace of Jesus Christ, in leaving unto his church this heavenly and divine power, should as men, whose simplicity had universally been abused, agree all to admire and magnify a needless office.

The sentence therefore of ministerial absolution, hath two effects: touching sin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltiness thereof, and restored into God's favour; but concerning right in sacred and divine mysteries, whereof through sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the church did before effectually bind and retain us from access unto them, so upon our apparent repentance it truly restoreth our liberty, looseth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatsoever is past, and accepteth us no less returned than if we had never gone astray.

For, inasmuch as the power which our Saviour gave to his church, is of two kinds; the one to be exercised over voluntary penitents only, the other over such as are to be brought to amendment by ecclesiastical censures, the words wherein he hath given this authority must be so understood, as the subject or matter whereupon it worketh will permit. It doth not permit that in the former kind, (that is to say, in the use of power over voluntary converts) to bind or loose, remit or retain, should signify any other than only to pronounce of sinners according to that which may be gathered by outward signs; because really to effect the removal or continuance of sin in the soul of any offender, is no priestly act, but a work which far exceedeth their ability. Contrariwise, in the latter kind of spiritual Jurisdiction, which by censures constraineth men to amend their lives; it is true, that the minister of God doth then more declare and signify what God hath wrought. And this power, true it is, that the church hath invested in it.

Howbeit, as other truths, so this hath by error been oppugned and depraved through abuse. The first of name that openly in writing withstood the church's authority and power to remit sin, was *Tertullian*, after he had combined himself with *Montanists*, drawn to the liking of their heresy through the very sourness of his own nature, which neither his incredible skill and knowledge otherwise, nor the doctrine of the gospel it self, could but so much alter, as to make him favour any thing which carried with it the taste of lenity. A sponge steeped in wormwood and gall, a man through too much severity merciless, and neither able to endure nor be endured of any. His book entituled concerning chastity, and written professedly against the discipline of the church, hath many fretful and angry sentences, declaring a mind very much offended with such as would not persuade themselves, that of sins, some be pardonable by the keys of the church, some incapable of forgiveness; that middle and moderate offences, having received chastisement, may by spiritual authority afterwards be remitted: but, greater transgressions must (as touching indulgence) be left to the only pleasure of almighty God in the world to come: that as idolatry and bloodshed, so likewise fornication and sinful lust, are of this nature; that they, which so far have fallen from God, ought to continue for ever after barred from access unto his sanctuary, condemned to perpetual profusion of tears, deprived of all expectation and hope to receive any thing at the church's hands, but publication of their shame. For, (saith he) *who will fear to waste out that which he hopeth he may recover? Who will be careful for ever to hold that, which he knoweth cannot for ever be withheld from him? He which slacketh the bridle to sin, doth thereby give it even the spur also.* Take away fear, and that which presently succeedeth instead thereof, is licentious desire. Greater offences therefore are punishable, but not pardonable by the church. If any prophet or apostle be found to have remitted such transgressions, they did it not by the ordinary course of discipline, but by extraordinary power. For they all raised the dead, which none but God is able to do; they restored the impotent and lame man, a work peculiar to Jesus Christ; yea, that which Christ would not do, because executions of such severity befecmed not him who came to save and redeem the world

Securitas de-
licti, etiam li-
bido est ejus

world by his sufferings, they by their power struck *Elymas* and *Ananias*, the one blind, and the other dead. Approve first your selves to be, as they were, apostles or prophets, and then take upon you to pardon all men. But, if the authority you have be only ministerial, and no way sovereign, over-reach not the limits which God hath set you; know that to pardon capital sin, is beyond your commission.

Howbeit, as oftentimes the vices of wicked men do cause other their commendable qualities to be abhorred, so the honour of great mens virtues is easily a cloak of their errors. In which respect, *Tertullian* hath past with much less obloquy and reprehension than *Novatian*; who, broaching afterwards the same opinion, had not otherwise wherewith to countervail the offence he gave, and to procure it the like toleration. *Novatian*, at the first, a stoical philosopher (which kind of men hath always accounted stupidity the highest top of wisdom, and commiseration the deadliest sin) became by institution and study, the very same which the other had been before, through a secret natural distemper, upon his conversion to the christian faith, and recovery from sickness, which moved him to receive the sacrament of baptism in his bed. The bishops, contrary to the canons of the church, would needs, in special love towards him, ordain him presbyter, which favour satisfied not him who thought himself worthy of greater place and dignity. He closed therefore with a number of well-minded men and not suspicious what his secret purposes were, and having made them sure unto him by fraud, procureth his own consecration to be their bishop. His prelacy now was able, as he thought, to countenance what he intended to publish, and therefore his letters went presently abroad to sundry churches, advising them never to admit to the fellowship of holy mysteries, such as had after baptism offered sacrifice to idols.

There was present at the council of *Nice*, together with other bishops, one *Acecius* a *Secret.* 1. 4. c. *Novatianist*, touching whose diversity in opinion from the church, the emperor desirous to hear some reason, ask'd of him certain questions: for answer whereunto, *Acecius* weaveth out a long history of things that happen'd in the persecution under *Decius*; and of men, which to save life, forsook faith. But in the end was a certain bitter canon, framed in their own school. *That men which fall into deadly sin after holy baptism, ought never to be again admitted to the communion of divine mysteries: that they are to be exhorted unto repentance; howbeit not to be put in hope that pardon can be had at the priest's hands, but with God, which hath sovereign power and authority in himself to remit sin, it may be in the end they shall find mercy.* These followers of *Novatian*, which gave themselves the title of *καθαροί*, clean, pure, and unspotted men, had one point of *Montanism* more than their master did profess; for amongst sins unpardonable, they reckoned second marriages, of which opinion *Tertullian* making (as his usual manner was) a salt apology, *Such is (saith he) our stony hardness, that defaming our Comforter with a kind of enormity in discipline, we dam up the doors of the church, no less against twice-married men, than against adulterers and fornicators.* Of this sort therefore it was ordained by the *Nicene* synod, that if any such did return to the catholic and apostolick unity, they should in writing bind themselves to observe the orders of the church, and communicate as well with them which had been often married, or had fallen in time of persecution, as with other sort of christian people. But further to relate, or at all to reflect the error of mis-believing men concerning this point, is not now to our present purpose greatly necessary.

The church may receive no small detriment by corrupt practice, even there where doctrine concerning the substance of things practised is free from any great or dangerous corruption. If therefore that which the papacy doth in matter of confessions and absolution be offensive, if it palpably serve in the use of the keys, howsoever, that which it teacheth in general concerning the church's power to retain and forgive sins, be admitted true, have they not on the one side as much whereto to be abashed, as on the other wherein to rejoice?

They bind all men, upon pain of everlasting condemnation and death, to make confessions to their ghostly fathers, of every great offence they know, and can remember, that they have committed against God. Hath Christ in his gospel so delivered the doctrine of repentance unto the world? Did his apostles so preach it to nations? Have the fathers so believed, or so taught? Surely *Novatian* was not so mercilefs in depriving the church of power to absolve some certain offenders, as they in imposing upon all a necessity thus to confess. *Novatian* would not deny but God might remit that which the church could not, whereas in the papacy it is maintained, that what we conceal from men, God himself shall never pardon. By which oversight, as they have here surcharged the world with multitude, but much abated the weight of confessions, so the careless manner of their absolution hath made discipline, for the most part, amongst them a bare formality: yea, rather

ther a means of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life, than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy present evils in the soul of man. The fathers were slow and always fearful to absolve any before very manifest tokens given of a true penitent and contrite spirit. It was not their custom to remit sin first, and then to impose works of satisfaction, as the fashion of *Rome* is now; inasmuch that this their preposterous course, and misordered practices hath bred also in them an error concerning the end and purpose of these works. For against the guiltiness of sin, and the danger of everlasting condemnation thereby incurred, confession and absolution succeeding the same, are, as they take it, a remedy sufficient: and therefore what their penitentiaries do think to enjoy farther, whether it be a number of *Ave-Maries* daily to be scored up, a journey of pilgrimage to be undertaken, some few dishes of ordinary diet to be exchanged, offerings to be made at the shrines of saints, or a little to be scraped off from mens superfluities for relief of poor people, all is in lieu or exchange with God, whose justice, notwithstanding our pardon, yet oweth us still some temporal punishment, either in this or in the life to come, except we quit it our selves here with works of the former kind, and continued till the balance of God's most strict severity shall find the pains we have taken equivalent with the plagues which we should endure, or else the mercy of the pope relieve us. And at this postern-gate cometh in the whole mart of papal indulgencies so infinitely strewed, that the pardon of sin, which heretofore was obtained hardly, and by much suit, is with them become now almost impossible to be escaped.

In peccato, tria sunt; actio mala, interior macula, & sequela. Bon. sent. l. 4. d. 17. q. 3. 1 John 3. 4.

To set down then the force of this sentence in absolving penitents; there are in sin these three things: the act which passeth away and vanisheth: the pollution wherewith it leaveth the soul defiled; and the punishment whereunto they are made subject that have committed it. The act of sin is every deed, word and thought against the law of God. *For sin is the transgression of the law*; and although the deed it self do not continue, yet is that bad quality permanent, whereby it maketh the soul unrighteous and deformed in God's sight. *From the heart come evil cogitations, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, slanders; these are things which defile a man.* They do not only, as effects of impurity, argue the nest to be unclean, out of which they came, but as causes they strengthen that disposition unto wickedness which brought them forth; they are both fruits and seeds of uncleanness, they nourish the root out of which they grow; they breed that iniquity which bred them. The blot therefore of sin abideth, though the act be transitory. And out of both ariseth a present debt, to endure what punishment soever the evil which we have done deserveth; an obligation, in the chains whereof sinners, by the justice of almighty God, continue bound till repentance loose them. *Repent this thy wickedness* (saith *Peter*) unto *Simon Magus*, beseech *God*, *that if it be possible the thought of thine heart may be pardoned; for I see thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.* In like manner *Solomon*: *The wicked shall be held fast in the cords of his own sin.*

Matth. 15. 19. Acts 8. 22. Prov. 5. 22.

Nor doth God only bind sinners hand and foot by the dreadful determination of his own unfearchable judgment against them; but sometimes also the church bindeth by the censures of her discipline. So that when offenders upon their repentance are by the same discipline absolved, the church looseth but her own bonds, the chains wherein she had tied them before.

Sacerdotes opus justicie exercent in peccatores cum eos iusti prena ligant; opus misericordie cum de ea aliquod relaxant, vel sacramentorum communioni conciliant; alia opera in peccatores exercere nequeunt. Sent. l. 4. dif. 18.

Acts 7. 60. Mic. 7. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. 3. 5. Luke 12. 5. Matt. 10. 28.

The act of sin God alone remitteth, in that his purpose is never to call it to account, or to lay it unto men's charge; the stain he washeth out by the sanctifying grace of his Spirit; and concerning the punishment of sin, as none else hath power to cast body and soul into hell fire, so none have power to deliver either, besides him.

As for the ministerial sentence of private absolution, it can be no more than a declaration what God hath done; it hath but the force of the prophet *Nathan's* absolution, *God hath taken away thy sin*: than which construction, especially of words judicial, there is not any thing more vulgar. For example, the publicans are said in the gospel to have justified God; the *Jews* in *Malachi* to have blessed proud men, which sin and prosper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy: but to bless, to justify, and to absolve, are as commonly used for words of judgment, or declaration, as of true and real efficacy; yea even by the opinion of the master of sentences. It may be soundly affirmed and thought that God alone doth remit and retain sins, although he have given power to the church to do both; but he one way, and the church another. He only by himself forgiveth sin, who cleanseth the soul from inward blemish, and looseth the debt of eternal death. So great a privilege he hath not given

given unto his priests, who notwithstanding are authorized to loose and bind, that is to say, declare who are bound, and who are loosed. For albeit a man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the church of God so taken, but by the vertue of the priest's sentence; who likewise may be said to bind by imposing satisfaction, and to loose by admitting to the holy communion.

Saint *Hierom* also, whom the master of the sentences alledgeth for more countenance of his own opinion, doth no less plainly and directly affirm; *That as the priests of the law could only discern, and neither cause nor remove leprosy; so the ministers of the gospel, when they retain or remit sin, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear or free.* For there is nothing more apparent, than that the discipline of repentance, both publick and private, was ordained as an outward means to bring men to the vertue of inward conversion: so that when this by manifest tokens did seem effected, absolution ensuing (which could not make) served only to declare men innocent.

But the cause wherefore they are so stiff, and have forsaken their own master in this point is, for that they hold the private discipline of penitency to a sacrament; absolution an external sign in this sacrament; the signs external of all sacraments in the new testament, to be both causes of that which they signify, and signs of that which they truly cause.

To this opinion concerning sacraments, they are now ty'd by expounding a canon in the *Florentine* council according to the former ecclesiastical invention received from *Thomas*. For his deceit it was, that the mercy of God, which useth sacraments as instruments whereby to work, endueth them at the time of their administration with supernatural force and ability to induce grace into the souls of men; even as the axe and saw doth seem to bring timber into that fashion which the mind of the artificer intendeth. His conceit, *Scotus*, *Occam*, *Petrus Alliaccensis*, with sundry others, do most earnestly and strongly impugn, shewing very good reason wherefore no sacrament of the new law can either by vertue which it self hath, or by force supernatural given it, be properly a cause to work grace; but sacraments are therefore said to work or confer grace, because the will of almighty God is, altho' not to give them such efficacy, yet himself to be present in the ministry of the working that effect, which proceedeth wholly from him, without any real operation of theirs, such as can enter into men's souls.

In which construction, seeing that our books and writings have made it known to the world how we join with them, it seemeth very hard and injurious dealing, that *Bellar-*

mine throughout the whole course of his second book *De sacramentis in genere*, should so boldly face down his adversaries, as if their opinion were, that sacraments are naked, empty, and ineffectual signs; wherein there is no other force than only such, as in pictures to stir up the mind, that so by theory and speculation of things represented, faith may grow. Finally, that all the operations which sacraments have; is a sensible and divine instruction. But had it pleased him not to hood-wink his own knowledge, I nothing doubt but he fully saw how to answer himself; it being a matter very strange and incredible, that one which with so great diligence hath winnowed his adversaries writings, should be ignorant of their minds. For, even as in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, both God and man, when his human nature is by it self considered, we may not attribute that unto him, which we do and must ascribe as oft as respect is had unto both natures combined; so because in sacraments there are two things distinctly to be considered, the outward sign, and the secret concurrence of God's most blessed Spirit, in which respect our Saviour hath taught that water and the holy Ghost are combined to work the mystery of new birth; sacraments therefore, as signs, have only those effects before mentioned; but of sacraments, in that by God's own will and ordinance they are signs assisted always with the power of the holy Ghost, we acknowledge whatsoever either the places of the scripture, or the authority of councils and fathers, or the proofs and arguments of reason which he alledgeth, can shew to be wrought by them. The elements and words have power of infallible significations, for which they are called seals of God's truth; the spirit affixed unto those elements and words, power of operation within the soul, most admirable, divine, and impossible to be except. For so God hath instituted and ordained, that, together with due administration and receipt

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* *Lutherani* de hac re interdum ita scribunt, ut videantur à catholicis non dissentire; interdum autem apertissime scribunt contraria: at semper in eadem sententia manent, sacramenta non habere immediate illam efficientiam respectu gratiæ, sed esse nuda signa, tamen mediate aliquid efficere quatenus excitant & alunt fidem, quod ipsum non faciunt nisi representando; ut sacramenta per visum excitent fidem, quemadmodum prædicatio verbi per auditum. *Bellarmin.* de sacr. in genere, l. 2. c. 2.

Quædam signa sunt theoria, non ad alium finem instituta, quam ad significandum; alia ad significandum & efficiendum, quæ ob id practica dici possunt. Controversia est inter nos & hereticos, quod illi faciunt sacramenta signa prioris generis. Quare si ostendere poterimus esse signa posterioris generis, obtinuimus causam. cap. 8.

* Semper memoria repetendum est sacramenta nihil aliud quam instrumentales esse conferendæ nobis gratiæ causas. *Calvus* in Ant. con. Frid. l. 7. c. 5. Si qui sint qui regent sacramentis contineri gratiam quam figurant, illos improbamus. *Ibid.* can. 6.

of sacramental signs, there shall proceed from himself, grace effectual, to sanctify, to cure, to comfort, and whatsoever else is for the good of the souls of men. Howbeit this opinion ^a *Thomas* rejecteth, under pretence that it maketh sacramental words and elements to be in themselves no more than signs, whereas they ought to be held as causes of that they signify. He therefore reformeth it with this addition, that the very sensible parts of the sacraments do instrumentally effect and produce, not grace, (for the school-men both of these times, and long after did, for the most part, maintain it untrue, and some of them impossible, that sanctifying grace should efficiently proceed but from God alone, and that by immediate creation, as the substance of the soul doth) but the phantasy *which Thomas* had was, that sensible things, thro' Christ's and the priest's benediction, receive a certain supernatural transitory force, which leaveth behind it a kind of preparative quality or beauty within the soul, whereupon immediately from God doth ensue the degree that justifieth.

^a *Iste modus non transcendit rationem signi, cum sacramentum novæ legis non solum significet, sed causent gratiam.* Act. 1. *Alex.* and. part. 4. q. 8. memb. 3. *Act.* 5. Sec. 1. & 2. *Th.* de grace that justifieth. verit. q. 27. Act. 3. *Allac.* in quart. sent. 9. 1. Capr. in 4. d. 1. q. 1. Palud. Tom. Ferrar. lib. 4. cont. Gent. c. 57. Necessè est ponere aliquam virtutem supernaturalem in sacramentis. Sent. 4. d. 1. q. 1. Act. 4. Sacramentum consequitur spirituales virtutes cum benedictione Christi, & applicatione ministri ad usum sacramenti. part. 3. q. 62. art. 4. Concil. Viçtus sacramentalis habet esse transiens ex uno in aliud & incompletum. Ibidem Ex sacramentis duo consequuntur in anima, unum est character, sive aliquis ornatus; aliud, est gratia. Respectu primo, sacramenta sunt cause aliquo modo efficientes; respectu secundo, sunt disponentes. Sacramenta causant dispositionem ad formam ultimam, sed ultimam perfectionem non inducunt. Sent. 4. d. 1. q. 1. art. 4.

Now they which pretend to follow *Thomas*, differ from him in two points. For first, they make grace an immediate effect of the outward sign, which he for the dignity and excellency thereof was afraid to do. Secondly, Whereas he, to produce but a preparative quality in the soul, did imagine God to create in the instrument a supernatural gift or hability; they confess, that nothing is created, infused, or any way inherent either in the word or in the elements; nothing that giveth them instrumental efficacy, but God's

^{Solus Deus efficit gratiam adeo quod nec angelis, qui sunt nobilibus sensibilibus creaturis, hoc communicatur.} Sent. 4. q. 1. art. 4. *Eph.* 2. *having scoured out the stained foulness of former life, supernatural light had entrance into the breast which was purified and cleansed for it: after that a second nativity had made another man, by inward receipt of the Spirit from heaven; things doubtful began in marvellous manner to appear certain, that to be open which lay hid, darkness to shine like a clear light, former hardness to be made facility, impossibility easiness: inasmuch as it might be discerned how that earthly, which before had been carnally bred and lived, given over unto sins; that now God's own which the holy Ghost did quicken.*

Our opinion is therefore plain unto every man's understanding. We take it for a very good speech which *Bonaventure* hath uttered in saying, *Heed must be taken that while we assign too much to the bodily signs in way of their commendation, we withdraw not the honour which is due to the cause which worketh in them, and the soul which receiveth them.* Whereunto we conformably teach, that the outward sign applied, hath of it self no natural efficacy towards grace, neither doth God put into it any supernatural inherent Virtue. And as I think, we thus far avouch no more than they themselves confess to be very true.

If any thing displease them, it is because we add to these promises another assertion; that, with the outward sign, God joineth his holy Spirit; and so the whole instrument of God bringeth that to pass, whereunto the baser and meaner part could not extend. As for operations through the motion of signs, they are dark, intricate and obscure; perhaps possible, howbeit, not proved either true or likely, by alledging, that the touch of our Saviour's garment restored health, clay sight, when he applied it. Although ten thousand such examples should be brought, they overthrow not this one principle; that, where the instrument is without inherent, the effect must necessarily proceed from the only agent's adherent power.

It passeth a man's conceit how water should be carried into the soul with any force of divine motion, or grace proceed but merely from the influence of God's Spirit. Notwithstanding, if God himself teach his church in this case to believe that which he hath not given us capacity to comprehend, how incredible soever it may seem, yet our wits should submit themselves, and reason give place unto faith therein. But they yield it to be no question of faith, how grace doth proceed from sacraments;

craments; if in general they be acknowledged true instrumental causes, by the ministry whereof men receive divine grace. And that they which impute grace to the only operation of God himself, concurring with the external sign, do no less acknowledge the true efficacy of the sacrament, than they that ascribe the same to the quality of the sign apply'd, or to the motion of God applying, and so far carrying it, till grace be not created, but extracted, out of the natural possibility of the soul. Nevertheless, this last philosophical imagination (if I may call it philosophical, which useth the terms, but overthroweth the rules of philosophy, and hath no article of faith to support it; but whosoever it be) they follow it in a manner all; they cast off the first opinion, wherein is most perspicuity and strongest evidence of certain truth.

The council of *Florence* and *Trent* defining, that sacraments contain and confer grace, the sense whereof (if it liked them) might so easily conform it self with the same opinion which they drew without any just cause, quite and clean the other way, making grace the issue of bare words, in such sacraments as they have framed destitute of any visible element, and holding it the offspring as well of elements as of words in those sacraments where both are; but in no sacrament acknowledging grace to be the fruit of the holy Ghost working with the outward sign, and not by it, in such sort as *Thomas* himself teacheth; that the apostles imposition of hands caused not the coming of the holy Ghost, which notwithstanding was bestowed together with the exercise of that ceremony; yea, by it, (saith the evangelist) to wit, as by a mean, which came between the true agent and the effect; but not otherwise.

Many of the ancient fathers, presupposing that the faithful before Christ had not, till the time of his coming, that perfect life and salvation which they looked for and we possess, thought likewise their sacraments to be but prefigurations of that which ours in present do exhibit. For which cause the *Florentine* council, comparing the one with the other, saith, *That the old did only shadow grace, which was afterward to be given through the passion of Jesus Christ*. But the after-wit of latter days hath found out another more exquisite distinction, that evangelical sacraments are causes to effect grace, through motions of signs legal, according to the same signification and sense missio, sicut wherein evangelical sacraments are held by us to be God's instruments for that purpose. For howsoever *Bellarmino* hath shrunk up the *Lutherans* sinews, and cut off one doctrine by the skirts; *Allen*, although he terms us hereticks, according to their school-men's doctrine and ours is one concerning sacramental efficacy, derived from God himself, assisting by promise those outward signs of elements and words, out of which their school-men of the newer mint are so desirous to hatch grace. Where God doth work and use these outward means, wherein he neither findeth nor planteth force and aptness towards his intended purpose; such means are but signs to bring men to the consideration of his omnipotent power, which, without the use of things sensible, would not be marked.

cardus, Occamus, Marculus, Gabriel, volunt solum Deum producere gratiam ad presentiam sacramentorum. *Bellarmino*, de sacra. in gen. lib. 2. cap. 11. Puto longe probatorem & tutiorem sententiam quæ dat sacramentis veram efficientiam. Primum quia doctores passim docent, sacramenta non agere nisi prius à Deo virtutem seu benedictionem seu sanctificationem accipiant, & referunt effectum sacramentorum ad omnipotentiam Dei, & conferunt cum veris causis efficientibus. Secundò, quia non est differentia inter modum agendi sacramentorum, & signorum magicorum. Tertiò, quia tunc non esse homo Dei minister in ipsa actione sacramenti, sed homo præbere signum actione sua, & Deus sua actione visa eo signo intunderet gratiam, ut cum unus ostendit syngrapham mercatori, & ille dat pecunias. At scripturæ docent, quod Deus baptizat per hominem. *Bellarmino*. lib. 2. cap. 1.

At the time therefore when he giveth his heavenly grace, he applyeth, by the hands of his ministers, that which betokeneth the same; not only betokeneth, but, being also accompanied for ever with such power as doth truly work, is in that respect termed God's instrument, a true efficient cause of grace; a cause not in it self, but only by connexion of that which is in it self a cause, namely, God's own strength and power. Sacraments, that is to say, the outward signs in sacraments, work nothing till they be blessed and sanctified by God.

But what is God's heavenly benediction and sanctification, saving only the association of his Spirit? Shall we say that sacraments are like magical signs, if thus they have their effect? Is it magick for God to manifest by things sensible what he doth, and to do by his most glorious Spirit really what he manifesteth in his sacraments? The delivery and administration whereof remaineth in the hands of mortal men, by whom, as by personal instruments, God doth apply signs, and with signs

inseparably join his Spirit, and through the power of his Spirit work grace. The first is by way of concomitance and consequence to deliver the rest also that either accompany or ensue.

It is not here, as in cases of mutual commerce, where divers persons have divers acts to be performed in their own behalf; a creditor to shew his bill, and a debtor to pay his money. But God and man do here meet in one action upon a third, in whom, as it is the work of God to create grace, so it is his work by the hand of the ministry to apply a sign which should betoken, and his work to annex that Spirit which shall effect it. The action therefore is but one, God the author thereof, and man a co-partner, by him assigned to work for, with, and under him. God the giver of grace by the outward ministry of man, so far forth as he authorizeth man to apply the sacraments of grace in the soul, which he alone worketh, without either instrument or co-agent.

Whereas therefore with us the remissions of sin is ascrib'd unto God, as a thing which proceedeth from him only, and presently followeth upon the virtue of true repentance appearing in man; that which we attribute to the virtue, they do not only impute to the sacrament of repentance; but, having made repentance a sacrament, and thinking of sacraments as they do, they are enforced to make the ministry of the priest, and their absolution, a cause of that which the sole omnipotency of God worketh.

And yet, for my own part, I am not able well to conceive how their doctrine, that human absolution is really a cause out of which our deliverance from sin doth ensue, can cleave with the council of Trent, defining, *That contrition perfected with charity, doth at all times it self reconcile offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the sacrament of penance.* How can it stand with those discourses of the learned Rabbies, which grant, *That whosoever turneth unto God with his whole heart, hath immediately his sins taken away; That if a man be truly converted, his pardon can neither be denied nor delayed; it doth not stay for the priest's absolution, but presently followeth: Surely if every contrite sinner, in whom there is charity, and a sincere conversion of heart, have remission of sins given him before he seek it at the priest's hands; if reconciliation to God be a present, and immediate sequel upon every such conversion or change: it must of necessity follow, seeing no man can be a true penitent, or contrite, which doth not both love God, and sincerely abhor sin, that therefore they all before absolution attain forgiveness; whereunto notwithstanding absolution is pretended a cause so necessary, that sin without it, except in some rare extraordinary case, cannot possibly be remitted.* Shall absolution be a cause producing and working that effect which is always brought forth without it, and had, before absolution be thought of? But when they which are thus before-hand pardoned of God, shall come to be also absolved by the priest, I would know what force his absolution hath in this case? Are they able to say here, that the priest doth remit any thing? Yet, when any of ours ascribeth the work of remission to God, and interpreteth the priest's sentence to be but a solemn declaration of that which God himself hath already performed, they scorn at it; they urge against it, that if this were true, our Saviour Christ should rather have said, *What is loosed in heaven, ye shall loose on earth*, than as he doth, *Whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall in heaven be loosed.* As if he were to learn of us how to place his words, and not we to crave rather of him a sound and right understanding, left to his dishonour and our own hurt we mis-expound them. It sufficeth, I think, both against their constructions to have proved that they ground an untruth on his speech; and, in behalf of our own, that his words, without any such transposition, do very well admit the sense we give them; which is, that he taketh to himself the lawful proceedings of authority in his name, and that the act of spiritual authority in this case, is by sentence to acquit or pronounce them free from sin whom they judge to be sincerely and truly penitent; which interpretation they themselves do acknowledge, though not sufficient, yet very true.

Hæc expositio, ego te absolvo, id est, absolutionem ostendo, partim quidem vera est, non tamen perfecta. Sacramenta quippe novæ legis non solum significant, sed efficiunt quod significant. Soto. sent. 1.4. dist. 14. q. 1. art. 3.

Absolution, they say, declareth indeed; but this is not all, for it likewise maketh innocent; which addition being an untruth proved, our truth granted hath, I hope, sufficiency without it; and consequently our opinion therein neither to be challenged as untrue, nor as sufficient.

To rid themselves out of these briars, and to make remission of sins an effect of absolution, notwithstanding that which hitherto hath been said, they have two shifts. As first, that in many penitents there is but attrition of heart, which attrition they define to be grief proceeding from fear without love; and to these, they say, absolution doth give that contrition whereby men are really purged from sin. Secondly, that even where contrition or inward repentance doth cleanse without absolution; the reason why it cometh so to pass is, because such contrites intend and desire absolution, though they have it not. Which two things granted: the one, that absolution given maketh them contrite that are not; the other, even in them which are contrite, the cause why God remitteth sin is the purpose or desire they have to receive absolution; we are not to stand against a sequel so clear and manifest as this, that always remission of sin proceedeth from absolution either had or desired.

But should a reasonable man give credit to their bare conceit, and because their positions have driven them to imagine absolving of insufficiently disposed penitents to be a real creating of further virtue in them, must all other men think it due? Let them cancel henceforward and blot out of all their books those old cautions touching necessity of wisdom, lest priests should inconsiderately absolve any man in whom there were not apparent tokens of true repentance; which to do, was, in saint Cyprian's judgment, *pestilent deceit and flattery, not only not avoidable, but hurtful to them that had transgressed: a frivolous, frustrate, and false peace, such as caused the unrighteous to trust to a lye, and destroyed them unto whom it promised safety.* What needeth observation whether penitents have worthiness and bring contrition, if the words of absolution do infuse contrition? Have they born us all this while in hand that contrition is a part of the matter of their sacraments; a condition or preparation of the mind towards grace to be received by absolution in the form of their sacraments? And must we now believe, that the form doth give the matter? That absolution bestoweth contrition, and that the words do make presently of *Saul, David*; of *Judas, Peter*? For what was the penitency of *Saul* and *Judas*, but plain attrition; horror of sin thro' fear of punishment, without any long sense, or taste of God's mercy?

Their other fiction, imputing remission of sin to desire of absolution from the priest, even in them which are truly contrite, is an evasion somewhat more witty, but no whit more possible for them to prove. Belief of the world and judgment to come, faith in the promises and sufferings of Christ for mankind, fear of his majesty, love of his mercy, grief for sin, hope for pardon, suit for grace, these we know to be elements of true contrition: Suppose that besides all this, God did also command that every penitent should seek his absolution at the priest's hands; where so many causes are concurring unto one effect, have they any reason to impute the whole effect unto one; any reason in the choice of that one, to pass by faith, fear, love, humility, hope, prayer, whatsoever else, and to enthrone above them all, a desire of absolution from the priest, as if in the whole work of man's repentance God did regard and accept nothing, but for and in consideration of this? Why do the *Tridentine* council impute it to charity, *that contrites are reconciled in God's sight before they receive the sacrament of penance*; if desired absolution be the true cause?

But let this pass how it will; seeing the question is not, what virtue God may accept in penitent sinners, but what Grace absolution actually given doth really bestow upon them.

If it were, as they would have it, that God regarding the humiliation of a contrite spirit, because there is joyed therewith a lowly desire of the sacrament of priestly absolution, pardoneth immediately and forgiveth all offences; doth this any thing help to prove that absolution received afterward from the priest, can more than declare him already pardoned which did desire it? To desire absolution, presupposing it commanded, is obedience: and obedience in that case is a branch of the virtue of repentance, which virtue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of sins

X x x 2

without

Attritio solum dicit dolorem propter penas inferni; dum quis accedit attritus per gratiam sacramentalem, fit contritus. *Soto sent. 4. dist. 14. q. 1. art. 1.*

Dum accedit vere contritus propter Deum, illa etiam contritio non est contritio, nisi quatenus prius natura informetur gratia per sacramentum in voto. *Soto sent. 4. dist. 14. q. 1. art. 1.*

Legitima contritio votum sacramenti pro suo tempore debet inducere, arque adeo in virtute futuri sacramenti peccata remittit. *Id. art. 3.*

Tunc sententia sacerdotis iudicio Dei & totius celestis curie approbatur, & confirmatur, cum ita ex discretione procedit, ut eorum merita non contradicant. *Sent. 1. 4. d. 18.*

Non est periculosum sacerdoti dicere, ego te absolvo, illis in quibus signa contritionis videt, quæ sunt dolor de præteritis, & propositum de cætero non peccandi; alias, absolvere non debet. *Tho. Opusc. 22. Cyp. de lapsis.*

without the sacrament of repentance, is not an argument that the sacrament of absolution hath here no efficacy, but the virtue of contrition worketh all? For how should any effect ensue from causes which actually are not? The sacrament must be applied whereforever any grace doth proceed from it. *So that where it is but desired only, whatsoever*

A reatu mortis eterne absolvitur homo a Deo per contritionem; manet autem reatus ad quandam penam temporalem; & minister ecclesie quicunque virtute clavium tollit reatum cuiusdam partis poenae illius. *Absol. in defens. p. 1. c. 7.*

may follow upon God's acceptation of this desire, the sacrament, afterwards received, can be no cause thereof. Therefore the further we wade, the better we see it still appears, that the priest doth never in

absolution, no not so much as by way of service and ministry, really either forgive them, take away the uncleanness, or remove the punishment of sin; but if the party penitent come contrite, he hath, by their own grant, absolution before absolution; if not contrite, although the priest should seem a thousand times to absolve him, all were in vain. For which cause the antients and better sort of their school divines, *Abulenſis, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure*, ascribe *the real abolition of sin, and eternal punishment, to*

Signum huius

sacramenti

est causa effe-

ctiva gratiae

sive remissio-

nis peccato-

rum; non sim-

pliciter, sicut

ipsa prima

penitentia,

sed secundum

quid; quia est

cassa efficacia

ipſius peccati,

ſcilicet poenae,

quod obijcitur.

To. 22. Quorum

remiſiſeritis peccata:

dicendum,

quod vel illud

de remiſſione

dicitur quantum

ad offenſionem,

vel ſolum

quantum ad poenam,

Bon. ſent. l. 1. d. 18. q. 1.

Ab aeterna poena

nullo modo ſolvitur

ſacerdos, ſed a

purgatorio; neque

hoc per ſe, ſed

per acci-

dens, quod cum

in poenitente,

virtute clavium,

minuitur debi-

bitum poenae

temporalis,

non ita acriter

punitur in

purgatorio,

sicut ſi non eſſet

absolutus.

Sent. l. 4. d. 18. q. 2.

the meer pardon of almighty God, without dependency upon the priest's absolution, as a cause to effect the same. His absolution hath in their doctrine certain other effects specified, but this denied. Wherefore having hitherto spoken of the virtue of repentance required; of the discipline of repentance which Christ did establish; and of the sacrament of repentance invented thence, against the pretended force of human absolution in sacramental penitency; *let it suffice thus far to have shewed how God alone doth truly give, the virtue of repentance alone procure, and private ministerial absolution but de-*

clare remission of sins. causa efficaciae gratiae qua fit remissio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in poenitente, ad minus quantum ad remissionem sequela ipsius peccati, scilicet poenae, *Alex. p. 4. q. 14. memb. 2.* Potestas clavium proprie loquendo non se extendit supra culpam; ad illud quod obijcitur. To. 22. Quorum remiſiſeritis peccata: dicendum, quod vel illud de remiſſione dicitur quantum ad offenſionem, vel ſolum quantum ad poenam, *Bon. ſent. l. 1. d. 18. q. 1.* Ab aeterna poena nullo modo ſolvitur ſacerdos, ſed a purgatorio; neque hoc per ſe, ſed per acci-

dens, quod cum in poenitente, virtute clavium, minuitur debitum poenae temporalis, non ita acriter punitur in purgatorio, sicut si non eſſet absolutus. *Sent. l. 4. d. 18. q. 2.*

Now the last and sometimes hardest to be satisfied by repentance, are our minds; and our minds we have then satisfied, when the conscience is of guilty become clear. For, as long as we are in our selves privy to our most heinous crimes, but without sense of God's mercy and grace towards us, unless the heart be either brutish for want of knowledge, or altogether hardened by wilful atheism; the remorse of sin is in it, as the deadly sting of the serpent. Which point since very infidels and heathens have observed in the nature of sin, (for the disease they felt, tho' they knew no remedy to help it) we are not rashly to despise those sentences which are the testimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a man's own conscience is more to be feared by evil doers than the presence of a thousand witnesses, in as much as the mouths of other accusers are many ways stoppt, the ears of the accused not always subject to glowing with contumely and exprobaton; whereas a guilty mind being forced to be still both a martyr and a tyrant in it self, must of necessity endure perpetual anguish and grief; for, as the body is rent with stripes, so the mind with guiltiness of cruelty, lust, and wicked resolutions. Which furies brought the emperor *Tiberius* sometimes into such perplexity, that writing to the senate, his wonted art of dissimulation failed him utterly in this case; and whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight so to speak that no man might be able to sound his meaning, he had not the power to conceal what he felt thro' the secret scourge of an evil conscience, tho' no necessity did now enforce him to disclose the same. *What to write, or how to write, at this present, if I know* (saith *Tiberius*) *let the Gods and Goddesses, who thus continually eat me, only be worse to me than they are.* It was not his imperial dignity and power that could provide a way to protect him against himself; the fears and suspicions which improbity had bred, being strengthened by every occasion, and those virtues clean banished which are the only foundation of sound tranquillity of mind. For which cause it hath been truly said, and agreeably with all men's experience, that if the virtuous did excel in no other privilege, yet far happier they are than the contrary sort of men, for that their hopes be always better.

Neither are we to marvel, that these things, known unto all, do stay so few from being authors of their own woe.

For we see by the antient example of *Joseph's* unkind brethren, how it cometh to remembrance easily when crimes are once past, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong: but such considerations, when they should have prevented sin, were over-matched by inordinate desires. Are we not bound then with all thankfulness to acknowledge his infinite goodness and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid our selves of these mazes; the way how to shake off that yoke, which no flesh is able to bear; the way how to change most grisly horror into a comfortable apprehension of heavenly joy?

Whereunto

Whereunto there are many which labour with so much the greater difficulty, because imbecillity of mind doth not suffer them to censure rightly their own doings. Some fearful lest the enormity of their crimes be so unpardonable that no repentance can do them good; some lest the imperfection of their repentance make it ineffectual to the taking away of sin. The one drive all things to this issue, whether they be not men that have sinned against the holy Ghost; the other to this, what repentance is sufficient to clear sinners, and to assure them that they are delivered.

Such as by error charge themselves of unpardonable sin must think, it may be, they deem that unpardonable, which is not.

Our Saviour speaketh indeed of blasphemy which shall never be forgiven: but have they any sure and infallible knowledge what that blasphemy is? If not, why are they unjust and cruel to their own souls, imagining certainty of guiltiness in a crime concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain? For mine own part, altho' where this blasphemy is mentioned, the cause why our Saviour spake thereof, was the Pharisees blasphemy, which was not afraid to say, *he had an unclean spirit, and did cast out spirits by the power of Beelzebub*; nevertheless I dare not precisely deny, but that even the Pharisees themselves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jesus Christ peradventure might but take occasion at their blasphemy, which, as yet, was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable blasphemy, whereinto he foresaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain, that many thousands, at the first, professing christian religion, became afterwards wilful apostates, moved with no other cause of revolt, but meer indignation that the Gentiles should enjoy the benefit of the gospel as much as they, and yet not be burthened with the yoke of *Moses* his law.

The apostles by preaching had won them to Christ, in whose name they embraced with great alacrity the full remission of their former sins and iniquities; they received by the imposition of the apostles hands *that grace and power of the holy Ghost* whereby they cured diseases, prophesied, spake with tongues; and yet in the end, after all this, they fell utterly away, renounced the mysteries of christian faith, blasphemed in their formal abjurations that most glorious and blessed Spirit, the gifts whereof themselves had possessed; and by this means sunk their souls in the gulf of that unpardonable sin; whereof, as our Lord JESUS CHRIST had told them before-hand, so the apostle at the first appearance of such their revolt, putteth them in mind again, that falling now to their former blasphemies, their salvation was irrecoverably gone. It was for them in this case impossible to be renewed by any repentance; because they were now in the state of Satan and his angels; the judge of quick and dead had passed his irrevocable sentence against them.

So great difference there is between infidels unconverted, and backsliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one which only hate whom they never knew; but to the other which know and blaspheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurse both the seen brightness of glory which is in him, and in themselves the tasted goodness of divine grace, as those execrable miscreants did, who first received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then in outrageous sort blasphemed the *holy Ghost*, abusing *both it and the whole religion*, which God by it did confirm and magnify; to such as wilfully thus sin, after so great light of the truth, and gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth justly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Christ's sacrifice.

For all other offenders, without exception or stint, whether they be strangers that seek access, or followers that will make return unto God; upon the tender of their repentance, the grant of his grace standeth everlastingly signed with his blood in the book of eternal life. That which in this case over-terrifieth fearful souls is, a misconception whereby they imagine every act which they do, knowing that they do amiss, and every wilful breach or transgression of God's law to be meer sin against the holy Ghost: forgetting that the law of *Moses* it self ordain'd sacrifices of expiation, as well for faults presumptuously committed, as things wherein men offend by error.

Now, there are on the contrary fides others, who, doubting not of God's mercy towards all that perfectly repent, remain notwithstanding scrupulous and troubled with continual fear, lest defects in their own repentance be a bar against them.

These cast themselves into very great, and peradventure needless agonies thro' misconception of things spoken about proportioning our griefs to our sins, for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough; yea, if they have not always a stream of tears at command, they take it for a heart congealed and hardened in sin; when to keep the wound of contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumstances of their transgressions, and endeavour to leave nothing which may be heavy against themselves.

diligens & longa medicina non desit; poenitentia crimine minor non sit. *Cypr.* de lapsis. Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors aeterna deberetur; nec transitoria opus est satisfactione pro malis illis, propter quos paratus est ignis aeternus. *Enst.* Emisissus, vel potius salvi. l. 1. 106.

Pfal. 6. 6.
Matth. 12. 42.
Acts 10. 31.

Yet, do what they can, they are still fearful, lest herein also they do not that which they ought and might. Come to prayer, their coldness taketh all heart and courage from them; with fasting, albeit their flesh should be withered, and their blood clean dried up, would they ever the less object, what is this to *David's* humiliation, where- in notwithstanding there was not any thing more than necessary? In works of charity and alms-deed; it is not all the world can persuade them they did ever reach the poor bounty of the widows two mites, or by many millions of leagues come near to the mark which *Cornelius* touched; so far they are off from the proud surmise of any penitential supererogation in miserable wretched worms of the earth.

Notwithstanding, for as much as they wrong themselves with over rigorous and extreme exactions, by means whereof they fall sometimes into such perplexities as can hardly be allayed; it hath therefore pleased almighty God, in tender commiseration over these imbecillities of Men, to ordain for their spiritual and ghostly comfort consecrated persons, which by sentence of power and authority given from above, may, as it were, out of his very mouth ascertain timorous and doubtful minds in their own particular; ease them of all their scrupulosities; leave them settled in peace; and satisfied touching the mercy of God towards them. To use the benefit of this help for the better satisfaction in such cases is so natural, that it can be forbidden no man; but yet not so necessary, that all men should be in case to need it.

They are, of the two, the happier therefore that can content and satisfy themselves, by judging discreetly what they perform, and soundly what God doth require of them. For having, that which is most material, the substance of penitency rightly bred; touching signs and tokens thereof, we may affirm that they do boldly, which imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the passions and griefs of mind, whereunto whosoever aspireth not, repenteth in vain.

That to frustrate men's confession and considerations of sin, except every circumstance which may aggravate the same, be unript and laid in the balance, is a merciless extremity; although it be true, that as near as we can such wounds must be searched to the very bottom. Last of all, to set down the like stint, and to shut up the doors of mercy against penitents which come short thereof in the devotion of their prayers; in the continuance of their fasts; in the largeness and bounty of their alms, or in the course of any other such like duties; is more than God himself hath thought meet; and consequently more than mortal men should presume to do.

Jer. 20. 31.
Joel 2. 12.

That which God doth chiefly respect in men's penitency is their hearts. *The heart is it which maketh repentance sincere*, sincerity that which findeth favour in God's sight, and the favour of God that which supplieth by gracious acceptance whatsoever may seem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true officers of his servants.

Chrys. de re-
par. lapf. lib.
ad Theodor.
Deposit. dist.
3. c. Talis.

Take it (saith *Chrysostom*) upon my credit, *such is God's merciful inclination towards men, that repentance offered with a single and sincere mind he never refuseth; no, not although we be come to the very top of iniquity.* If there be a will and desire to return, he receiveth, embraceth, and omitteth nothing which may restore us to former happiness; yea, that which is above all the rest, albeit we cannot in the duty of satisfying him, attain what we ought, and would, but come far behind our mark, he taketh nevertheless in good worth that little which we do; be it never so mean, we lose not our labour therein.

Aug. in Psal.
138.

The least and lowest step of repentance in saint *Chrysostom's* judgment serveth and setteth us above them that perish in their sin: I therefore will end with saint *Augustine's* conclusion: *Lord, in thy book and volume of life all shall be written, as well the least of thy saints, as the chiefest.* Let not therefore the imperfect fear: let them only proceed and go forward.

O F T H E

L A W S

O F

Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K VII.

*Their sixth Assertion, That there ought not to be in the Church,
Bishops endued with such Authority and Honour as ours are.*

The Matter contained in this seventh Book.

1. **T**H E state of bishops although some time oppugned, and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whose glory it is to maintain that whereof himself is the author.
2. What a bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong unto his office, as he is a bishop.
3. In bishops two things traduced; of which two, the one their authority; and in it the first thing condemned, their superiority over other ministers: what kind of superiority in ministers it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.
4. From whence it hath grown, that the church is governed by bishops.
5. The time and cause of instituting every where bishops with restraint.
6. What manner of power bishops from the first beginning have had.
7. After what sort bishops, together with presbyters, have used to govern the churches which were under them.
8. How far the power of bishops hath reached from the beginning in respect of territory, or local compass.
9. In what respects episcopal regiment hath been gainsaid of old by Actius.
10. In what respects episcopal regiment is gainsaid by the authors of pretended reformation at this day.
11. Their arguments in disgrace of regiment by bishops, as being a meer invention of man, and not found in scripture, answered.
12. Their arguments to prove, there was no necessity of instituting bishops in the church.
13. The fore-alleged arguments, answered.
14. An answer unto those things which are objected, concerning the difference between that power which bishops now have, and that which ancient bishops had, more than other presbyters.
15. Concerning

15. *Concerning the civil power and authority which our bishops have.*
16. *The arguments answered, whereby they would prove, that the law of God, and the judgement of the best in all ages condemneth the ruling superiority of one minister over another.*
17. *The second malicious thing wherein the state of bishops suffereth obloquy, is their honour.*
18. *What good doth publickly grow from the prelacy.*
19. *What kind of honour be due unto bishops.*
20. *Honour in title, place, ornament, attendance, and privilege.*
21. *Honour by endowments of lands and livings.*
22. *That of ecclesiastical goods, and consequently of the lands and livings which bishops enjoy, the propriety belongs unto God alone.*
23. *That ecclesiastical persons are receivers of God's rents, and that the honour of prelates is to be thereof his chief receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the same unto their own use, even in large manner.*
24. *That for their unworthiness to deprive both them and their successors of such goods, and to convey the same unto men of secular callings, is now extreme sacrilegious injustice.*

The state of bishops although some time opposed, and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whose glory it is to maintain that, whereof himself is the author.

I Have heard that a famous kingdom in the world being solicited to reform such disorders as all men saw the church exceedingly burthened with, when of each degree great multitudes thereunto inclined, and the number of them did every day so encrease that this intended work was likely to take no other effect than all good men did wish and labour for; a principal actor herein (for zeal and boldness of spirit) thought it good to shew them betimes what it was which must be effected, or else that there could be no work of perfect reformation accomplished. To this purpose, in a solemn sermon, and in a great assembly, he described unto them the present quality of their publick estate, by the parable of a tree, huge, and goodly to look upon, but without that fruit which it should and might bring forth; affirming, that the only way of redress was a full and perfect establishment of Christ's discipline (for so their manner is to entitle a thing hammered out upon the forge of their own invention) and that to make way of entrance for it, there must be three great limbs cut off from the body of that stately tree of the kingdom. Those three limbs, were three sorts of men: nobles, whose high estate would make them otherwise disdain to put their necks under that yoke: lawyers, whose courts being not pulled down, the new church consistories were not like to flourish: finally, prelates, whose ancient dignity, and the simplicity of their intended church-discipline, could not possibly stand together. The proposition of which device being plausible to active spirits, restless through desire of innovation, whom commonly nothing doth more offend than a change which goeth fearfully on by slow and suspicious paces; the heavier and more experienc'd sort began presently thereat to pluck back their feet again, and exceedingly to fear the stratagem of reformation for ever after. Whereupon ensued those extreme conflicts of the one part with the other; which continuing and encreasing to this very day, have now made the state of that flourishing kingdom even such, as whereunto we may most fitly apply those words of the prophet *Jeremiah, Thy breach is great like the sea, who can heal thee?* Whether this were done in truth, according to the constant affirmation of some avouching the same, I take not upon me to examine; that which I note therein is, how with us that policy hath been corrected. For to the authors of pretended reformation with us, it hath not seem'd expedient to offer the edge of the ax unto all three boughs at once, but rather to single them, and strike at the weakest first, making shew that the lop of that one shall draw the more abundance of sap to the other two, that they may thereby the better prosper. All prosperity, felicity and peace, we wish multiplied on each estate, as far as their own hearts desire is; but let men know that there is a God, whose eye beholdeth them in all their ways; a God, the usual and ordinary course of whose justice, is to return upon the head of malice the same devices which it contriveth against others. The foul practices which have been used for the overthrow of bishops, may perhaps wax bold in process of time to give the like assault even there, from whence at this present they are most seconded. Nor let it over-dismay them who suffer such things at the hands of this most unkind world, to see that heavenly estate and dignity thus conculcared, in regard whereof so many their predecessors were no less esteemed than if they had not been men, but angels amongst men. With former bishops it was as with *Job* in the

But to let go the name, and come to the very nature of that thing which is thereby signified. In all kinds of regiment, whether ecclesiastical or civil, as there are sundry operations publick, so likewise great inequality there is in the same operations, some being of principal respect, and therefore not fit to be dealt in by every one to whom publick actions, and those of good importance, are notwithstanding well and fitly enough committed. From hence have grown those different degrees of magistrates or publick persons, even ecclesiastical as well as civil. Amongst ecclesiastical persons therefore bishops being chief ones, a bishop's function must be defined by that wherein his chiefly consisteth. A bishop is a minister of God, unto whom with permanent continuance, there is given not only power of administering the word and sacraments; which power other presbyters have; but also a further power to ordain ecclesiastical persons, and a power of chiefly in government over presbyters as well as lay-men, a power to be by way of jurisdiction a pastor even to pastors themselves. So that this office, as he is a presbyter or pastor, consisteth in those things which are common unto him with other pastors, as in ministring the word and sacraments; but those things incident unto his office, which do properly make him a bishop, cannot be common unto him with other pastors. Now even as pastors, so likewise bishops being principal pastors are either at large or else with restraint. At large, when the subject of their regiment is indefinite, and not tied to any certain place. Bishops with restraint, are they whose regiment over the church is contained within some definite, local compass, beyond which compass their jurisdiction reacheth not. Such therefore we always mean when we speak of that regiment by bishops which we hold a thing most lawful, divine, and holy, in the church of Christ.

III. In our present regiment by bishops two things are complain'd of: the one their great authority, and the other their great honour. Touching the authority of our bishops, the first thing which therein displeaseth their adversaries, is the superiority which bishops have over other ministers. They which cannot brook the superiority which bishops have, do notwithstanding themselves admit that some kind of difference and inequality there may be lawfully amongst ministers. Inequality as touching gifts and graces they grant, because this is so plain that no mist in the world can be cast before men's eyes so thick, but that they must needs discern thorough it, that one minister of the gospel may be more learned, holier and wiser; better able to instruct, more apt to rule and guide them than another: unless thus much were confest, those men should lose their fame and glory whom they themselves do entitle the lights and grand worthies of this present age. Again, a priority of order they deny not, but that there may be; yea such a priority as maketh one man amongst many a principal actor in those things whereunto sundry of them must necessarily concur, so that the same be admitted only during the time of such actions and no longer; that is to say just so much superiority, and neither more nor less may be liked of, than it hath pleased them in their own kind of regiment to set down. The inequality which they complain of is, *That one minister of the word and sacraments should have a permanent superiority above another, or in any sort a superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over other ministers.* By us, on the contrary side, *inequality, even such inequality as unto bishops being ministers of the word and sacraments granteth a superiority permanent above ministers, yea a permanent superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over them,* is maintained a thing allowable, lawful and good. For, superiority of power may be either above them or upon them, in regard of whom it is termed superiority. One pastor hath superiority of power above another, when either some are authorised to do things worthier than are permitted unto all; some are preferred to be principal agents, the rest agents with dependency and subordination. The former of these two kinds of superiority is such as the high priest had above other priests of the law, in being appointed to enter once a year the holy place, which the rest of the priests might not do. The latter superiority, such as presidents have in those actions which are done by others with them, they nevertheless being principal and chief therein. One pastor hath superiority of power, not only above, but upon another, when some are subject unto others commandment and judicial controlment by virtue of publick jurisdiction. Superiority in this last kind is utterly denied to be allowable; in the rest it is only denied that the lasting continuance and settled permanency thereof is lawful. So that if we prove at all the lawfulness of superiority in this last kind, where the same is simply denied, and of permanent superiority in the rest where some kind of superiority is granted, but with restraint to the term and continuance of certain actions, with which the same must, as they say, expire and cease; if we can shew these two things maintainable, we bear up sufficiently that which the adverse party endeavoureth to overthrow. Our desire therefore is, that this issue may be strictly observed, and those things accordingly judged of, which we are to alledge. This

we boldly therefore set down as a most infallible truth, *That the church of Christ is at this day lawfully, and so hath been since the first beginning, governed by bishops, having permanent superiority, and ruling power over other ministers of the word and sacraments.*

For the plainer explication whereof, let us briefly declare first the birth and original of the same power, whence, and by what occasion it grew. Secondly, what manner of power antiquity doth witness bishops to have had more than presbyters which were no bishops. Thirdly, after what sort bishops together with presbyters have used to govern the churches under them, according to the like testimonial evidence of antiquity. Fourthly, how far the same episcopal power hath usually extended; unto what number of persons it hath reached; what bounds and limits of place it hath had. This done, we may afterwards descend unto those by whom the same either hath been heretofore, or is at this present hour gain said.

From whence
it hath grown
that the church
is govern'd by
bishops.
Meminiſſe di-
aconi debent,
quoniam apo-
ſtoloſ, id eſt e-
piſcopoſ & praepoſitoſ
Dominuſ cle-
git. *Cypr. l. 3.
ep. 9.*

IV. The first bishops in the church of Christ were his blessed apostles. For the office whereunto *Matthias* was chosen, the sacred history doth term *ἐπισκοπήν* an episcopal office. Which being spoken expressly of one, agreeth no less unto them all than unto him. For which cause *St. Cyrian* speaking generally of them all doth call them bishops. They which were termed apostles, as being sent of Christ to publish his gospel throughout the world, and were named likewise bishops, in that the care of government was also committed unto them, did no less perform the offices of their episcopal authority by governing, than of their apostolical by teaching. The word *ἐπισκοπή* expressing that part of their office which did consist in regiment, proveth not (I grant) their chiefly in regiment over others, because as then that name was common unto the function of their inferiors, and not peculiar unto theirs. But the history of their actions sheweth plainly enough how the thing it self which that name appropriated importeth, that is to say, even such spiritual chiefly as we have already defined to be properly episcopal was in the holy apostles of Christ. Bishops therefore they were at large. But was it lawful for any of them to be a bishop with restraint? True it is their charge was indefinite, yet so, that in case they did all, whether severally or jointly discharge the office of proclaiming every where the gospel, and of guiding the church of Christ, none of them casting off his part in their burthen which was laid upon them, there doth appear no impediment but that they having received their common charge indefinitely, might in the execution thereof notwithstanding refrain themselves, or at leastwise be restrained by the after commandment of the Spirit, without contradiction or repugnancy unto that charge more indefinite and general before given them: especially if it seem'd at any time requisite, and for the greater good of the church, that they should in such sort tye themselves unto some special part of the flock of Jesus Christ, guiding the same in several as bishops. For first, notwithstanding our Saviour's commandment unto them all, to go and preach unto all nations; yet some restraint we see there was made, when by agreement between *Paul* and *Peter*, moved with those effects of their labours which the providence of God brought forth; the one betook himself unto the *Gentiles*; the other unto the *Jews*, for the exercise of that office of every where preaching. A further restraint of their apostolical labours as yet there was also made, when they divided themselves into several parts of the world;

Rom. 2. 14, 15
1 Cor. 9. 16.
Joh. 22. 17, 16.

Gal. 2. 8.

* *Him Eusebius*^a
doth name the
governor of
the churches in
Asia. lib. 3.
hist. eccles.
c. 16. *Tertullian*
callefth the
same churches
St. John's
foster daugh-
ters. lib. 3.
advers. *Marc-*
con. * *Jacobus*
qui appellatur
frater Domini
cognomento
Justus post
passionem Do-
mini statim ab
apostolis, Hie-
rosolymorum
episcopus
ordinatus est.
Euseb. de scrip-
ecclies. Eodem

John for his charge taking *Asia*, and so the residue, other quarters to labour in. If nevertheless it seem very hard that we should admit a restraint so particular, as after that general charge received to make any apostle notwithstanding the bishop of some one church; what think we of the bishop of *Jerusalem*, *James*, whose consecration unto that mother see of the world, because it was not meet that it should at any time be left void of some apostle, doth seem to have been the very cause of *St. Paul's* miraculous vocation to make up the number of the twelve again, for the gathering of nations abroad, even as the martyrdom of the other *James*, the reason why *Barnabas* in his stead was called. Finally, apostles whether they did settle in any one certain place, as *James*, or else did otherwise as the apostle *Paul*; episcopal authority either at large or with restraint they had and exercised. Their episcopal power they sometimes gave unto others to exercise as agents only in their stead, and as it were by commission from them. Thus *Titus*, and thus *Timothy* at the first, tho' afterwards indued with apostolical power of their own. For in process of time the apostles gave episcopal authority, and that to continue always with them which had it. * *We are able to number up them, faith Ireneus, who by the apostles were made bishops. In Rome* he affirmeth that the apostles themselves made *Linus* the first bishop. Again of *Polycarp* he saith likewise, that the apostles made him bishop of the church of *Smyrna*. Of *Antioch* they made *Evodius* bishop, as *Ignatius* witnesseth; exhorting that

tempore *Jacobum* primum sedem episcopalem ecclesiae quae est Hierosolymis obtinuisse memoriae traditur. *Euseb. hist. ecclesiast. lib. 2. cap. 1.* The same seemeth to be intimated *Acts 15. 13.* and *Acts 21. 18.* ^a *Acts 12. 2.* ^a *Acts 13. 2.* ^a *Tit. 1. 5.* ^a This appeareth by those subscriptions which are set after the epistle to *Titus*, and the second to *Timothy*, and by *Euseb. eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 4.* ^a *Iren. l. 3. c. 3.* ^a In ep. ad *Antioch.*

church

church to tread in his holy steps, and to follow his virtuous example. The apostles therefore were the first which had such authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly sort are their lawful successors, whether they succeed in any particular church, where before them some apostle hath been seated, as *Simon* succeeded *James* in *Jerusalem*; or else be otherwise endued with the same kind of bishoply power altho' it be not where any apostle before hath been. For to succeed them, is after them to have that episcopal kind of power which was first given to them. *All bishops are, saith Jerome, the apostles successors.* Hieron. ep. 81. In like sort *Cyprian* doth term bishops, *Præpositos qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.* Cyp. ep. ad Florent. From hence it may happily seem to have grown, that they whom we now call bishops ^a were usually termed at the first apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded. Such as deny apostles to have ^b any successors at all in the office of their apostleship, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they well explain themselves in declaring what truly and properly apostleship is. In some things every presbyter, in some things only bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other are the apostles successors. The apostles were sent as special chosen ^c eye-witnesses of Jesus Christ, from whom ^d immediately they receiv'd their whole embassy and their commission to be the principal ^e first founders of an house of God consisting as well of ^f *Gentiles* as of *Jews*. In this there are not after them any other like unto them: and yet the apostles have now their successors upon earth, their true successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that episcopal function, whereby they had power to sit as spiritual ordinary judges, both over laity and over clergy where christian churches were establish'd. ¹ Tim. 3. ² Ipius apostolatus nulla successio. Fl. Titur enim legatio cum legato, nec ad successores ipse transit. ³ Stapl. doct. prin. l. 6. c. 7. ⁴ Acts 1. 21, 22. ⁵ John 1. 3. ⁶ Gal. 1. 1. ⁷ Apo. 21. 14. ⁸ Mat. 28. 19.

V. The apostles of our Lord did, according unto those directions which were given them from above, erect churches in all such cities as received the word of truth, the gospel of God. All churches by them erected, receiv'd from them the same faith, the same sacraments, the same form of publick regiment. The form of regiment by them establish'd at first was, *That the laity of people should be subject unto a college of ecclesiastical persons, which were in every such city appointed for that purpose.* These in their writings they term sometime presbyters, sometime bishops. To take one church out of a number for a pattern what the rest were; the presbyters of *Ephesus*, as it is in the history of their departure from the apostle *Paul* at *Miletum*, are said to have wept abundantly all, which speech doth shew them to have been many. And by the apostles exhortation it may appear, that they had not each his several flock to feed, but were in common appointed to feed that one flock the church of *Ephesus*; for which cause the phrase of his speech is this, *Attendite gregi*, look ^a all to that one flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you bishops. These persons ecclesiastical being term'd as then, presbyters and bishops both, were all subject unto *Paul*, as to an higher governor appointed of God to be over them. But forasmuch as the apostles could not themselves be present in all churches, and as the apostle ^b *St. Paul* foretold the presbyters of the *Ephesians*, that *there would rise up from amongst their own selves, men speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them*; there did grow in short time amongst the governors of each church, those emulations, strifes and contentions, whereof there could be no sufficient remedy provided, except, according unto the order of *Jerusalem* already begun, some one were inducd with episcopal authority over the rest, which one being resident might keep them in order, and have preeminence or principality in those things, wherein the equality of many agents was the cause of disorder and trouble. This one president or governor amongst the rest had his known authority establish'd a long time before that settled difference of name, and title took place, whereby such alone were named bishops. And therefore in the book of *St. John's revelation* we find that they are entituled ^c angels. It will perhaps be answer'd, that the angels of those churches were only in every church a minister of sacraments: But then we ask, is it probable that in every of these churches, even in *Ephesus* it self, where many such ministers were long before, as hath been proved; there was but one such, when *John* directed his speech to the angel of that church? If there were many, surely *St. John* in naming but only one of them an angel, did behold in that one somewhat above the rest. Nor was this order peculiar unto some few churches, but the whole world universally became subject thereunto; inasmuch as they did not account it to be a church which was not subject unto a bishop. It was the general received persuasion of the ancient christian world, that ^d *ecclesia est in episcopo*, the outward being of a church consisted in the having of a bishop. That where colleges of presbyters were, there was at the first equality amongst them, *St. Jerome* ^e thinketh it a matter clear: but when the rest were thus equal, so that no one of them could command any other as inferior unto him, they all were contralable by the apostles, who had that episcopal authority, abiding at the first in themselves, which they afterwards derived unto others. ¹ Tim. 5. 22. and for proportioning their maintenance. v. 17, 18. and for judicial hearing of accusations brought against them. v. 19. and for holding them in an uniformity of doctrine. c. 1. v. 3. ² Revel. 2. ³ Cyp. l. 4. epist. 9. ⁴ Hieron. ep. ad Evagr.

The cause wherefore they under themselves appointed such bishops as were not every where at the first, is said to have been those strifes and contentions; for remedy whereof whether the apostles alone did conclude of such a regiment, or else they together with the whole church judging it a fit and needful policy did agree to receive it for a custom; no doubt but being establish'd by them on whom the holy Ghost was poured in so abundant measure for the ordering of Christ's church, it had either divine appointment beforehand, or divine approbation afterwards, and is in that respect to be acknowledg'd the ordinance of God, no less than that antient *Jewish* regiment, whereof tho' *Jethro* were the deviser, yet after that God had allowed it, all men were subject unto it, as to the polity of God, and not of *Jethro*. That so the antient fathers did think of episcopal regiment; that they held this order as a thing received from the blessed apostles themselves, and authoriz'd even from Heaven, we may perhaps more easily prove, than obtain that they all shall grant it who see it prov'd. St. *Augustine* setteth it down for a principle, that whatsoever positive order the whole church every where doth observe, the same it must needs have receiv'd from the very apostles themselves, unless perhaps some general council were the authors of it. And he saw that the ruling superiority of bishops was a thing universally establish'd not by the force of any council, (for councils do all presuppose bishops, nor can there any council be named so antient, either general, or so much as provincial, since the apostles own times, but we can shew that bishops had their authority before it, and not from it.) Wherefore St. *Augustine* knowing this, could not chuse but reverence the authority of bishops, as a thing to him apparently and most clearly apostolical. But it will be perhaps objected, that regiment by bishops was not so universal nor antient as we pretend; and that an argument hereof may be *Jerome's* own testimony, who living at the very same time with St. *Augustine*, noteth this kind of regiment as being no where antient, saving only in *Alexandria*; his words are these, *It was for a remedy of schism that one was afterwards chosen to be placed above the rest; lest every man's pulling unto himself, should rend asunder the church of Christ. For (that which also may serve for an argument or token hereof) at Alexandria from Mark the evangelist, unto Heraclas and Dionysius; the presbyters always chose one of themselves, whom they placed in higher degree, and gave unto him the title of bishop.* Now St. *Jerome* they say would never have picked out that one church from amongst so many, and have noted that in it there had been bishops from the time that St. *Mark* liv'd, if so be the self same order were of like antiquity every where; his words therefore must be thus scholied; in the church of *Alexandria* presbyters indeed had even from the time of St. *Mark* the evangelist always a bishop to rule over them for a remedy against divisions, factions and schisms: not so in other churches, neither in that very church any longer than *usque ad Heraclum & Dionysium*, till *Heraclas* and his successor *Dionysius* were bishops. But this construction doth bereave the words construed partly of wit, and partly of truth; it maketh them both absurd and false. For if the meaning be that episcopal government in that church was then expired, it must have expired with the end of some one, and not of two several bishops days, unless perhaps it fell sick under *Heraclas*, and with *Dionysius* gave up the ghost. Besides, it is clearly untrue that the presbyters of that church did then cease to be under a bishop. Who doth not know that after *Dionysius*, *Maximus* was bishop of *Alexandria*, after him *Theonas*, after him *Peter*, after him *Achillas*, after him *Alexander*, of whom *Socrates* in this sort writeth? It fortun'd on a certain time that this *Alexander*, in the presence of the presbyters which were under him, and of the rest of the clergy there, discours'd somewhat curiously and subtilly of the holy Trinity, bringing high philosophical proofs, that there is in the Trinity an unity. Whereupon *Arius* one of the presbyters which were placed in that degree under *Alexander*, oppos'd eagerly himself against those things which were utter'd by the bishop. So that thus long bishops continued even in the church of *Alexandria*. Nor did their regiment here cease, but these also had others their successors till St. *Jerome's* own time, who living long after *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* had ended their days, did not yet live himself to see the presbyters of *Alexandria* otherwise than subject unto a bishop. So that we cannot, with any truth, so interpret his words as to mean, that in the church of *Alexandria* there had been bishops indu'd with superiority over presbyters from St. *Mark's* time only till the time of *Heraclas* and of *Dionysius*. Wherefore that St. *Jerome* may receive a more probable interpretation than this, we answer, that generally, of regiment by bishops, and what term of continuance it had in the church of *Alexandria*, it was no part of his mind to speak, but to note one only circumstance belonging to the manner of their election, which circumstance is, that in *Alexandria* they us'd to chuse their bishops altogether out of the college of their own presbyters, and neither from abroad nor out of any other inferior order of the clergy; whereas oftentimes † elsewhere the use was to chuse as well from abroad as at home, as well inferior unto presbyters, as presbyters when

† Unto Ignatius bishop of Antioch, *Hero*

when they saw occasion. This custom, saith he, the church of *Alexandria* did always keep, till in *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* they began to do otherwise. These two were the very first not chose out of their college of presbyters.

The drift and purpose of St. *Jerome's* speech doth plainly shew what his meaning was; for whereas some did over extol the office of the deacon in the church of *Rome*; where deacons being grown great, thro' wealth, challeng'd place above presbyters: St. *Jerome*, to abate this insolency, writing to *Evagrius*, diminisheth by all means the deacons estimation, and lifteth up presbyters as far as possible the truth might bear. An attendant, saith he, *up-staircase*. *Chrysestom* being a presbyter of *Antioch* was chosen to succeed *Nestorius* in the bishoprick of *Con-*
on tables and windows proudly to exalt himself above them at whose prayers is made the body and blood of Christ; above them, between whom and bishops there was at the first for a time no difference neither in authority nor in title. And whereas after schisms and contentions made it necessary, that some one should be placed over them, by which occasion the title of bishop became proper unto that one, yet was that one chosen out of the presbyters, as being the chiefest, the highest, the worthiest degree of the clergy, and not out of deacons: in which consideration also it seemeth that in *Alexandria*, even from St. Mark to *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* bishops there, the presbyters evermore have chosen one of themselves, and not a deacon at any time to be their bishop. Nor let any man think that Christ hath one church in *Rome*, and another in the rest of the world; that in *Rome* he alloweth deacons to be honoured above presbyters, and otherwise will have them to be in the next degree to the bishop. If it be deemed that abroad where bishops are poorer, the presbyters under them may be the next unto them in honour; but at *Rome* where the bishop hath ample revenues, the deacons whose estate is nearest for wealth, may be also for estimation the next unto him; we must know that a bishop in the meanest city is no less a bishop than he who is seated in the greatest; the countenance of a rich, and the meanness of a poor estate doth make no odds between bishops; and therefore if a presbyter at *Eugubium* be the next in degree to a bishop, surely, even at *Rome* it ought in reason to be so likewise, and not a deacon for wealth's sake only to be above, who by order should be, and elsewhere is, underneath a presbyter. But ye will say, that according to the custom of *Rome* a deacon presenteth unto the bishop him which standeth to be ordained presbyter, and upon the deacon's testimony given concerning his fitness, he receiveth at the bishop's hands ordination: so that in *Rome* the deacons have this special prebeminence, the presbyter ought there to give place unto him. Wherefore is the custom of one city brought against the practice of the whole world? The paucity of deacons in the church of *Rome* hath gotten the credit; as unto presbyters their multitude hath been cause of contempt: howbeit even in the church of *Rome*, presbyters sit and deacons stand: an argument as strong against the superiority of deacons, as the fore-alleged reason doth seem for it. Besides, whosoever is promoted must needs be raised from a lower degree to an higher; wherefore either let him which is presbyter be made a deacon, that so the deacon may appear to be the greater; or if of deacons presbyters be made, let them know themselves to be in regard of deacons, tho' below in gam, yet above in office. And to the end we may understand that those apostolick orders are taken out of the old testament, what Aaron and his sons and the levites were in the temple, the same in the church may bishops, and presbyters, and deacons challenge unto themselves. This is the very drift and substance; this the true construction and sense of St. *Jerome's* whole discourse in that epistle: which I have therefore endeavoured the more at large to explain, because one thing is less effectual, or more usual to be alledged against the antient authority of bishops; concerning whose government St. *Jerome's* own words other where are sufficient to shew his opinion; that this order was not only in *Alexandria* so antient, but even as antient in other churches. We have before alledged his testimony touching *James* the bishop of *Jerusalem*. As for bishops in other churches, on the first of the epistle to *Titus* thus he speaketh, Till thro' instinct of the devil there grew in the church factions, and among the people it began to be profest, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters; but when every one began to reckon those whom himself had baptized, his own and not Christ's, it was decreed IN THE WHOLE WORLD, that one chosen out of the presbyters, should be placed above the rest, to whom all care of the church should belong, and so the seeds of schism be removed. If it be so, that by St. *Jerome's* own confession this order was not then begun when people in the apostles absence began to be divided into factions by their teachers, and to rehearle, I am of Paul; but that even at the very first appointment thereof was agreed upon and received throughout the world: how shall a man be persuaded that the same *Jerome* thought it so antient no where saving in *Alexandria*, one only church of the whole world? A sentence there is indeed of St. *Jerome's*, which being not thoroughly consider'd and weigh'd, may cause his meaning so to be taken, as if he judg'd episcopal regiment to have been the church's invention longer after, and not the apostle's own institution; as namely, when
he

*Bishops he meaneth by restraint; for episcopal power was always in the church instituted by Christ himself, charist; some brought in afterwards by the apostles, yet not without the special direction of the holy Ghost, as occasions did arise; of this sort are those apostolical orders and laws, whereby deacons, widows, virgins were first appointed in the church.

he admonisheth bishops in this manner; as therefore presbyters do know that the custom of the church makes them subject to the bishop which is set over them; so let^a bishops know, that custom rather than the truth of any ordinance of the Lord maketh them greater than the rest, and that with common advice they ought to govern the church. To clear the sense of these words therefore, as we have done already the former: laws which the church from the beginning universally hath observ'd were some delivered by Christ himself, with a charge to keep them to the world's end, as the law of baptizing and administering the holy eucharist; some brought in afterwards by the apostles, yet not without the special direction of the holy Ghost, as occasions did arise; of this sort are those apostolical orders and laws, whereby deacons, widows, virgins were first appointed in the church.

Man will deny, having received from Christ himself that episcopal authority. For which cause *Cyprian* hath said of them, *Meminisse diaconi debent quoniam apostolus, id est, episcopus & praepositus Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in caelos apostoli sibi constituerunt, episcopatus sui & ecclesiae ministros.* lib. 3. ep. 9.

This answer to St. *Jerom* seemeth dangerous; I have qualified it as I may by addition of some words of restraint: yet I satisfy not my self, in my judgment it would be altered. Now whereas *Jerom* doth term the government of bishops by restraint, an apostolical tradition, acknowledging thereby the same to have been of the apostles own institution, it may be demanded, how these two will stand together; namely, that the apostles by divine institution, should be as *Jerom* confesseth the authors of that regiment; and yet the custom of the church be accounted (for so by *Jerom* it may seem to be in this place accounted) the chiefest prop that upholdeth the same? To this we answer, that forasmuch as the whole body of the church hath power to alter, with general consent and upon necessary occasions, even the positive law of the apostles, if there be no command to the contrary; and it manifestly appears to her, that change of times have clearly taken away the very reason of God's first institution, as by sundry examples may be most clearly proved; what laws the universal church might change, and doth not; if they have long continued without any alteration; it seemeth that St. *Jerom* ascribeth continuance of such positive laws, tho' instituted by God himself, to the judgment of the church. For they which might abrogate a law and do not, are properly said to uphold, to establish it, and to give it being. The regiment therefore whereof *Jerom* speaketh being positive, and consequently not absolutely necessary but of a changeable nature, because there is no divine voice which in express words forbiddeth it to be changed; he might imagine both that it came by the apostles by very divine appointment at the first, and notwithstanding be, after a sort, said to stand in force, rather by the custom of the church, choosing to continue in it, than by the necessary constraint of any commandment from the word requiring perpetual continuance thereof. So that St. *Jerom's* admonition is reasonable, sensible, and plain, being contrived to this effect; the ruling superiority of one bishop over many presbyters in each church, is an order descended from Christ to the apostles, who were themselves bishops at large; and from the apostles to those whom they in their steads appointed bishops over particular countries and cities; and even from those ancient times universally establish'd, thus many years it hath continued, throughout the world; for which cause presbyters must not grudge to continue subject unto their bishops, unless they will proudly oppose themselves against that which God himself ordain'd by his apostles, and the whole church of Christ approveth and judgeth most convenient. On the other side bishops, albeit they may avouch, with conformity of truth, that their authority had thus descended even from the very apostles themselves, yet the absolute and everlasting continuance of it they cannot say that any commandment of the Lord doth injoin; And therefore must acknowledge that the church hath power by universal consent upon urgent cause to take it away, if thereunto she be constrained thro' the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her bishops, whose regiment she hath thus long delighted in, because she hath found it good and requisite to be so governed. Wherefore lest bishops forget themselves, as if none on earth had authority to touch their states, let them continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the church having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them in that respect; than that any such true and heavenly law can be shewed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops, in what sort soever they behave themselves. Let this consideration be a bridle unto them, let it teach them not to disdain the advice of their presbyters, but to use their authority with so much the greater humility and moderation, as a sword which the church hath power to take from them. In all this there is no let why St. *Jerom* might not think the authors of episcopal regiment to have been the very blessed apostles themselves, directed therein by the special motion of the holy Ghost, which the ancients all before, and besides him and himself also elsewhere be-

ing known to hold, we are not without better evidence than this, to think him in judgment divided both from himself and from them. Another argument that the regiment of churches by one bishop over many presbyters, hath been always held apostolical, may be this. We find that throughout all those cities where the apostles did plant christianity, the history of times hath noted succession of pastors in the seat of one, nor of many, (there being in every such church evermore many pastors,) and the first one in every rank of succession we find to have been, if not some apostle, yet some apostle's disciple. By *Epiphanius* the bishops of *Jerusalem* are reckoned down from *James* to *Hilarion* then bishop. Of them which boasted that they held the same things which they received of such as lived with the apostles themselves, *Tertullian* speaketh after this sort; let them therefore shew the beginnings of their churches, let them recite their bishops one by one, each in such sort succeeding other, that the first bishop of them have had for his author and predecessor some apostle, or at least some apostolical person who persevered with the apostles. For so apostolical churches are wont to bring forth the evidence of their estates. So doth the church of *Smyrna*, having *Polycarp* whom *John* did consecrate. Catalogues of bishops in a number of other churches (bishops and succeeding one another) from the very apostles times are by *Eusebius* and *Socrates* collected; whereby it appeareth so clear, as nothing in the world more, that under them, and by their appointment, this order began, which maketh many presbyters subject unto the regiment of some one bishop. For as in *Rome*, while the civil ordering of the commonwealth was jointly and equally in the hands of two consuls, *historical* records concerning them did evermore mention them both, and note which two, as colleagues, succeeded from time to time. So, there is no doubt but ecclesiastical antiquity had done the very like, had not one pastor's place and calling been always so eminent above the rest in the same church. And what need we to seek far for proofs that the apostles who began this order of regiment by bishops, did it not but by divine instinct, when without such direction things of far less weight and moment they attended not? *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not open their mouths to the *Acs* 13: *Gentiles*, till the Spirit had said, *Separate me Paul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have sent them*. The *eunuch*, by *Philip* was neither baptis'd nor instructed, before the *Acs* 8. angel of God was sent to give him notice that so it pleased the most High. In *Asia*, *Paul* and the rest were silent, because the Spirit forbade them to speak. When they intended to have seen *Bythinia* they stay'd their journey, the Spirit not giving them leave to go. Before *Timothy* was employ'd in those episcopal affairs of the church, about which the apostle *St. Paul* us'd him, the holy Ghost gave special charge for his ordination and propheticall intelligence more than once, what success the same would have. And shall we think that *James* was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Evdodius* bishop of the church of *Antioch*, the angels in the churches of *Asia* bishops, that bishops every where were appointed to take away factions, contentions and schisms without some like divine instigation and direction of the holy Ghost? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if any thing in the church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the holy Ghost was the author of it.

VI. A bishop, saith *St. Augustine*, is a presbyter's superior: but the question is now, What manner wherein that superiority did consist. The bishop's preheminance we say therefore was two fold. First, he excelled in latitude of power of order; secondly, in that kind of power which belongeth unto jurisdiction. Priests in the law had authority and power to do greater things than *Levites*; the high priest greater than inferior priests might do, therefore *Levites* were beneath priests, and priests inferior to the high priest, by reason of the very degree of dignity, and of worthiness in the nature of those functions which they did execute; and not only, for that the one had power to command and controul the other. In like sort, presbyters having a weightier and worthier charge than deacons had, the deacon was in this sort the presbyter's inferior, and where we say that a bishop was likewise ever accounted a presbyter's superior, even according unto his very power of order, we must of necessity declare what principal duties belonging unto that kind of power a bishop might perform, and not a presbyter. The custom of the primitive church in consecrating holy virgins and widows unto the service of God and his church, is a thing not obscure, but easy to be known both by that which *St. Paul* himself concerning them hath, and by the latter consonant evidence of other mens writings. Now a part of the preheminance which bishops had in their power of order was, that by them only such were consecrated, Again, the power of ordaining both deacons and presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this also hath been always peculiar unto bishops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior presbyters were ever authorized to ordain. And concerning ordination so great force and dignity it hath, that whereas presbyters by such power as they

have received for administration of the sacraments are able only to beget children unto God, bishops having power to ordain, do by vertue thereof create fathers to the people of God, as *Epiphanius* fitly disputeth. There are which hold, that between a bishop and a presbyter, touching power of order, there is no difference. The reason of which conceit is, for that they see presbyters no less than bishops, authorized to offer up the prayers of the church, to preach the gospel, to baptize, to administer the holy eucharist; but they considered not withal, as they should, that the presbyter's authority to do these things is derived from the bishop which doth ordain him thereunto: so that even in those things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the other's lamp. The apostles being bishops at large, ordained every where presbyters. *Titus* and *Timothy* having received episcopal power, as apostolick ambassadors or legates, the one in *Greece*, the other in *Ephesus*, they both did, by vertue thereof, likewise ordain throughout all churches, deacons, and presbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for bishops by restraint, their power this way incommunicable unto presbyters, which of the ancients do not acknowledge? I make not *confirmation* any part of that power, which hath always belonged only unto bishops; because in some places the custom was, that presbyters might also confirm in the absence of a bishop; *albeit* for the most part, none but only bishops were thereof the allowed ministers.

Here it will perhaps be objected, that the power of ordination it self was not every where peculiar and proper unto bishops, as may be seen by a council of *Carthage*, which sheweth their church's order to have been, That presbyters should, together with the bishop, lay hands upon the ordained. But the answer hereunto is easy; for doth it hereupon follow that the power of ordination was not principally and originally in the bishop? Our Saviour hath said unto his apostles, *With me ye shall sit and judge the twelve tribes of Israel*; yet we know that to him alone it belongeth to judge the world, and that to him all judgment is given. With us, even at this day, presbyters are licensed to do as much as that council speaketh of, if any be present. Yet will not any man thereby conclude that in this church others than bishops are allow'd to ordain. The association of presbyters is no sufficient proof that the power of ordination is in them; but rather that it never was in them we may hereby understand; for that no man is able to shew either deacon or presbyter ordain'd by presbyters only, and his ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the church; every where examples being found both of deacons and presbyters ordain'd by bishops alone oftentimes, neither even in that respect thought sufficient. Touching that other chiefly, which is of jurisdiction; amongst the Jews he which was highest through the worthiest of peculiar duties incident unto his function in the legal service of God, did bear always in ecclesiastical jurisdiction the chiefest sway. As long as the glory of the temple of God did last, there were in it sundry orders of men consecrated unto the service thereof; one sort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree; the nathiners subordinate unto the levites, the levites unto the priests, the rest of the priests to those twenty four which were chief priests, and they all to the high priest. If any man surmise that the difference between them was only by distinction in the former kind of power, and not in this latter of jurisdiction, are not the words of the law manifest which made *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron* the priest chief captain of the levites, and overseer of them, unto whom the charge of the sanctuary was committed? Again, at the commandment of *Aaron* and his sons, are not the *Gersonites* themselves required to do all their service in the whole charge belonging unto the *Gersonites*, being inferior priests, as *Aaron* and his sons were high priests? Did not *Jehoshaphat* appoint *Amazias* the priest to be chief over them who were judges for the cause of the Lord in *Jerusalem*? *Priests*, saith *Josephus*, *worship God continually, and the eldest of the stock are governors over the rest. He doth sacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the laws, judgeth controversies, correcteth offenders, and whosoever obeyeth him not, is convicted of impiety against God.* But unto this they answer, that the reason thereof was because the high priest did prefigure Christ, and represent to the people that chiefly of our Saviour which was to come; so that Christ being now come, there is no cause why such preheminance should be given unto any one. Which fancy pleaseth so well the humour of all sorts of rebellious spirits, that they all seek to shroud themselves under it. Tell the *Anabaptist*, which holdeth the use of the sword unlawful for a christian man, that God himself did allow his people to make wars; they have their answer round and ready, *Those ancient wars were figures of the spiritual wars of Christ.* Tell the *Barrowist* what sway *David*, and others the kings of *Israel*, did bear in the ordering of spiritual affairs, the same answer again serveth, namely, *That David, and the rest of the kings of Israel, prefigured Christ.* Tell the *Martinist* of the high priest's great authority and jurisdiction among the Jews, what other thing doth serve his turn but the self same shift; *By the power of the high priest the universal supreme authority of our Lord Jesus Christ*

Christ was shadowed. The thing is true, that indeed high-priests were figures of Christ, yet this was in things belonging unto their power of order; they figured Christ by entering into the holy place, by offering for the sins of all the people once a year, and by other the like duties: But, that to govern and maintain order amongst those that were subject to them, is an office figurative and abrogated by Christ coming into the ministry; that their exercise of jurisdiction was figurative, yea, figurative in such sort, that it had no other cause of being instituted, but only to serve as a representation of somewhat to come, and that herein the church of Christ ought not to follow them; this article is such as must be confirmed, if any way by miracle, otherwise it will hardly enter into the heads of reasonable men, why the high-priest should more figure Christ in being a judge, than in being whatsoever he might be besides. St. *Cyprian* deemed it no wrestling of Scripture, to challenge as much for christian bishops, as was given to the high priest among the *Jews*,^{to Cyp. 13 Ep. 5. ad Regatianum.} and to urge the law of *Moses* as being most effectual to prove it. St. *Jerom* likewise^{Hier. Ep. 85,} thought it an argument sufficient to ground the authority of bishops upon. *To the end*, saith he, *we may understand apostolical traditions to have been taken from the old testament; that which Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple; bishops, and presbyters, and deacons in the church, may lawfully challenge to themselves.* In the office of a bishop, *Ignatius* observeth these two functions, *ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ ἐπίσκοπος*. Concern-^{Ep. ad Smyr,} ing the one, such is the preheminance of a bishop, that he only hath the heavenly mysteries of God committed originally unto him, so that otherwise than by his ordination, and by authority received from him, others besides him are not licensed therein to deal as ordinary ministers of God's church. And touching the other part of their sacred function, wherein the power of their jurisdiction doth appear, first how the apostles themselves, and secondly how *Titus* and *Timothy* had rule and jurisdiction over presbyters, no man is ignorant. And had not christian bishops afterward the like power? *Ignatius* bishop of *Antioch* being ready by blessed martyrdom to end his life, writeth unto his presbyters, *no accusation* the pastors under him, in this sort: *Οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον, ὡς ἀνὰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μαρτυρίας.* After the death of *Fabian* bishop of *Rome*, there growing some trouble about the receiving of such persons' *Ignat.* Epist. into the church as had fallen away in persecution, and did now repent their fall, the presbyters and deacons of the same church advertised St. *Cyprian* thereof, signifying, *That*^{Apud Cyp. Ep. 1. Ep. 7.} *they must of necessity defer to deal in that cause till God did send them a new bishop* which might moderate all things. Much we read, of extraordinary fasting usually in the church; and in this appeareth also somewhat concerning the chiefty of bishops. The custom is, saith *Tertullian*, that bishops do appoint when the people shall all fast. Yea, *Tertul.* advert. it is not a matter left to our own free choice, whether bishops shall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is, saith *Cyprian*, that every act of the church be governed by her bishops. An Argument it is of the bishops high preheminance, rule, and government over all the rest of the clergy; even that the sword of persecution did strike, especially, always at the bishop as at the head, the rest, by reason of their lower estate, being more secure, as the self same *Cyprian* noteth; the very manner of whose speech^{Cyp. Ep. 39.} unto his own both deacons and presbyters who remained safe, when himself then bishop^{Vide Ignat. ad Magnif.} was driven into exile, argueth likewise his eminent authority and rule over them. By these letters, saith he, *I both exhort and command that ye whose presence there is not envied at, nor so much beset with dangers, supply my room in doing those things which the exercise of religion doth require.* Unto the same purpose serve most directly those comparisons, than which nothing is more familiar in the books of the ancient fathers, who as oft as they speak of the several degrees in God's clergy, if they chance to compare presbyters with *Levitical* priests of the law, the bishop^a they compare unto *Aaron* the high-priest; if they compare the one with the apostles, the other they compare (although in a lower proportion) sometime^b to Christ, and sometime to God himself, evermore shewing that they placed the bishop in an eminent degree of ruling authority and power above other presbyters. *Ignatius* comparing bishops with deacons, and with such ministers of the word and sacraments as were but presbyters, and had no authority over presbyters^c *What is*, saith he, *the bishop, but one which hath all principality and power over all, so far forth as man may have it, being to his power a follower even of God's own Christ?* *Mr. Calvin* himself, tho' an enemy unto regiment by bishops, doth notwithstanding confess, that in old time the ministers which had charge to teach, chose of their company one in every city, to whom they appropriated the title of bishop, lest equality should breed dissention. He addeth farther, that look what duty the *Roman* consuls did execute in proposing matters unto the senate, and asking their opinions, in directing them by advice, admonition, exhortation in guiding actions by their authority, and in seeing that performed which was with common consent agreed on, the like charge had the bishop in the assembly

sembly of other ministers. Thus much *Calvin* being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the bishops to have been so in authority at the first as to bear rule over other ministers: wherein what rule he doth mean, I know not. But if the bishops were so far in dignity above other ministers, as the consuls of *Rome* for their year above other senators, it is as much as we require. And undoubtedly, if as the consuls of *Rome*, so the bishops in the church of Christ, had such authority, as both to direct other ministers, and to see that every of them should observe that which their common consent had agreed on, how this could be done by the bishop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I must acknowledge that my poor conceit is not able to comprehend. One objection there is of some force to make against that which we have hitherto endeavoured to prove, if they mistake it not who alledge it. St. *Jerom* comparing other presbyters with him, unto whom the name of bishop was then appropriate, asketh, *What a bishop, by virtue of his place and calling, may do more than a presbyter, except it be only to ordain?* In like sort *Chrysostom* having moved a question, wherefore St. *Paul* would give *Timothy* precept concerning the quality of bishops, and descend from them to deacons, omitting the order of presbyters between, he maketh thereunto this answer, *What things he spake concerning bishops, the same are also meet for presbyters, whom bishops seem not to excel in any thing but only in the power of ordination.* Wherefore seeing this doth import no ruling superiority, it follows that bishops were as then no rulers over that part of the clergy of God. Whereunto we answer, that both St. *Jerom* and St. *Chrysostom* had in those their speeches an eye no farther than only to that function for which presbyters and bishops were consecrated unto God. Now we know that their consecration had reference to nothing but only that which they did by force and virtue of the power of order, wherein sith bishops received their charge, only by that one degree, to speak of, more ample than presbyters did theirs, it might be well enough said that presbyters were that way authorized to do, in a manner, even as much as bishops could do, if we consider what each of them did by virtue of solemn consecration; for as concerning power of regiment and jurisdiction, it was a thing withal added unto bishops for the necessary use of such certain persons and people as should be thereunto subject in those particular churches whereof they were bishops, and belonging to them only, as bishops of such or such a church; whereas the other kind of power had relation indefinitely unto any of the whole society of christian men, on whom they should chance to exercise the same, and belonging to them absolutely, as they were bishops, wheresoever they lived. St. *Jerom's* conclusion thereof is, *That seeing in the one kind of power there is no greater difference between a presbyter and a bishop, bishops should not because of their prebeminence in the other, too much lift up themselves above the presbyters under them.* St. *Chrysostom's* collection, *That where the apostle doth set down the qualities, whereof regard should be had in the consecration of bishops, there was no need to make a several discourse how presbyters ought to be qualified when they are ordained; because there being so little difference in the functions, whereunto the one and the other receive ordination, the same precepts might well serve for both; at leastwise by the virtues required in the greater, what should need in the less might be easily understood.* As for the difference of jurisdiction, the truth is, the apostles yet living, and themselves where they were resident, exercising the jurisdiction in their own persons, it was not every where established in bishops. When the apostles prescribed those laws, and when *Chrysostom* thus spake concerning them, it was not by him at all respected, but his eye was the same way with *Jerom's*; his cogitation was wholly fixed on that power which by consecration is given to bishops, more than to presbyters, and not on that which they have over presbyters by force of their particular accessory jurisdiction. Wherein if any man suppose that *Jerom* and *Chrysostom* knew no difference at all between a presbyter and a bishop, let him weigh but one or two of their sentences. The pride of insolent bishops hath not a sharper enemy than *Jerom*, for which cause he taketh often occasions most severely to inveigh against them, sometimes for ^a shewing disdain and contempt of the clergy under them; sometimes for not ^b suffering themselves to be told of their faults, and admonished of their duty by inferiors; sometimes for not ^c admitting their presbyters to teach, if so be themselves were in presence; sometimes for not vouchsafing to use any conference with them, or to take any counsel of them. Howbeit never doth he, in such wise, bend himself against their disorders as to deny their rule and authority over presbyters. Of *Vigilantius* being a presbyter he thus writeth, ^d *Miror sanctum episcopum in cuius parochia presbyter esse dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, & non virga apostolica virgaq; ferrea infringere vas inutile.* I

^a Velut in aliquibus
sublimi specula
constituti vix
dignantur vi-
dere mortales
& alloqui con-
servos suos. In
4. c. Epist. ad
Gal.

^b Nemo pec-
cantibus epis-
copis audent

contradicere: nemo audent accusare majorem, propterea quasi sancti & beati & in præceptis Domini ambulantes augent peccata peccatis. Difficilis est accusatio in episcopum. Si enim peccaverit, non creditur, & si convictus fuerit, non punitur. In cap. 8. *Ecclesiast.* ^c Pessime consuetudinis est, in quibusdam ecclesiis tacere presbyteros & presentibus episcopis non loqui. quasi aut invidant aut non dignentur audire. Ep. 2. ad *Nepotianum*. ^d Ep. 54. ad *Ripar.*

marvel that the holy bishop under whom Vigilantius is said to be a presbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable vessel with his apostolick and iron rod. With this agreeeth most fitly the grave advice he gave to ^a *Nepotian*, Be thou subject unto thy bishop, and receive him as the father of thy soul. ^b This also I say, that bishops should know themselves to be priests, and not lords, that they ought to honour the clergy as becometh the clergy to be honoured, to the end their clergy may yield them the honour which, as bishops, they ought to have. That of the orator *Domitius* is famous, Wherefore should I esteem of thee as of a prince, when thou makest not of me that reckoning, which should in reason be made of a senator? Let us know the bishop and his presbyters to be the same which *Aaron* sometimes and his sons were. Finally, writing against the hereticks which were named *Luciferians*, The very safety of the church, saith he, dependeth on the dignity of the chief priest, to whom, unless men grant an exceeding and an eminent power, there will grow in churches even as many schisms as there are persons which have authority.

Touching *Chrysostom*, to shew that by him there was also acknowledged a ruling superiority of bishops over presbyters, both then usual, and in no respect unlawful: what need we allege his words and sentences, when the history of his own episcopal actions in that very kind, is till this day extant for all men to read that will? For *St. Chrysostom*, of a presbyter in *Antioch*, grew to be afterwards bishop of *Constantinople*, and in process of time, when the emperor's heavy displeasure had, thro' the practice of a powerful faction against him, effected his banishment, *Innocent* the bishop of *Rome* understanding thereof, wrote his letters unto the clergy of that church, That no successor ought to be chosen in *Chrysostom's* room: nec ejus clerum alii parere pontifici, nor his clergy OBEY any other bishop than him. A fond kind of speech, if so be there had been, as then, in bishops no ruling superiority over presbyters. When two of *Chrysostom's* presbyters had joined themselves to the faction of his mortal enemy *Theophilus*, patriarch in the church of *Alexandria*; the same *Theophilus*, and other bishops which were of his conventicle, having sent those two, amongst others, to cite *Chrysostom* their lawful bishop, and to bring him into publick judgment, he taketh against this one thing special exception, as being contrary to all order, that those presbyters should come as messengers, and call him to judgment, who were a part of that clergy, whereof himself was ruler and judge. So that bishops to have had in those times a ruling superiority over presbyters, neither could *Jerom* nor *Chrysostom* be ignorant; and therefore, hereupon it were superfluous that we should any longer stand.

VII. Touching the next point, how bishops, together with presbyters, have used to govern the churches which were under them. It is by *Zonaras* somewhat plainly and at large declared, that the bishop had his seat on high in the church, above the residue which were present; that a number of presbyters did always there assist him; and that in the oversight of the people those presbyters were after a sort the bishop's coadjutors. The bishops and presbyters, who, together with him, governed the church, are, for the most part, by *Ignatius* jointly mentioned. In the epistle to them of *Trallis*, he saith of presbyters, that they are σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, counsellors and assistants of the bishop; and concludeth in the end, He that should disobey these, were a plain atheist, and an irreligious person, and one that did set Christ himself and his own ordinances at naught. Which orders making presbyters or priests the bishop's assistants, doth not import that they were of equal authority with him, but rather so adjoined, that they also were subject, as hath been proved. In the writings of *St. Cyprian* nothing is more usual than to make mention of the college of presbyters subject unto the bishop; although in handling the common affairs of the church they assisted him. But of all other places, which open the ancient order of episcopal presbyters, the most clear is that epistle of *Cyprian* unto *Cornelius*, concerning certain *Novatian* hereticks, received again upon their conversion into the unity of the church. After that *Urbanus* and *Sidonius*, confessors, had come and signified unto our presbyters, that *Maximus*, a confessor and presbyter, did together with them, desire to return into the church, it seemed meet to hear from their own mouths and confessions, that which by message they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the presbyters, touching those things they had committed; their answer was, That they had been deceived; and did request, that such things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the presbytery might be assembled. There were also present five bishops, that, upon settled advice, it might be, with consent of all, determined what should be done about their persons. Thus far *St. Cyprian*. Wherein it may be, peradventure, demanded, whether he, and other bishops, did thus proceed with advice of their

their presbyters in all such publick affairs of the church, as being thereunto bound by ecclesiastical canons, or else that they voluntarily so did, because they judged it in discretion as then most convenient. Surely the words of *Cyprian* are plain, that of his own accord he chose this way of proceeding. *Unto that*, saith he, *which Donatus, and Fortunatus, and Novatus, and Gordius our com-presbyters have written, I could by my self alone make no reason, forasmuch as at the very first entrance into my bishoprick I resolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counsel, and the peoples consent.* The reason whercof he rendreth in the same epistle, saying, *When by the grace of God, my self shall come unto you*, (for St. *Cyprian* was now in exile) *of things which either have been, or must be done we will consider*, sicut honor mutuu possit, *as the law of courtesy which one doth owe to another of us requireth.* And at this very mark doth St. *Jerom* evermore aim, in telling bishops, that presbyters were at the first their equals; that, in some churches, for a long time no bishop was made, but only such as the presbyters did chuse out amongst themselves, and therefore no cause why the bishop should disdain to consult with them, and in weighty affairs of the church to use their advice; sometime to countenance their own actions; or to repress the boldness of proud and insolent spirits, that which bishops had in themselves sufficient authority and power to have done, notwithstanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and assistance of other bishops, as in the case of those *Novatian* hereticks, before alledged, *Cyprian* himself did. And in *Cyprian* we find of others the like practice. *Rogatian*, a bishop, having been used contumeliously by a deacon of his own church, wrote thereof his complaint unto *Cyprian* and other bishops. In which case their answer was, *That altho', in his own cause, he did of humility rather shew his grievance, than himself take revenge, which by the rigour of his apostolical office, and the authority of his chair, he might have presently done, without any further delay*; yet if the party should do again, as before their judgments were, *fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, & eum vel deponas vel abstineas*; use on him that power which the honour of thy place giveth thee, either to depose him, or exclude him from access unto holy things. The bishop, for his assistance and ease, had under him, to guide and direct deacons in their charge, his arch-deacon; so termed in respect of care over deacons, albeit himself were not deacon, but presbyter. For the guidance of presbyters in their function, the bishop had likewise under him one of the self same order with them, but above them in authority,

* Such a one whom the ancients termed usually an ^a arch-presbyter, we at this day name him dean. For, most certain truth it is, that churches-cathedral, and the bishops of them, are as glasses, wherein the face and very countenance of apostolical antiquity remaineth even as the life of *Chrysostom*, doth call the arch-presbyter of the bound to strive, even as the *Jews* were for their temple and the high-priest of God there: the overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the sacrilegious avarice of atheists should prevail so far, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwise to move us, than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the sack and combustion of his sanctuary in most lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved spirits, those voices of doleful supplication, *Exsurge, Domine, & miserearis Sion, servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret eos.*

Mal. 141.

VIII. How far the power which bishops had did reach, what number of persons was subject unto them at the first, and how large their territories were, it is not for the question we have in hand a thing very greatly material to know. For if we prove that bishops have lawfully of old ruled over other ministers, it is enough, how few soever those ministers have been, how small soever the circuit of place which hath contained them. Yet heretofore of somewhat, to the end we may so far forth illustrate church antiquities. A law imperial there is, which sheweth that there was great care had to provide for every christian city a bishop, as near as might be, and that each city had some territory belonging unto it, which territory was also under the bishop of the same city; that because it was not uniformly thus, but in some countries one bishop had subject unto him many cities, and their territories, the law which provided for establishment of the other orders, should not judice those churches wherein this contrary custom had before prevailed. Unto the bishop of every such city, not only the presbyters of the same city, but also of the territories thereunto belonging, were from the first beginning subject. For we must note, that when as yet there were in cities no parish churches, but only colleges of presbyters under

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Byzantine text: *Ἡ ἐκκλησία δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη συνέβη πόλει. Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοεῖ. Καὶ ἡ ἀποστολικὴ ἰσχυρία ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐστὶν ἰσχυροποιεῖται.* Besides, *Cyprian* Ep. 52. Cum jam pridem per omnes provincias & per urbes singulas ordinarii sunt episcopi. ^b Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est conciliū, & offert & tingit sacerdos qui est ibi solus. *Trist.* exhort. ad celsit.

their

their bishops regiment, yet smaller congregations and churches there were even then abroad, in which churches there was but some one only presbyter to perform among them divine duties. Towns and villages abroad receiving the faith of Christ from cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as spiritual and heavenly colonies, by their subjection, honour those ancient mother churches out of which they grew. And in the christian cities themselves, when the mighty increafe of believers made it necessary to have them divided into certain severall companies, and over every of those companies one only pastor to be appointed for the ministry of holy things; between the first, and the rest after it, there could not be but a natural inequality, even as between the temple and synagogues in *Jerusalem*. The clergy of cities were termed *Urbici*, to shew a difference between them and the clergies of towns, of villages, of castles abroad. And how many soever these parishes or congregations were in number, which did depend on any one principal city-church, unto the bishop of that one church they and their severall sole presbyters were all subject.

For if so be, as some imagine, every petty congregation or hamlet had had his own particular bishop, what sense could there be in those words of *Jerom* concerning castles, villages, and other places abroad, which having only presbyters to teach them, and to minister unto them the sacraments, were resorted unto by bishops for the administration of that wherewith their presbyters were not licensed to meddle. To note a difference of that one church where the bishop hath his seat, and the rest which depend upon it, that one hath usually been termed cathedral, according to the same sense wherein *Ignatius* speaking of the church of *Antioch*, termeth it his throne; and *Cyprian* making mention of *Euaristus* who had been bishop, and was now deposed, termeth him *Cathedra extorrem*, one that was thrust besides his chair. The church where the bishop is set with his college of presbyters about him, we call a see; the local compass of his authority, we term a diocese. Unto a bishop within the compass of his own both see and diocese, it hath by right of his place evermore appertained ^a to ordain presbyters, to make deacons, and with judgment to dispose of all things of weight. The apostle *St. Paul* had episcopal authority, but so at large, that we cannot assign unto him any one certain diocese. His ^b positive orders and constitutions churches every where did obey. Yea, a charge and a care, faith he, I ^c have even of all the churches. The walks of *Titus* and *Timothy* were limited within the bounds of a narrow precinct. As for other bishops, that which *Chrysostom* hath concerning them, *If they be evil, could not possibly agree unto them, unless their authority had reached farther than to some one only congregation*. The danger being so great, as it is, to him that scandalizeth one soul, What shall he, faith *Chrysostom*, speaking of a bishop, what shall he deserve, by whom so many souls, yea, even whole cities and people, men, women and children, citizens, peasants, inhabitants, both of his own city, and of other towns subject unto it, are offended? A thing so unusual as it was for a bishop not to have ample jurisdiction, that in *Theophilus*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, for making one a bishop of a small town, is noted a proud despiser of the commendable orders of the church with this censure, such novelties ^d *Theophilus* presumed every where to begin, taking upon him, as it had been another *Moses*. Whereby is discovered also their error, who think, that such as in ecclesiastical writings they find termed *Chorepiscopos*, were the same in the country, which the bishop was in the city: whereas the old *Chorepiscopi* are they that were appointed the bishops to have, as his vicegerents, some oversight of those churches abroad, which were subject unto his see: in which churches they had also power to make sub-deacons, readers, and such like petty church officers. With which power so stinted, they not contenting themselves, but adventuring at the length, to ordain even deacons and presbyters also, as the bishop himself did, their presumption herein was controled and stayed by the ancient edict of councils. For example, that of *Antioch*, it hath seemed good to the holy synod, that in such towns and countries as are called *Chorepiscopi* do know their limits, and govern the churches under them, contenting themselves with the charge thereof, and with authority to make readers, sub-deacons, exorcists, and to be leaders or guiders of them; but not to meddle with the ordination either of a presbyter or of a deacon, without the bishop of that city, whereunto the *Chorepiscopos* and his territory also is subject. The same synod appointed likewise that those *Chorepiscopi* shall be made by none but the bishop of that city under which they are. Much might hereunto be added, if it were further needful to prove, that the local compass of a bishop's authority and power was never so straitly lifted, as some men would have the world to imagine. But to go forward; degrees of these are, and have been of old, even amongst bishops also themselves; one sort of bishops being superiors unto presbyters only, another sort having preeminence also above bishops. It cometh here to be considered in what respect

Hieron. advers. Lucifer.

Cyp. Ep. 49.

Con. Antioch. cap. 9.

Conc. Conf.

c. 2. Titus ubi

scilicet ubi

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spect inequality of bishops was thought at the first a thing expedient for the church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher and greater than of another. Touching the causes for which it hath been esteemed meet that bishops themselves should not every way be equals; they are the same for which the wisdom both of God and man hath evermore approved it as most requisite, that where many governors must of necessity concur, for the ordering of the same affairs, of what nature soever they be, one should have some kind of sway or stroke more than all the residue. For where number is, there must be order, or else of force there will be confusion. Let there be divers agents, of whom each hath his private inducements with resolute purpose to follow them, (as each may have;) unless in this case some had preheminance above the rest, a chance it were, if ever any thing should be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any conclusion by them; deliberations and counsels would seldom go forward, their meetings would always be in danger to break up with jars and contradictions. In an army, a number of captains, all of equal power, without some higher to over-sway them; what good would they do? In all nations where a number are to draw any one way, there must be some one principal mover. Let the practice of our very adversaries themselves herein be considered; are the presbyters able to determine of church-affairs, unless their pastors do strike the chiefest stroke, and have power above the rest? Can their pastoral synod do any thing, unless they have some president amongst them? In synods, they are forced to give one pastor preheminance and superiority above the rest. But they answer, That he, who being a pastor according to their discipline, is for the time, some little deal mightier than his brethren, doth not continue so longer than only during the synod. Which answer serveth not to help them out of the briars: for, by their practice they confirm our principle, touching the necessity of one man's preheminance, whereforever a concurrency of many is required unto any one solemn action: this nature teacheth, and this they cannot chuse but acknowledge. As for the change of his person to whom they give this preheminance, if they think it expedient to make for every synod a new superior, there is no law of God which bindeth them so to do; neither any that telleth them, that they might suffer one and the same man being made president, even to continue so during life, and to leave his preheminance unto his successors after him, as by the ancient order of the church archbishops, president amongst bishops, have used to do. The ground therefore of their preheminance above bishops, is the necessity of often concurrency of many bishops about the publick affairs of the church; as consecrations of bishops, consultations of remedy of general disorders, audience judicial, when the actions of any bishop should be called in question, or appeals are made from his sentence by such as think themselves wronged. These, and the like affairs, usually requiring that many bishops should orderly assemble, begin, and conclude somewhat; it hath seemed, in the eyes of reverend antiquity, a thing most requisite, that the church should not only have bishops, but even amongst bishops some to be in authority chiefest. Unto which purpose, the very state of the whole world, immediately before christianity took place, doth seem by the special providence of God to have been prepared. For we must know, that the countries where the gospel was first planted, were for the most part subject to the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* use was commonly, when by war they had subdued foreign nations, to make them provinces, that is to place over them *Roman* governors, such as might order them according to the laws and customs of *Rome*. And to the end that all things might be the more easily and orderly done, a whole country being divided into sundry parts, there was in each part some one city, wherinto they about did resort for justice. Every such

part was termed a ^adiocese. Howbeit the name *diocese* is sometime so generally taken, that it containeth not only more such parts of providence, but even more provinces also than one; as the diocese of *Asia* containing eight; the diocese of *Africa* seven. Touching dioceses according unto a stricter sense, whereby they are taken for a part of a province, the words of *Livy* do plainly shew what orders the *Romans* did observe in them. For at what time they had brought the *Macedonians* into subjection, the *Roman* governor, by order from the senate of *Rome*, gave charge that *Macedonia* should be divided into four regions or dioceses. *Capita regionum ubi consilia fierent, primæ sedis Amphipolim, secundæ Thessalonicens, tertie Pellam, quartæ Pelagoniam fecit. Eo, consilia suæ cuiusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari iussit.* This being before the days of the emperors, by their appointment *Thessalonica* was afterwards the chiefest, and in it the highest governor of *Macedonia* had his seat. Whereupon the other three dioceses were in that respect inferior unto it, as daughters unto a mother which was held in the diocese of *Hellepont*, where the man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at *Ephesus*, which was the chiefest court in that province.

city; for not unto every town of justice was that title given, but was peculiar unto those cities wherein principal courts were kept. Thus in *Macedonia* the mother city was *Thessalonica*; in *Asia*, *Ephesus*; in *Africa*, *Carthage*; for so ^b *Justinian* in his time made it. The governors, officers, and inhabitants of those mother-cities were termed for difference-sake *metropolitans*, that is to say, *mother-city men*; than which nothing could possibly have been devised more fit to suit with the nature of that form of spiritual regiment, under which afterwards the church should live. Wherefore if the prophet saw cause to acknowledge unto the Lord, that the light of his gracious providence did shine no where more apparently to the eye, than in preparing the land of *Canaan* to be a receptacle for that church which was of old, *Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it, thou madest room for it, and when it had taken root it filled the land*; how much more ought we to wonder at the handy-work of almighty God, who, to settle the kingdom of his dear Son, did not cast out any one people, but directed in such sort the politic counsels of them who ruled far and wide over all, that they throughout all nations, people and countries upon earth, should unwittingly prepare the field wherein the vine which God did intend, that is to say, the church of his dearly beloved Son, was to take root? For unto nothing else can we attribute it, saving only unto the very incomprehensible force of divine providence, that the world was in so marvellous fit sort divided, levelled, and laid out beforehand. Whose work could it be but his alone to make such provision for the direct implantation of his church? Wherefore inequality of bishops being found a thing convenient for the church of God, in such consideration as hath been shewed; when it came secondly in question, which bishops should be higher and which lower, it seemed herein not to the civil monarch only, but to the most expedient that the dignity and celebrity of mother-cities should be respected. They which dream, that if civil authority had not given such pre-eminence unto one city more than another, there had never grown an inequality among bishops, are deceived. Superiority of one bishop over another would be requisite in the church, although that civil distinction were abolished. Other causes having made it necessary, even amongst bishops, to have some in degree higher than the rest, the civil dignity of place was considered only as a reason wherefore this bishop should be preferred before that: Which deliberation had been likely enough to have raised no small trouble, but that such was the circumstance of place, as being followed in that choice, besides the manifest conveniency thereof, took away all shew of partiality, prevented secret emulations, and gave no man occasion to think his person disgraced, in that another was preferred before him.

Thus we see upon what occasion metropolitan bishops became archbishops. Now while the whole christian world, in a manner, still continued under the civil government, there being oftentimes within some one more large territory, divers and sundry mother-churches, the metropolitans whereof were archbishops, as for order's sake, it grew hereupon expedient, there should be a difference also among them; so no way seemed, in those times, more fit than to give pre-eminence unto them whose metropolitan sees were of special desert or dignity. For which cause these, as being bishops in the chiefest mother churches, were termed primates, and at the length, by way of excellency, *patriarchs*. For, ignorant we are not, how sometimes the title of *patriarch* is generally given to all metropolitan bishops. They are mightily therefore to blame which are so bold and confident, as to affirm that, for the space of above four hundred and thirty years after Christ, all metropolitan bishops were in every respect equals, till the second council of *Constantinople* exalted certain metropolitans above the rest. True it is, they were equals as touching the exercise of spiritual power within their dioceses, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compass of his own precinct, but another within his might do the same? but that there was no subordination at all, of one of them unto another; that when they all, or sundry of them, were to deal in the same causes, there was no difference of first and second in degree, no distinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongst them is most untrue. The great council of *Nice* was after our Saviour Christ but three hundred twenty four years, and in that council certain metropolitans are said even then to have had ancient preeminence and dignity above the rest; namely, the primate of *Alexandria*, of *Rome*, and of *Antioch*. Threescore years after this, there were synods under the emperor *Theodosius*, which synod was the first at *Constantinople*, whereat one hundred and fifty bishops were assembled: at which council it was decreed, that the bishop of *Constantinople* should not only be added unto the former primates, but also that his place should

^a Cic. ad Attic. lib. 5. Ep. 13. Item. l. obsequ. D. de officio proconsulis & legati.

^b Lib. 1. Tit. 27. l. 1. sect. 1. & 2. Sancimus ut si quis oriens atque Ilyricum, ita & Africa prætoriana maxima potestate specialiter a nostra clementia decoretur. Cujus sedem jubemus esse Carthagineam & ab ea, auxiliante Deo, septem prævincie cum suis judicibus disponantur.

Phil. 3c. 8, 9

Concil. Antiochen. c. 9.

Tis nulli in-

for. Episcopus

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Episcopus

Can. 28. be second amongst them, the next to the bishop of *Rome* in dignity. The same decree again renewed concerning *Constantinople*, and the reason thereof laid open in the council of *Chalcedon*. At the length came that second of *Constantinople*, whereat were six hundred and thirty bishops for a third confirmation thereof. Laws imperial there are likewise extant to the same effect. Herewith the bishop of *Constantinople* being over much puffed up, not only could not endure that see to be in estimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any christian bishop in the world before either had, or with reason could have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refused by the bishop of *Rome*, the same bishop of *Rome* in process of time obtained for himself, and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practices much worse. But primates, according to their first institution, were all in relation unto archbishops, the same by prerogative, which archbishops were, being compared unto bishops. Before the council of *Nice*, albeit there were both metropolitans and primates, yet could not this be a means forcible enough to procure the peace of the church; but all things were wonderful tumultuous and troublesome, by reason of one special practice common unto the hereticks of those times; which was that when they had been condemned and cast out of the church by the sentence of their own bishops, they, contrary to the ancient received orders of the church, had a custom to wander up and down, and to insinuate themselves into favour where they were not known; imagining themselves to be safe enough, and not to be clean cut off from the body of the church, if they could any where find a bishop which was content to communicate with them: whereupon ensued, as in that case there needs must, every day quarrels and jars unappeasable amongst bishops. The *Nicene* council, for redress hereof, considered the bounds of every archbishop's ecclesiastical jurisdictions, what they had been in former times; and accordingly appointed unto each grand part of the christian world some one primate, from whose judgment no man living within his territory might appeal, unless it were to a council general of all bishops. The drift and purport of which order was, that neither any man oppress by his own particular bishop might be destitute of a remedy, thro' appeal unto the more indifferent sentence of some other ordinary judge; nor yet every man be left to such liberty, as before, to shift himself out of their hands for whom it was most meet to have the hearing and determining of his cause. The evil, for remedy whereof this order was taken, annoyed at that present, especially the church of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where *Arianism* begun. For which cause the state of that church is in the *Nicene* canons concerning this matter mentioned before the rest. The words of their sacred edict are these, let those customs remain in force which have been of old the customs of *Egypt* and *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*; by which customs the bishop of *Alexandria* hath authority over all these; the rather, for that this hath also been the use of the bishop of *Rome*, yea, the same hath been kept in *Antioch*, and in other Provinces. Now, because the custom likewise had been, that great honour should be done to the bishop of *Elia* or *Jerusalem*; therefore left their decree concerning the primacy of *Antioch*, should any whit prejudice the dignity and honour of that see, special provision is made, that altho' it were inferior in degree, not only unto *Antioch* the chief of the *East*, but even unto *Cesaria* too; yet such preeminence it should retain as belonged to a mother-city, and enjoy whatsoever special prerogative or privilege it had besides. Let men therefore hereby judge of what continuance this order which upholdeth degrees of bishops must needs have been, when a general council of three hundred and eighteen bishops, living themselves within three hundred years after Christ, doth reverence the same for antiquities sake, as a thing which had been even then of old observed in the most renowned parts of the christian world. Wherefore needless altogether are those vain and wanton demands, no mention of an archbishop in *Theophilus* bishop of *Antioch*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Clemens* of *Alexandria*? none in *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*? none in all those old historiographers, out of which *Eusebius* gathereth his story? none till the time of the council of *Nice* three hundred and twenty years after Christ? As if the mention, which is thereof made in that very council where so many bishops acknowledge archiepiscopal dignity even then ancient, were not of far more weight and value than if every of those fathers had written large discourses thereof. But what is it which they will blush

T. C. l. i. 92. What? no mention of him in *Theophilus*, bishop of *Antioch*? none in *Clemens Alexandrinus*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Justin Martyr*? In *Irenaeus*, in *Tertullian*, in *Origen*, in *Cyprian*? In those old historiographers, out of which *Eusebius* gathered his story? Was it for his baseness and smallness that he could not be seen amongst the bishops, elders and deacons, being the chief and principal of them all? Can the Cedar of *Lebanon* be hidden amongst the box-trees? T. C. l. i. ubi supra. A metropolitan bishop was nothing else but a bishop of that place which it pleased the emperor or magistrate to make the chief of the diocese or shire; and as for this name it makes no more difference between a bishop and a bishop, than when I say a minister of *London*, and a minister of *Newington*.

at who dare so confidently set it down, that in the council of *Nice* some bishops being termed metropolitans, no more difference is thereby meant to have been between

tween one bishop and another than is shewed between one minister and another, when we say such a one is a minister in the city of *London*, and such a one a minister in the town of *Newington*. So that, to be termed a metropolitan bishop did, in their conceit, import no more preheminance above other bishops, than we mean, that a girdler hath over others of the same trade, if we term him which doth inhabit some mother-city for difference-sake a metropolitan girdler. But the truth is too manifest to be eluded; a bishop at that time had power in his own diocese over all other ministers there, and a metropolitan bishop sundry preheminences above other bishops, one of which preheminences was, in the ordination of bishops to have *ἐξουσίαν* *ἐκκλησιαστικῆς*, the chief power of ordering all things done. Which preheminance that council it self doth mention, as also a greater belonging unto the patriarch or primate of *Alexandria*, concerning whom it is there likewise said, that to him did belong *ἐξουσία, αὐτοκρατορία καὶ δύναμις*, *authority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Lybia*: within which compass sundry metropolitan sees to have been, there is no man ignorant, which in those antiquities have any knowledge. Certain prerogatives there are wherein metropolitans excelled other bishops, certain also wherein primates excelled other metropolitans. Archiepiscopal or metropolitan prerogatives are those mentioned in the old imperial constitutions, to ^a convocate the holy bishops under them, within the compass of their own provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquisition and redress of public disorders; ^b to grant unto bishops under them leave and faculty of absence from their own dioceses, when it seemed necessary that they should other where converse for some reasonable while; ^c to give notice unto bishops under them of things commanded by supreme authority; ^d to have the hearing and first determining of such causes as any man had against a bishop; ^e to receive the appeals of the inferior clergy, in case they found themselves over-born by the bishop, their immediate judge. And lest haply it should be imagined that canons ecclesiastical we want to make the self-same thing manifest; in the council of *Antioch* it was thus decreed, *The bishop in every province must know, that he is bishop in the mother-city, hath not only charge of his own parish or diocese, but even of the whole province also*. Again, *It hath seemed good, that other bishops, without him, should do nothing more than only that which concerns each one's parish, and the places underneath it*. Further, by the self-same council all council provincial are reckoned void and frustrate, unless the bishop of the mother-city within that province where such councils should be, were present at them. So that the want of his presence, and, in canons for church-government, want of his approbation also, did disannul them. Not so the want of any others. Finally, concerning election of bishops, the council of *Nice* hath this general rule, that the chief ordering of all things here, is in every province committed to the metropolitan. Touching them, who amongst metropolitans were also primates, and had of sundry united provinces, the chiefeft metropolitan see, of such that canon in the council of *Carthage* was eminent, whereby a bishop is forbidden to go beyond seas without the license of the highest chair within the same bishop's own country; and of such which beareth the name apostolical, is that ancient canon likewise, which chargeth the bishop of each NATION to know him which is FIRST amongst them, and to esteem of him as an head, and to do no extraordinary thing but with his leave. The chief primates of the christian world were the bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. To whom the bishop of *Constantinople*, being afterwards added, St. *Chrysostom* the bishop of that see is in that respect said, to have had the care and charge, not only of the city of *Constantinople*, *sed etiam totius Thraciæ quæ sex præfecturis est divisa, & Asiæ totius quæ ab undecim præsidibus regitur*. The rest of the east was under *Antioch*, the south under *Alexandria*, and the west under *Rome*. Whereas therefore *John* the bishop of *Jerusalem* being noted of heresy, had written an apology for himself unto the bishop of *Alexandria*, named *Theophilus*; St. *Jerome* reproverth his breach of the order of the church herein, saying, *Tu qui regulas quæris ecclesiasticas, & Nicenæ concilii canonibus uteris, responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palestina quid pertinet? Nō fallor, hoc ibi decernitur ut Palestina metropolis Cæsarea sit, & totius orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæsariensem episcopum referre debueras, aut si procul expectandum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ*. Thus much concerning that local compass which was antiently set out to bishops; within the bounds and limits whereof we find, that they did accordingly exercise that episcopal authority and power which they had over the church of Christ.

IX. The first whom we read to have bent themselves against the superiority of bi-

pal regiment hath been gainfaid of old by *Aerius*. Aug. de her. ad quod vult deo. Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt nominati qui quum esset presbyter, docuisse fertur, quod episcopus non potest ordinare. Decebat episcopum a presbytero nulla ratione debere discerni. Aug. de her.

shops were *Aerius* and his followers. *Aerius* seeking to be made a bishop, could not brook that *Eusebius* was thereunto preferred before him. Whereas therefore he saw himself unable to rise to that greatness which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was to try what wit, being sharpened with envy and malice, could do, in raising a new seditious opinion that the superiority which bishops had, was a thing which they should not have; that a bishop might not ordain; and that a bishop ought not any way to be distinguished from a presbyter. For so doth St. *Augustine* deliver the opinion of *Aerius*: *Epiphanius* not so plainly, nor so directly, but after a more rhetorical sort. His speech was rather furious than convenient for man to use, *What is, saith he, a bishop more than a presbyter? The one doth differ from the other nothing. For their order is one, their honour one, one their dignity. A bishop imposeth his hands, so doth a presbyter. A bishop baptizeth, the like doth a presbyter. The bishop is a minister of divine service, a presbyter the same. The bishop sitteth as a judge in a throne, even the presbyter sitteth also. A presbyter therefore doing thus far the self-same thing which a bishop did, it was by Aerius enforced, that they ought not in any thing to differ.* Are we to think *Aerius* had wrong in being judged an heretic for holding this opinion? Surely if hereby be an error falsely fathered upon scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the word of God, and by the consent of the universal church in the councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world, declared to be such; and the opinion of *Aerius* in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but *Aerius* so schismatically, and stiffly maintaining it, must even stand where *Epiphanius* and *Augustine* have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God is held by them, whosoever they be, that stand in defence of any conclusion drawn erroneously out of scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of *Aerius* therefore being falsely collected out of scripture, must needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God. His opinion was, that there ought not to be any difference between a bishop and a presbyter. His grounds and reasons for his opinion were sentences of scripture. Under pretence of which sentences, whereby it seemed that bishops and presbyters at the first did not differ, it was concluded by *Aerius*, that the church did ill in permitting any difference to be made. The answer which *Epiphanius* maketh unto some part of the proofs by *Aerius* alledged, was not greatly studied or laboured; for through a contempt of so base an error, for this himself did perceive and profess, yieldeth he thereof expressly this reason; men that have wit do evidently see that all this is meer foolishness. But how vain and ridiculous soever his opinion seemed unto wise men; with it *Aerius* deceived many, for which cause somewhat was convenient to be said against it. And in that very extemporal slightness which *Epiphanius* there useth, albeit the answer made to *Aerius* be ^a in part but raw, yet ought not hereby the truth to find any less favour than in other causes it doth, where we do not therefore judge hereby to have the better, because now and then it alledgeth that for it self, which defenders of the truth do not always so fully answer. Let it therefore suffice, that *Aerius* did bring nothing unanswerable. The weak solutions which the one doth give, are to us no prejudice against the cause, as long as the others oppositions are of no greater strength and validity.

^b *Εν τούτῳ πολ-
λὸς ἡ πείρα.*

* As in that he saith, the apostle doth name sometimes presbyters and not bishops, 1 Tim. 4. 14. sometime bishops and not presbyters, Phil. 1. 1. because all churches had not both, for want of able and sufficient men. In such churches therefore as had but the one, the apostle could not mention the other. Which answer is nothing to the latter place abovementioned: For that the church of *Philippi* should have more bishops than one, and want a few able men to be presbyters under the regiment of one bishop, how shall we think it probable or likely?

^a 1 Tim. 4. 14. with the imposition of the presbyteries hand. Of which presbytery St. *Paul* was chief, 2 Tim. 1. 6. And I think no man will deny that St. *Paul* had more than a

simple presbyter's authority, Phil. 1. 1. To all the saints at *Philippi*, with the bishops and deacons. For as yet in the church of *Philippi* there was no one which had authority besides the apostles, but their presbyters or bishops were all both in title and in power equal.

conclusion

conclusion was, that there ought to be no difference between a presbyter and a bishop. His proofs, those scripture sentences which make mention of bishops and presbyters without any such distinction or difference. So that if between his conclusion and the proofs whereby he laboured to strengthen the same, there be any shew of coherence at all, we must of necessity confess, that when *Aerius* did plead, there is by the word of God no difference between a presbyter and a bishop; his meaning was, not only that the word of God it self appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, or allowing, that any such difference should be made.

X. And of the self same mind are the enemies of government by bishops, even at this present day. They hold, as *Aerius* did, that if Christ and his apostles were obeyed, a bishop should not be permitted to ordain; that between a presbyter and a bishop the word of God alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their order, their authority, their power ought to be one; that it is but by usurpation and corruption, that the one sort are suffered to have rule over the other, or to be any way superior unto them. Which opinion having now so many defenders, shall never be able while the world doth stand to find in some, believing antiquity, as much as one which hath given it countenance, or born any friendly affection towards it. Touching these men therefore, whose desire is to have all equal, three ways there are whereby they usually oppugn the received order of the church of Christ. First, by disgracing the inequality of pastors, as a new and meer human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of scripture, where all pastors are found (they say) to have one and the same power both of order and jurisdiction. Secondly, by gathering together the differences between that power which we give to bishops, and that which was given them of old in the church: so that, albeit even the ancient took more than was warrantable; yet so far they swerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the scripture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgment of the wisest, the holiest, the best in all ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow.

XI. That inequality of pastors is a meer human invention, a thing not found in the word of God, they prove thus:

1. *All the places of scripture where the word bishop is used, or any other derived of that name, signify an oversight in respect of some particular congregation only, and never in regard of pastors committed unto his oversight. For which cause the names of bishops, and presbyters, or pastoral elders, are used indifferently, to signify one and the self same thing. Which so indifferent and common use of these words for one and the self same office, so constantly and perpetually in all places, declareth that the word bishop in the apostle's writing importeth not a pastor of higher power and authority over other pastors.* Their arguments in defence of this opinion are, that the word bishop is used in scripture, as being a meer invention of man, and not found in scripture, answered.

2. *All pastors are called to their office by the same means of proceeding; the scripture maketh no difference in the manner of their trial, election, ordination: which proveth their office and power to be by scripture all one.* Titus 1. 5. 1 Tim. 3. 5. Phil. 1. 1. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2.

3. *The apostles were all of equal power, and all pastors do alike succeed the apostles in their ministry and power, the commission and authority whereby they succeed being in scripture but one and the same that was committed to the apostles, without any difference of committing to one pastor more, or to another less.*

4. *The power of the censures and keys of the church, and of ordaining and ordering ministers (in which two points especially this superiority is challenged) is not committed to any one pastor of the church, more than to another; but the same is committed as a thing to be carried equally in the guidance of the church. Whereby it appeareth, that scripture maketh all pastors, not only in the ministry of the word and sacraments, but also in all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, equal.*

5. *The council of Nice doth attribute this difference, not unto any ordination of God, but to an antient custom used in former times, which judgment is also followed afterward by other councils, Concil. Antioch. cap. 9.*

6. *Upon these premises, their summary collection and conclusion is, That the ministry of the gospel, and the functions thereof, ought to be from heaven and of God, Joh. 1. 23. that if they be of God, and from heaven, then are they set down in the word of God; that if they be not in the word of God (as by the premises it doth appear (they say) that our kinds of bishops are not) it followeth, they are invented by the brain of men, and are of the earth, and that consequently they can do no good in the church of Christ, but harm.* T.C.L.s. p. 13. So that it appeared that the ministry of the gospel, and the functions thereof ought to be from heaven:

From heaven, I say, and heavenly, because although it be executed by earthly men, and ministers are chosen also by men like unto themselves, yet because it is done by the word and institution of God, it may well be accounted to come from heaven and from God.

Our answer hereunto is, first, that their proofs are unavailable to shew that scripture doth affordeth no evidence for the inequality of pastors. Secondly, that albeit the

scripture did no way insinuate the same to be God's ordinance, and the apostles to have brought it in, albeit the church were acknowledged by all men to have been the first beginner thereof a long time after the apostles were gone; yet is not the authority of bishops hereby disannulled, it is not hereby proved unfit, or unprofitable for the church.

1. That the word of God doth acknowledge no inequality of power amongst pastors of the church, neither doth it appear by the signification of this word *bishop*, nor by the indifferent use thereof. For, concerning signification, first it is clearly untrue that no other thing is thereby signified but only an oversight in respect of a particular church and congregation. For, I beseech you, of what parish or particular congregation was *Matthias* bishop? His office scripture doth term episcopal: which being no other than was common unto all the apostles of Christ; forasmuch as in that number there is not any to whom the oversight of many pastors did not belong by force and virtue of that office; it followeth that the very word doth sometimes, even in scripture, signify an oversight such as includeth charge over pastors themselves. And if we look to the use of the word, being applied with reference unto some one church, as *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, and such like, albeit the guides of those churches be interchangeably in scripture termed sometime bishops, sometime prebyters, to signify men having oversight and charge, without relation at all unto other than the christian laity alone; yet this doth not hinder, but that scripture may in some place have other names, whereby certain of those presbyters or bishops are noted to have the oversight and charge of pastors, as out of all peradventure they had whom St. *John* doth intitle angels.

2. As for those things which the apostle hath set down concerning tryal, election, and ordination of pastors, that he maketh no difference in the manner of their calling, this also is but a silly argument to prove their office and their power equal by the scripture. The form of admitting each sort unto their offices, needed no particular instruction. There was no fear, but that such matters of course would easily enough be observed. The apostle therefore toucheth those things wherein judgment, wisdom, and conscience is required; he carefully admonisheth of what quality ecclesiastical persons should be, that their dealing might not be scandalous in the church. And forasmuch as those things are general, we see that of deacons there are delivered, in a manner, the self-same precepts which are given concerning pastors, so far as concerneth their tryal, election, and ordination. Yet who doth hereby collect that scripture maketh deacons and pastors equal? If notwithstanding it be yet demanded, *Wherefore he which teacheth what kind of persons deacons and presbyters should be, hath nothing in particular about the quality of chief presbyters, whom we call bishops?* I answer briefly, that there it was no fit place for any such discourse to be made, inasmuch as the apostle wrote unto *Timothy* and *Titus*, who having by commission episcopal authority, were to exercise the same in ordaining, not bishops (the apostles themselves yet living, and retaining that power in their own hands) but presbyters, such as the apostles at the first did create throughout all churches. Bishops by restraint (only *James* at *Jerusalem* excepted) were not yet in being.

3. About equality amongst the apostles there is by us no controversy moved. If in the rooms of the apostles, which were of equal authority, all pastors do by scripture succeed alike, where shall we find a commission in scripture which they speak of, which appointed all to succeed in the self-same equality of power; except that commission which doth authorize to preach and baptize, should be alledged, which maketh nothing to the purpose; for in such things, all pastors are still equal? We must, I fear me, wait very long before any other will be shewed. For howsoever the apostles were equals amongst themselves, all other pastors were not equals with the apostles while they lived, neither are they any where appointed to be afterward each other's equals. Apostles had, as we know, authority over all such as were no apostles; by force of which their authority they might both command and judge. It was for the singular good and benefit of those disciples whom Christ left behind him, and of the pastors which were afterwards chosen; for the great good, I say, of all sorts, that the apostles were in power above them. Every day brought forth somewhat wherein they saw by experience, how much it stood them in stead to be under controlment of those superiors and higher governors of God's house. Was it a thing so behoveful that pastors should be subject unto pastors in the apostles own times? and is there any commandment that this subjection should cease with them? and that the pastors of the succeeding ages should be all equals? No, no, this strange and absurd conceit of equality amongst pastors (the mother of schism, and of confusion) is but a dream newly brought forth, and seen never in the church before.

4. Power of censure and ordination appeareth even by scripture marvellous probable to have been derived from Christ to his church, without this surmised equality in them

to whom he hath committed the same. For I would know, whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were commanded by *St. Paul* to do any thing, more than *Christ* hath authorized pastors to do; and to the one it is scripture which saith, *Against a presbyter receive thou no accusation, saving under two or three witnesses*: Scripture which likewise hath said to the other, *for this very cause left I THEE in Crete, that THOU shouldst redress the things that remain, and shouldst ORDAIN presbyters in every city, as I appointed THEE*. In the former place the power of censure is spoken of, and the power of ordination in the latter. Will they say that every pastor there was equal to *Timothy* and *Titus* in these things? If they do, the apostle himself is against it, who saith, that of their two very persons he had made choice, and appointed in those places them for performances of those duties; whereas, if the same had belonged unto others no less than to them, and not principally unto them above others, it had been fit for the apostle accordingly to have directed his letters concerning these things in general unto them all which had equal interest in them; even as it had been likewise fit to have written those epistles in *St. John's* revelation, unto whole ecclesiastical synates, rather than only unto the angels of each church, had not some one been above the rest in authority to order the affairs of the church. Scripture therefore doth most probably make for the inequality of pastors, even in all ecclesiastical affairs, and by very express mention, as well in censures as ordinations.

5. In the *Nicene* council there are confirmed certain prerogatives and dignities belonging unto primates or archbishops, and of them it is said, that the ancient custom of the church had been to give them such pre-eminence, but no syllable whereby any man should conjecture that those fathers did not honour the superiority which bishops had over other pastors only upon ancient custom, and not as true apostolical heavenly and divine ordinance.

6. Now, altho' we should leave the general received persuasion held from the first beginning that the apostles themselves left bishops invested with power above other pastors; although, I say, we would give over this opinion, and embrace that other conjecture which so many have thought good to follow, and which my self did sometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do, merely that after the apostles were deceased, churches did agree amongst themselves, for preservation of peace and order, to make one presbyter in each city, chief over the rest, and to translate into him that power by force and virtue whereof the apostles, while they were alive, did preserve and uphold order in the church, exercising spiritual jurisdiction, partly by themselves, and partly by evangelists, because they could not always every where themselves be present: this order Decad. 1. Ser. taken by the church it self (for so let us suppose, that the apostles did neither by word 3. *ful. Def.* nor deed appoint it) were notwithstanding more warrantable, than that it should give c. 9. Di. 1. place and be abrogated, because the ministry of the gospel, and functions thereof ought to be from heaven. There came chief priests and elders unto our Saviour Christ as Tit. 1. 5. he was teaching in the temple, and the question which they moved unto him was this, *By what authority dost thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?* their question Mir 21. 23. he repelled with a counter demand, *The baptism of John whence was it, from heaven, or of men?* Hereat they paused, secretly disputing within themselves, *If we should say from heaven, he will ask, wherefore did ye not then believe him? and if we say of men, we fear the people, for all hold John a prophet.* What is it now which hereupon these men would infer? that all functions ecclesiastical ought in such sort to be from heaven, as the function of *John* was? no such matter here contained. Nay, doth not the contrary rather appear most plainly by that which is here set down? For when our Saviour doth ask concerning the baptism, that is to say, the whole spiritual function of *John*, whether it were from heaven or of men, he giveth clearly to understand that Men give authority unto some, and some God himself from heaven doth authorize. Nor is it said, or in any sort signified, that none have lawful authority which have it not in such manner as *John*, from heaven. Again, when the priests and elders were loth to say, that *John* had his calling from men, the reason was not because they thought that so *John* should not have any good or lawful calling, but because they saw that by this means they should somewhat embase the calling of *John*; whom all men knew to have been sent from God, according to the manner of prophets by a meer celestial vocation. So that out of the evidence here alleged, these things we may directly conclude, first that whoso doth exercise any kind of function in the church, he cannot lawfully so do, except authority be given him: Secondly, that if authority be not given him from men, as the authority of teaching was given unto scribes and pharisees, it must be given him from heaven, as authority was given unto *Christ*, *Elias*, *John Baptist*, and the prophets. For these two only ways there are to have authority. But a strange conclusion it is, God himself did, from heaven, authorize *John* to bear witness of the light, to prepare a way for the promised *Messiah*, to publish the

nearness of the kingdom of God, to preach repentance, and to baptize (for by this part which was in the function of *John*, most noted, all the rest are together signified;) therefore the church of God hath no power upon new occurrences to appoint, to ordain an ecclesiastical function, as *Moses* did upon *Jethro's* advice devise a civil. All things we grant which are in the church ought to be of God. But, forasmuch as they may be two ways accounted such: one, if they be of his own institution, and not of ours; another if they be of ours, and yet with his approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the same thing which is of men, may be also justly and truly said to be of God, the same thing from heaven which is from earth. Of all good things God himself is author, and consequently an approver of them. The rule to discern when the actions of men are good, when they are such as they ought to be, is more ample and large than the law which God hath set particular down in his holy word, the scripture is but a part of that rule as hath been heretofore at large declared. If therefore all things be of God which are well done; and if all things be well done, which are according to the rule of well-doing; and if the rule of well-doing be more ample than the scripture; what necessity is there, that every thing which is of God, should be set down in holy scripture? true it is in things of some one kind, true it is, that what we are now of necessity for ever bound to believe or observe in the special mysteries of salvation, scripture must needs give notice of it unto the world; yet true it cannot be, touching all things that are of God. Sufficient it is for the proof of lawfulness in any thing done, if we can shew that God approveth it. And of his approbation, the evidence is sufficient, if either himself have by revelation in his word warranted it, or we by some discourse of reason find it good of it self, and unrepugnant unto any of his revealed laws and ordinances. Wherefore injurious we are unto God, the author and giver of human capacity, judgment and wit, when, because of some things wherein he precisely forbiddeth men to use their own inventions, we take occasion to dis-authorize and disgrace the works which he doth produce by the hand either of nature, or of grace in them. We offer contumely, even unto him, when we scornfully reject what we list, without any other exception than this, *The brain of man hath devised it.* Whether we look into the church or common-weal, as well in the one as in the other, both the ordination of officers, and the very institution of their offices, may be truly derived from God, and approved of him, although they be not always of him in such sort as those things are which are in scripture. Doth not the apostle term the law of nature even as the evangelist doth the law of scripture, *δικαίωμα τῷ Θεῷ* God's own righteous ordinance? the law of nature then being his law, that must needs be of him which it hath directed men unto. Great odds, I grant, there is between things devised by men, although agreeable with the law of nature, and things in scripture set down by the finger of the holy Ghost. Howbeit the dignity of these is no hindrance, but that those be also reverently accounted of in their place. Thus much they very well saw, who altho' not living themselves under this kind of church polity, yet being thro' some experience, more moderate, grave, and circumspect in their judgment, have given hereof their sounder and better advised sentence. That which the holy fathers (saith *Zanchius*) have by common consent, without contradiction of scripture, received; for my part, I neither will, nor dare with good conscience disallow. And what more certain, than that the ordering of ecclesiastical persons, one in authority above another, was received into the church by the common consent of the christian world? What am I, that I should take upon me to controul the whole church of Christ in that which is so well known to have been lawfully, religiously, and to notable purpose instituted? *Calvin* maketh mention even of primates that have authority above bishops, *It was*, saith he, *the institution of the antient church, to the end that the bishops might by this bond of concord, continued the faster linked amongst themselves.* And, lest any man should think that as well he might allow the papacy it self; to prevent this he addeth, *Aliud est moderatum gerere & honorem, quam totum terrarum orbem immenso imperio complecti.* These things standing as they do, we may conclude, that, albeit the offices which bishops execute, had been committed unto them only by the church, and that the superiority which they have over other pastors were not first by Christ himself given to the apostles, and from them descended to others, but afterwards in such consideration brought in and agreed upon, as is pretended; yet could not this be a just or lawful exception against it.

The arguments to prove there was no necessity of instituting bishops in the church.

XII. But they will say, *There was no necessity of instituting bishops, the church might have stood well enough without them, they are as those superfluous things, which neither while they continue do good, nor do harm when they are removed, because there is not any profitable use whereunto they should serve.* For first, in the primitive church their pastors were all equal, the bishops of those days were the very same which pastors of parish churches

churches at this day are with us, no one at commandment or controulment by any others authority amongst them. The church therefore may stand and flourish without bishops if they be necessary, wherefore were they not sooner instituted? 2. Again, if any such thing were needful for the church, Christ would have set it down in scripture, as he did all kind of officers needful for jewish regiment. He which prescribed unto the Jews so particularly the least thing pertinent unto their temple, would not have left so weighty offices undetermined of in scripture, but that he knew the church could never have any profitable use of them. 3. Furthermore it is the judgment of Cyprian, that equality requireth every man's cause to be heard, where the fault he is charged with was committed. And the reason he alledged is, forasmuch as there they may have both accusers and witnesses in their cause. Sith therefore every man's cause is meetest to be handled at home by the judges of his own parish, to what purpose serveth their device, which have appointed bishops, unto whom such causes may be brought, and archbishops to whom they may be also from thence removed? Ep. 3. l. 5. 1.

XIII. What things have necessary use in the church, they of all others are the most unfit to judge, who bend themselves purposely against whatsoever the church useth, except it please themselves to give it the grace and countenance of their favourable approbation; which they willingly do not yield unto any part of church polity, in the forehead whereof there is not the mark of that new devised stamp. But howsoever men like or dislike, whether they judge things necessary or needless in the house of God, a conscience they should have, touching that which they boldly affirm or deny. 1. In the primitive church no bishops, no pastor having power over other pastors, but all equals, every man supreme commander and ruler within the kingdom of his own congregation or parish? The bishops that are spoken of in the time of the primitive church, all such as parsons or rectors of parishes are with us? If thus it have been in the prime of the church, the question is how far they will have that prime to extend? and where the latter spring of that new-supposed disorder to begin? That primitive church wherein they hold that amongst the fathers, all which had pastoral charge were equal, they must of necessity so far enlarge as to contain some hundred of years, because for proof hereof they alledge boldly and confidently St. Cyprian, who suffered martyrdom about two hundred and threescore years after our blessed Lord's incarnation. A bishop, they say, such as Cyprian doth speak of, had only a church or congregation, such as the ministers and pastors with us, which are appointed unto several towns. Every bishop in Cyprian's time was pastor of one only congregation, assembled in one place to be taught of one man. A thing impertinent, altho' it were true. For the question is about personal inequality amongst governors of the church. Now to shew there was no such thing in the church at such time as Cyprian lived, what bring they forth? Forsooth that bishops had then but a small circuit of place for the exercise of their authority. Be it supposed, that no one bishop had more than one only town to govern, one only congregation to rule: doth it by Cyprian appear, that in any such town or congregation, being under the cure and charge of some one bishop, there were not, besides that one bishop, others also ministers of the word and sacraments, yet subject to the power of the same bishop? If this appear not, how can Cyprian be alledged for a witness that in those times there were no bishops which did differ from other ministers, as being above them in degree of ecclesiastical power? But a gross and a palpable untruth it is, that bishops with Cyprian were as ministers are with us in parish churches; and that each of them did guide some parish without any other pastors under him. St. Cyprian's own person may serve for a manifest disproof hereof. Pontius being deacon under Cyprian, noteth, that his admirable virtues caused him to be bishop with the soonest; which advancement thereof himself endeavoured for a while to avoid. It seemed in his own eyes, too soon for him to take the title of so great honour, in regard whereof a bishop is termed *pontifex, sacerdos, antistes Dei*. Yet such was his quality, that whereas others did hardly perform that duty, whereunto the discipline of their order, together with the religion of the oath they took at their entrance into the office even constrained them; him the chair did not make, but receive such a one, as behoved that a bishop should be. But soon after followed that prescription, whereby being driven into exile, and continuing in that estate for the space of some two years, he ceased not by letters to deal with his clergy, and to direct them about the publick affairs of the church. They unto whom these epistles were

Esti fratres pro dilectione sua cupidi sunt ad conveniendum & visitandum confessores bonos, quos illustravit jam gloriosis initiis divina dignatio; tamen caute hoc, & non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam, puto esse faciendum, ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, & introitus aditus denegetur, & dum infatigabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus; consulite ergo & provide ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit. Ita ut presbyteri quoque qui illic apud confessores offerunt singuli cum singulis diaconis per vices accernent, quia & multitudo personarum, & visitatio conventuum minuit invidiam. Ep. 5.

written, he commonly entituled the presbyters and deacons of that church. If any man doubt whether those presbyters of *Carthage* were ministers of the word and sacraments or no, let him consider but that one only place of *Cyprian*, where he giveth them this careful advice, how to deal with circumspection in the perious times of the church, that neither they which were for the truth's sake imprisoned might want those ghostly comforts which they ought to have, nor the church by ministering the same unto them incur unnecessary danger and peril. In which epistle it doth expressly appear, that the presbyters of whom he speaketh, did offer, that is to say, administer the eucharist; and that many there were of them in the church of *Carthage*, so as they might have every day change for performance of that duty. Nor will any man of sound judgment, I think, deny, that *Cyprian* was in authority and power above the clergy of that church, above those presbyters unto whom he gave direction. It is apparently therefore untrue, that in *Cyprian's* time ministers of the word and sacraments were all equal, and that no one of them had either title more excellent than the rest, or authority and government over the rest. *Cyprian* being bishop of *Carthage*, was clearly superior unto all other ministers there: Yea, *Cyprian* was, by reason of the dignity of his see, an archbishop, and so consequently superior unto bishops. Bishops, we say, there have been always, even as long as the church of Christ it self hath been. The apostles who planted it, did themselves rule as bishops over it; neither could they so well have kept things in order during their own times, but that episcopal authority was given them from above, to exercise far and wide over all other guides and pastors of God's church. The church indeed for a time continued without bishops by restraint, every where established in christian cities. But shall we thereby conclude that the church hath no use of them, that without them it may stand and flourish? No, the cause wherefore they were so soon universally appointed was, for that it plainly appeared, that without them the church could not have continued long. It was by the special providence of God, no doubt, so disposed, that the evil whereof this did serve for remedy, might first be felt, and so the reverend authority of bishops be made by so much the more effectual, when our general experience had taught men what it was for churches to want them. Good laws are never esteemed so good, nor acknowledged so necessary, as when precedent crimes are as seeds out of which they grow. Episcopal authority was even in a manner sanctified unto the church of Christ by that little bitter experience which it first had of the pestilent evil of schisms. Again, when this very thing was proposed as a remedy, yet a more suspicious and fearful acceptance it must needs have found, if the self-same provident wisdom of almighty God had not also given beforehand sufficient trial thereof in the regiment of *Jerusalem*, a mother-church, which having received the same order even at the first, was by it most peaceably govern'd, when other churches without it had trouble. So that by all means, the necessary use of episcopal government is confirmed, yea strengthened it is, and ratified, even by the not establishment thereof in all churches every where at the first. 2. When they further dispute, *That if any such thing were needful, Christ would in scripture have set down particular statutes and laws, appointing that bishops should be made, and prescribing in what order, even as the law doth for all kind of officers which were needful in the jews regiment*; might not a man that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the *Petrobrian* hereticks, in pulling down oratories, use the self-same argument with as much countenance of reason? *If it were needful that we should assemble our selves in churches, would that God which taught the Jews so exactly the frame of their sumptuous temple; leave us no particular instructions in writing, no not so much as which way to lay any one stone?* Surely such kind of argumentation doth not so strengthen the sinews of their cause, as weaken the credit of their judgment which are led therewith. 3. And whereas thirdly, in disproof of that use which episcopal authority hath in judgment of spiritual causes, they bring forth the verdict of *Cyprian*, who saith, *that equity requireth every man's cause to be heard, where the fault he was charged with was committed, forasmuch as there they may have both accusers and witnesses in the cause*. This argument grounding it self on principles no less true in civil than in ecclesiastical causes, unless it be qualified with some exceptions or limitations, over-turneth the highest tribunal seats both in church and commonwealth; it taketh utterly away all appeals; it secretly condemneth even the blessed apostle himself, as having transgressed the law of equity, by his appeal from the court of *Judea* unto those higher which were in *Rome*. The generality of such kind of axioms deceiveth, unless it be construed with such cautions as the matter wherunto they are applicable doth require. An usual and ordinary transportation of causes out of *Africa* into *Italy*, out of one kingdom into another, as discontented persons list, which was the thing which *Cyprian* disalloweth, may be unequal and unmeet; and yet not therefore a thing unnecessary to have the courts erected in higher places, and judgment

*Cyp. lib. 1.
Ep. 3.*

Act. 25.

ment committed unto greater persons, to whom the meaner may bring their causes either by way of appeal or otherwise, to be determined according to the order of justice; which hath been always observed every where in civil states: and is no less requisite also for the state of the church of God. The reasons which teach it to be expedient for the one, will shew it to be for the other, at leastwise not unnecessary. Inequality of pastors is an ordinance both divine and profitable. Their exceptions against it in these two reasons, we have shewed to be altogether causeless, unreasonable and unjust.

XIV. The next thing which they upbraided us with, is the difference between that in-^{An answer un-}equality of pastors which hath been of old, and which now is. For at length they grant, ^{to those things} *That the superiority of bishops and of archbishops is somewhat ancient, but no such kind of* ^{which are ob-} *superiority as ours have.* By the laws of our discipline, a bishop may ordain without ^{jected, con-} asking the people's consent, a bishop may excommunicate and release alone, a bishop may ^{cerning the} imprison, a bishop may bear civil office in the realm, a bishop may be a counsellor of ^{tween that} power which ^{bishops now} state; those things ancient bishops neither did nor might do. Be it granted, that ordina- ^{have, and that} rily neither in elections nor deprivations, neither in excommunicating nor in releasing the ^{which ancient} excommunicate; in none of the weighty affairs of government, bishops of old were ^{bishops had,} wont to do any thing without consultation with their clergy, and consent of the people ^{more than o-} ^{ther presby-} under them; be it granted, that the same bishops did neither touch any man with cor-
poral punishment, nor meddle with secular affairs and offices, the whole clergy of God being then tied by the strict and severe canons of the church, to use no other than ghostly power, to attend no other business than heavenly. *Tarquinius* was in the *Roman* commonwealth deservedly hated, of whose unorderly proceedings the history speaketh thus. *Liv. lib. ii.* *Hic regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis reipub. administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates, per seipsum, cum quibus voluit injussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque.* Against bishops the like is objected, *That they are invaders of other mens rights, and by intolerable usurpation take upon them to do that alone, wherein ancient laws have appointed that others, not they only, should bear sway.* Let the case of bishops be put, not in such sort as it is, but even as their very heaviest adversaries would devise it. Suppose that bishops at the first had encroached upon the church; that by slyghts and cunning practices they had appropriated ecclesiastical, as *Augustus* did imperial power; that they had taken the advantage of mens inclinable affections, which did not suffer them for revenue sake to be suspected of ambition; that in the mean while their usurpation had gone forward by certain easy and insensible degrees; that being not discerned in the growth, when it was thus far grown, as we now see it hath proceeded, the world at length perceiving there was just cause of complaint, but no place of remedy left, had assented unto it by a general secret agreement to bear it now as an helpless evil: all this supposed for certain and true, yet surely a thing of this nature, as for the superior to do that alone, unto which of right the consent of some other inferiors should have been required by them; tho' it had an indirect entrance at the first, must needs thro' continuance of so many ages as this hath stood, be made now a thing more natural to the church, than that it should be oppress'd with the mention of contrary orders worn so many ages since quite and clean out of ure. But with bishops the case is otherwise; for in doing that by themselves, which others together with them have been accustomed to do, they do not any thing, but that whereunto they have been upon just occasions authorized by orderly means. All things natural, have in them naturally, more or less, the power of providing for their own safety: and as each particular man hath this power, so every politick society of men must needs have the same, that thereby the whole may provide for the good of all parts therein. For other benefit we have not any, by sorting our selves into politick societies, saving only that by this means each part hath that relief, which the virtue of the whole is able to yield it. The church therefore being a politick society or body, cannot possibly want the power of providing for it self: and the chiefest part of that power consisteth in the authority of making laws. Now, forasmuch as corporations are perpetual, the law of the ancienter church cannot chuse but bind the latter, while they are in force. But we must note withal, that because the body of the church continueth the same, it hath the same authority still, and may abrogate old laws, or make new, as need shall require. Wherefore vainly are the ancient canons and constitutions objected as laws, when once they are either let secretly to die by disusage, or are openly abrogated by contrary laws. The ancients had cause to do no otherwise than they did; and yet so strictly they judged not themselves in conscience bound to observe those orders, but that in sundry cases they easily dispensed therewith, which I suppose they would never have done, had they esteemed them as things whereunto everlasting, immutable, and indispensable observation did

belong. The bishop usually promoted none which were not first allowed as fit by conference had with the rest of his clergy and with the people. Notwithstanding, in the case of *Aurelius*, St. *Cyprian* did otherwise. In matters of deliberation and counsel, for disposing of that which belongeth generally to the whole body of the church, or which being more particular, is nevertheless of so great consequence, that it needeth the force of many judgments conferred; in such things the common saying must necessarily take place, *An eye cannot see that which eyes can*. As for clerical ordinations, there are no such reasons alledged against the order which is, but that it may be esteemed as good in every respect, as that which hath been; and in some considerations better, at leastwise (which is sufficient to our purpose) it may be held in the church of Christ without transgressing any law, either ancient or late, divine or human, which we ought to observe and keep. The form of making ecclesiastical offices hath sundry parts, neither are they all of equal moment. When deacons having not been before in the church of Christ, the apostles saw it needful to have such ordained, they, first assemble the multitude, and shew them how needful it is that deacons be made. Secondly, they name unto them what number they judge convenient, what quality the men must be of, and to the people they commit the care of finding such out. Thirdly, the people hereunto assenting, make their choice of *Stephen* and the rest; those chosen men they bring and present before the apostles, howbeit, all this doth not endue them with any ecclesiastical power. But when so much was done, the apostles finding no cause to take exception, did with prayer and imposition of hands make them deacons. This was it which gave them their very being; all other things besides were only preparations unto this. Touching the form of making presbyters, altho' it be not wholly of purpose any where set down in the apostles writings, yet sundry speeches there are which insinuate the chiefest things that belong unto that action: as when *Paul* and *Barnabas* are said to have *fasted, prayed*, and made presbyters: when *Timothy* is willed to *lay hands suddenly on no man*, for fear of participating with other mens sins. For this cause the order of the primitive church was, between choice and ordination to have some space for such prohibition and trial as the apostle doth mention in deacons, saying, *Let them first be proved, then minister, if so be they be found blameless*.

Acts 14. 23.
1 Tim. 5. 22.

Lamprid. in
Alex. Sever.

Alexander Severus beholding in his time how careful the church of Christ was, especially for this point; how, after the choice of their pastors, they used to publish the names of the parties chosen, and not give them the usual act of approbation, till they saw whether any lett or impediment would be alledged; he gave commandment, that the like should also be done in his own imperial elections, adding this as a reason wherefore he so required, namely, *For that both Christians and Jews being so wary about the ordination of the priests, it seemed very unequal for him not to be in like sort circumspect, to whom he committed the government of provinces, containing power over mens both estates and lives*. This the canon it self doth provide for, requiring before ordination, scrutiny; *Let them diligently be examined three days together before the sabbath, and on the sabbath, let them be presented unto the bishop*. And even this in effect also is the very use of the church of *England*, at all solemn ordaining of ministers; and if all ordaining were solemn, I must confess it were much the better.

Deca quando
Epif. sect.
Igitur.

The pretended disorder of the church of *England* is, that bishops ordain them, to whose election the people give no voices, and so the bishops make them alone; that is to say, they give ordination without popular election going before, which ancient bishops neither did, nor might do. Now in very truth, if the multitude have hereunto a right, which right can never be translated from them for any cause, then is there no remedy but we must yield, that unto the lawful making of ministers the voice of the people is required; and that, according to the adverse party's assertion, such as make ministers without asking the peoples consent, do but exercise a certain tyranny.

Eccle. Discipl.
P. 34.

At the first erection of the commonwealth of *Rome*, the people (for so it was then fitted) determined of all affairs: afterwards, this growing troublesome, their senators did that for them, which themselves before had done: in the end all came to one man's hands; and the emperor alone was instead of many senators.

In these things, the experience of time may breed both civil and ecclesiastical change from that which hath been before received; neither do latter things always violently exclude former; but the one growing less convenient than it hath been, giveth place to that which is now become more. That which was fit for the people themselves to do at the first, might afterwards be more convenient for them to do by some other: which other is not hereby proved a tyrant because he alone doth that which a multitude were wont to do, unless by violence he take that authority upon him, against the order of law, and without any publick appointment; as with us, if any did, it should (I suppose) not long be safe for him so to do.

This answer (I hope) will seem to be so much the more reasonable, in that themselves, who stand against us, have furnish'd us therewith. For, whereas against the making of ministers by bishops alone, their use hath been to object, what sway the people did bear when *Stephen* and the rest were ordained deacons: they begin to cly; how their own platform swerveth not a little from that example wherewith they controul the practices of others. For, touching the form of the peoples concurrence in that action, they observe it not; no, they plainly profess, that they are not in this point bound to be followers of the apostles. The apostles ordained whom the people had first chosen. They hold, that their ecclesiastical senate ought both to chuse, and also to ordain. Do not themselves then take away that which the apostles gave the people, namely, the privilege of chusing ecclesiastical officers? They do. But behold in what sort they answer it.

By the sixth and the fourteenth of the Acts (say they) it doth appear, that the people had the chiefest power of chusing. Howbeit that, as unto me it seemeth, was done upon special cause which doth not so much concern us, neither ought it to be drawn unto the ordinary and perpetual form of governing the church. For, as in establishing common-weals, not only if they be popular, but even being such as are ordered by the power of a few the chiefest, or as by the sole authority of one, till the same be established, the whole sway is in the peoples hands, who voluntarily appoint those magistrates by whose authority they may be governed; so that afterward not the multitude it self, but those magistrates which are chosen by the multitude, have the ordering of publick affairs. After the self-same manner it fared in establishing also the church: when there was not as yet any placed over the people, all authority was in them all; but when they all had chosen certain to whom the regiment of the church was committed, this power is not now any longer in the hands of the whole multitude, but wholly in theirs who are appointed guides of the church. Besides, in the choice of deacons, there was also another special cause wherefore the whole church at that time should chuse them. For inasmuch as the Grecians murmured against the Hebrews, and complained that in the daily distribution which was made for relief of the poor, they were not indifferently respected, nor such regard had of their widows as was meet; this made it necessary that they all should have to deal in the choice of those unto whom that care was afterwards to be committed, to the end that all occasion of jealousies and complaints might be removed. Wherefore that which was done by the people for certain causes, before the church was fully settled, may not be drawn out and applied unto a constant and perpetual form of ordering the church.

Let them cast the discipline of the church of *England* into the same scales where they weigh their own, let them give us the same measure which here they take, and our strifes shall soon be brought to a quiet end. When they urge the apostles as precedents; when they condemn us of tyranny, because we do not in making ministers the same which the apostles did; when they plead, that with us one alone doth ordain, and that our ordinations are without the peoples knowledge, contrary to that example which the blessed apostles gave; we do not request at their hands allowance as much as of one word we speak in our own defence, if that which we speak be of our own; but that which themselves speak, they must be content to listen unto. To exempt themselves from being over far prest with the apostles example, they can answer, that which was done by the people once upon special causes, when the church was not yet established, is not to be made a rule for the constant and continual ordering of the church. In defence of their own election, altho' they do not therein depend on the people so much as the apostles in the choice of deacons, they think it a very sufficient apology, that there were special considerations why deacons at that time should be chosen by the whole church, but not so now. In excuse of dissimilitudes between their own and the apostles discipline, they are contented to use this answer, that many things were done in the apostles times, before the settling of the church, which afterward the church was not tied to observe. For countenance of their own proceedings, wherein their governors do more than the apostles, and their people less than under the apostles the first churches are found to have done at the making of ecclesiastical officers, they deem it a marvelous reasonable kind of pleading, to say, that even as in commonweals, when the multitude have once chosen many, or one to rule over them, the right which was at the first in the whole body of the people, is now derived into those many, or that one which is so chosen; and that this being done, it is not the whole multitude, to whom the administration of such publick affairs any longer appertaineth, but that which they did, their rulers may now do lawfully without them: after the self-same manner it standeth with the church also.

How easy and plain might we make our defence? how clear and allowable even unto them, if we could but obtain of them to admit the same things consonant unto equity in our mouths, which they require to be so taken from their own? If that which is truth,
being

Eccle. Discip.
P. 47.

Neque enim
fas erat aut li-
cebat ut infe-
rior ordinaret
majorem :
Comment. q.
Ambros. tribu-
nitur, in 1 Tim.
3.

*Επισκοπὴς ἡγε-
ποιεῖται.

being uttered in maintenance of *Scotland* and *Geneva*, do not cease to be truth when the church of *England* once alledgeth it, this great crime of tyranny wherewith we are charged, hath a plain and an easy defence. Yea, but we do not all ask the peoples approbation, which they do, whereby they shew themselves more indifferent and more free from taking away the peoples right. Indeed, when their lay-elders have chosen whom they think good, the peoples consent thereunto is asked, and if they give their approbation, the thing standeth warranted for sound and good. But if not, is the former choice overthrown? No, but the people is to yield to reason; and if they which have made the choice, do so like the peoples reason, as to reverse their own deed at the hearing of it, then a new election to be made; otherwise the former to stand, notwithstanding the peoples negative and dislike. What is this else but to deal with the people, as those nurses do with infants, whose mouths they besmear with the backside of the spoon, as tho' they had fed them, when they themselves do devour the food? They cry in the ears of the people, that all mens consent should be had unto that which concerns all; they make the people believe we wrong them, and deprive them of their right in making ministers, whereas with us the people have commonly far more sway and force than with them. For inasmuch as there are but two main things observed in every ecclesiastical function, power to exercise the duty it self, and some charge of people whereon to exercise the same; the former of these is received at the hands of the whole visible catholic church. For it is not any one particular multitude that can give power, the force whereof may reach far and wide indefinitely, as the power of order doth, which who so hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto, but he may exercise effectually the same in any part of the world without iterated ordination. They whom the whole church hath from the beginning used as her agents in conferring this power, are not either one or mo of the laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of that ever any such were allowed to ordain ministers: only persons ecclesiastical, and they, in place of calling, superiors both unto deacons, and unto presbyters; only such persons ecclesiastical have been authorized to ordain both, and give them the power of order, in the name of the whole church. Such were the apostles, such was *Timothy*, such was *Titus*, such are bishops. Not that there is between these no difference, but that they all agree in preeminence of place above both presbyters and deacons, whom they otherwise might not ordain. Now whereas hereupon some do infer, that no ordination can stand but only such as is made by bishops, which have had their ordination likewise by other bishops before them, till we come to the very apostles of Christ themselves. In which respect it was demanded of *Beza* at *Poissie*, *By what authority he could administer the holy sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than Calvin, or by such as to whom the power of ordination did not belong, according to the ancient order and customs of the church;* *scilicet Calvin, and they who joined with him in that action, were no bishops:* and *Athanasius* maintaineth the fact of *Macarius* a presbyter, which overthrew the holy table whereto one *Ischyas* would have ministered the blessed sacrament, having not been consecrated thereunto by laying on of some bishops hands, according to the ecclesiastical canons; as also *Epiphanius* inveigheth sharply against divers for doing the like, when they had not episcopal ordination. To this we answer, that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. The whole church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain: Howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably two ways admitted into spiritual function in the church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any, whose labour he useth without requiring that men should authorize them. But then he doth ratify their calling by manifest signs and tokens himself from heaven. And thus even such as believed not our Saviour's teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful teacher sent from God: *Thou art a teacher sent from God, otherwise none could do those things which thou dost do.* *Luther* did but reasonably therefore, in declaring that the senate of *Melheuse* should do well to ask of *Muncer*, from whence he received power to teach? who it was that had called him? And if his answer were, that God had given him his charge, then to require at his hands some evident sign thereof for mens satisfaction: because so God is wont, when he himself is the author of any extraordinary calling. Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the church, which otherwise we would willingly keep: where the church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not, simply without exception, to urge a

lineal descent of power from the apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination. These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops: by the imposition of their hands it is, that the church giveth power of order, both unto presbyters and deacons. Now, when that power so received is once to have any certain subject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tied, *here cometh in the peoples consent, and not before.* The power of order I may lawfully receive, without asking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot exercise upon any one certain people utterly against their wills; neither is there in the church of *England* any man, by order of law, possessed with pastoral charge over any parish, but the people in effect do chuse him thereunto. For, albeit they chuse not by giving every man personally his particular voice, yet can they not say, that they have their pastors violently obtruded upon them, inasmuch as their ancient and original interest therein, hath been by orderly means derived into the patron who chuseth for them. And if any man be desirous to know how patrons came to have such interest, we are to consider, that at the first erection of churches, it seemed but reasonable in the eyes of the whole christian world, to pass that right to them and their successors, on whose soil, and at whose charge the same were founded. This all men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of so great piety, and for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure else, would have been as slow to erect churches, or to endow them, as we are forward both to spoil them, and to pull them down.

It's no true assertion therefore, in such sort as the pretended reformers mean it, *That all ministers of God's word ought to be made by consent of many, that is to say, by the peoples suffrages; that ancient bishops neither did nor might ordain otherwise; and that ours do herein usurp a far greater power than was, or then lawfully could have been granted unto bishops which were of old.* Furthermore, as touching spiritual jurisdiction, our bishops, they say, do that which of all things is most intolerable, and which the ancient never did, *Our bishops excommunicate and release alone, whereas the censures of the church neither ought, nor were wont to be administered otherwise, than by consent of many.* Their meaning here when they speak of many, is not as before it was: when they hold that ministers should be made with consent of many, they understand by many, the multitude, or common people; but in requiring that many should evermore join with the bishop in the administration of church-censures, they mean by many, a few lay-elders, chosen out of the rest of the people to that purpose. This, they say, is ratified by ancient councils, *Concil. Car-* by ancient bishops this was practised. And the reason hereof, as *Beza* supposeth, was, *theg. 4. c. 23.* *Because if the power of ecclesiastical censures did belong unto any one, there would this* *Opp. 1. 3. Ep.* *great inconvenience follow; ecclesiastical regiment should be changed into meer tyranny,* *1. 4. l. 2.* *or else into a civil royalty: therefore no one, either bishop or presbyter, should or can* *Ep. 8.* *alone exercise that power, but with his ecclesiastical consistory he ought to do it, as may appear by the old discipline.*

And is it possible, that one so grave and judicious should think it in earnest tyranny for a bishop to excommunicate, whom law and order hath authorized so to do? or be persuaded, that ecclesiastical regiment degenerateth into civil regality, when one is allowed to do that which hath been at any time the deed of mo? Surely, far meaner witted men than the world accounteth *Mr. Beza*, do easily perceive, that tyranny is power violently exercised against order, against law; and that the difference of these two regiments, ecclesiastical and civil, consisteth in the matter about which the actions of each are conversant; and not in this, that civil royalty admitteth but one, ecclesiastical government requireth many supreme correctors. Which allegation, were it true, would prove no more than only, that some certain number is necessary for the assistance of the bishop. But that a number of such as they do require is necessary, how doth it prove? Wherefore albeit bishops should now do the very same which the ancients did, using the college of presbyters under them as their assistants, when they administer church-censures, yet should they still swerve utterly from that which these men so busily labour for, because the agents whom they require to assist in those cases, are a sort of lay-elders, such as no ancient bishop ever was assisted with.

Shall these fruitless jars and janglings never cease? shall we never see end of them? How much happier were the world if those eager task-masters, whose eyes are so curious and sharp in discerning what should be done by many, and what by few, were all changed into painful doers of that which every good christian man ought either only or chiefly to do, and to be found therein doing when that great and glorious judge of all men's both deeds and words shall appear? In the mean while, be it one that hath this charge, or be they many that be his assistants, let there be careful provision that justice may be administered, and in this shall our God be glorified more than by such contentious disputes.

Concerning
the civil power
and authority
which our bi-
shops have.

XV. Of which nature that also is, wherein bishops are, over and besides all this, accused to have much more excessive power than the ancient, inasmuch as unto their ecclesiastical authority, the civil magistrate for the better repressing of such as condemn ecclesiastical censures, hath for divers ages annexed civil. The crime of bishops herein is divided into these two several branches, the one that in causes ecclesiastical, they strike with the sword of secular punishments; the other, that offices are granted them, by vertue whereof they meddle with civil affairs. Touching the one, it reacheth no farther than only unto restraint of liberty by imprisonment (which yet is not done but by the laws of the land, and by vertue of authority derived from the prince.) A thing which being allowable in priests amongst the Jews, must needs have received some strange alteration in nature since, if it be now so pernicious and venomous to be coupled with a spiritual vocation in any man which beareth office in the church of Christ. *Shemaia* writing to the college of priests which were in *Jerusalem*, and to *Zephaniah* the principal of them, told them they were appointed of God, that they might be officers in the house of the Lord, for every man which raved, and did make himself a prophet, to the end that they might, by the force of this their authority, put such in prison, and in the stocks. His malice is reprov'd, for that he provoketh them to shew their power against the innocent. But surely, when any man justly punishable had been brought before them, it could be no unjust thing for them even in such sort then to have punished. As for offices, by vertue whereof bishops have to deal in civil affairs, we must consider that civil affairs are of divers kinds; and as they be not all fit for ecclesiastical persons to meddle with, so neither is it necessary, nor at this day haply convenient, that from meddling with any such thing at all they all should without exception be secluded. I will therefore set down some few causes, wherein it cannot but clearly appear unto reasonable men, that civil and ecclesiastical functions may be lawfully united in one and the same person.

First therefore, in case a christian society be planted amongst their professed enemies, or by toleration do live under some certain state, whereinto they are not incorporated, whom shall we judge the meetest men to have the hearing and determining of such mere civil controversies as are every day wont to grow between man and man? Such being the state of the church of *Corinth*, the apostle giveth them this direction, *Dare any of you, having business against another, be judged by the unjust, and not under saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? If the world then shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge the angels? how much more things that appertain to this life? If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set up them which are least esteemed in the church. I speak it to your shame; is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you? no not one that can judge between his brethren, but a brother goeth to law with a brother, and that under the infidels? Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another; why rather suffer ye not wrong, why rather sustain ye not harm? In which speech there are these degrees; better to suffer and to put up injuries, than to contend; better to end contention by arbitrement, than by judgment; better by judgment before the wisest of their own, than before the simpler; better before the simplest of their own, than the wisest of them without: so that if judgment*

Of secular affairs should be committed unto wise men, unto men of chiefest credit and account amongst them, when the pastors of their souls are such, who more fit to be also their judges for the ending of strifes? The wisest in things divine, may be also in things human the most skilful. At leastwise they are by likelihood commonly more able

Ang. de oper.
Mouarch c. 29.

to know right from wrong, than the common unlettered sort. And what *St. Augustin* did hereby gather, his own words do sufficiently shew. *I call God to witness upon my soul, faith he, that according to the order which is kept in well ordered monasteries, I could wish to have every day my hours of labouring with my hands, my hours of reading, and of praying, rather than to endure these most tumultuous perplexities of other men's causes, which I am forced to bear while I travel in secular businesses, either by judging to discuss them, or to cut them off by intreaty: unto which toils that apostle, who himself sustained them not, for any thing we read, hath notwithstanding tied us not of his own accord, but being thereunto directed by that Spirit which speaks in him. His own apostleship, which drew him to travel up and down, suffered him not to be any where settled to this purpose; wherefore the wise, faithful and holy men which were seated here and there, and not them which travelled up and down to preach, he made examiners of such businesses. Whereupon of him it is no where written, that he had leisure to attend these things, from which we cannot excuse our selves although we be simple: because even such be requir'd, if wise men cannot be had, rather than that the affairs of christians should be brought into publick judgment. Howbeit, not without comfort in our Lord are these travels undertaken*

dertaken by us, for the hope's sake of eternal life, to the end that with patience we may reap the fruit. So far is St. *Augustine* from thinking it unlawful for pastors in such sort to judge civil causes, that he plainly collecteth out of the apostle's words, a necessity to undertake that duty; yea himself he comforteth with the hope of a blessed reward, in lieu of travel that they sustained.

Again, even where whole christian kingdoms are, how troublesome were it for universities, and other great collegiate societies, erected to serve as nurseries unto the church of Christ, if every thing which civilly doth concern them were to be carried from their own peculiar governors, because for the most part they are (as fittest it is they should be) persons of ecclesiastical calling? It was by the wisdom of our famous predecessors foreseen how unfit this would be, and hereupon provided by grant of special charters, that it might be, as now it is in the universities; where their vice-chancellors being for the most part professors of divinity, are nevertheless civil judges over them in the most of their ordinary causes.

And to go yet some degrees further, a thing impossible it is not, neither altogether unusual for some who are of royal blood to be consecrated unto the ministry of Jesus Christ, and so to be the nurses of God's church, not only as the prophet did foretel, but also as the apostle St. *Paul* was. Now in case the crown should by this means descend unto such persons, perhaps when they are the very last, or perhaps the very best of their race, so that a greater benefit they are not able to bestow upon a kingdom, than by accepting their right therein; shall the sanctity of their order deprive them of that honour whereunto they have by right blood? or shall it be a bar to shut out the publick good that may grow by their virtuous regiment? If not, then must they cast off the office which they received by divine imposition of hands; or, if they carry a more religious opinion concerning that heavenly function, it followeth, that being invested as well with the one as the other, they remain God's lawful anointed both ways. With men of skill and mature judgment there is of this so little doubt, that concerning such as at this day are under the archbishops of *Ments*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, being both archbishops and princes of the empire; yea, such as live within the pope's own civil territories, there is no cause why any should deny to yield them civil obedience in any thing which they command, not repugnant to christian piety; yea, even that civilly, for such as are under them, not to obey them, were the part of seditious persons: howbeit for persons ecclesiastical, thus to exercise civil dominion of their own, is more than when they only sustain some publick office, or deal in some business civil, being thereunto even by supreme authority required. As nature doth not any thing in vain, so neither grace. Wherefore, if it please God to bless some principal attendants on his own sanctuary, and to endue them with extraordinary parts of excellency, some in one kind, some in another, surely a great derogation it were to the very honour of him who bestowed so precious graces, except they on whom he hath bestowed them should accordingly be employed, that the fruit of those heavenly gifts might extend it self unto the body of the commonwealth wherein they live; which being of purpose instituted (for so all commonwealths are) to the end that all might enjoy whatsoever good it pleaseth the Almighty to endue each one with, must needs suffer loss, when it hath not the gain which eminent civil hability in ecclesiastical persons is now and then found apt to afford. Shall we then discommend the people of *Milan* for using *Ambrose* their bishop as an ambassador about their publick and politick affairs; the *Jews* for electing their priests sometimes to be leaders in war; *David* for making the high-priest his chiefest counsellor of state: finally, all christian kings and princes which have appointed unto like services, bishops or other of the clergy under them? No, they have done in this respect that which most sincere and religious wisdom alloweth. Neither is it allowable only, when either a kind of necessity doth cast civil offices upon them, or when they are thereunto preferred in regard of some extraordinary fitness; but further also, when there are even of right annexed unto some of their places or of course imposed upon certain of their persons, functions of dignity and account in the commonwealth; albeit no other consideration be had therein save this, that their credit and countenance may by such means be augmented. A thing, if ever to be respected, surely most of all now, when God himself is for his own sake generally no where honoured, religion almost no where, no where religiously adored, the ministry of the word and sacraments of Christ a very cause of disgrace in the eyes both of high and low, where it hath not somewhat besides it self to be countenanced with. For unto these very pass are things come, that the glory of God is constrained even to stand upon borrowed credit, which yet were somewhat the more tolerable, if there were not that to disservice to lend it him. No practice so vile, but pretended holiness is made sometimes a cloak to hide it.

The French king *Philip Valois*, in his time made an ordinance, that all prelates and bishops should be clean excluded from parliaments, where the affairs of the kingdom were handled; pretending that a king, with good conscience, cannot draw pastors, having cure of souls, from so weighty a business, to trouble their heads with consultations of state. But irreligious intents are not able to hide themselves, no not when holiness is made their cloak. This is plain and simple truth, that the counsels of wicked men hate always the presence of them whose virtue, though it should not be able to prevail against their purposes, would notwithstanding be unto their minds a secret controversy; and therefore, till either by one shift or another they can bring all things to their own hands alone, they are not secure. Ordinances holier and better there stand as yet in force by the grace of almighty God and the works of his providence, amongst us. Let not envy so far prevail, as to make us account that a blemish, which if there be in us any spark of sound judgment or of religious conscience, we must of necessity acknowledge to be one of the chiefest ornaments unto this Land: by the ancient laws whereof, the clergy being held for the chief of those three estates, which together make up the entire body of this commonwealth, under one supreme head and governor; it hath all this time ever born a sway proportionable in the weighty affairs of the land; wise and virtuous kings condescending most willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the most high; with the flower of whose sanctified inheritance, as it were with a kind of divine presence, unless their chiefest civil assemblies were so far forth beautified as might be without any notable impediment unto their heavenly functions, they could not satisfy themselves, as having shewed towards God an affection most dutiful.

Thus, first, in defect of the civil magistrates; secondly, for the ease and quietness of scholastical societies; thirdly, by way of political necessity; fourthly, in regard of quality, care, and extraordinancy; fifthly, for countenance unto the ministry; and lastly, even of devotion and reverence towards God himself, there may be admitted at leastwise in some particulars well and lawful enough a conjunction of civil and ecclesiastical power, except there be some such law or reason to the contrary, as may prove it to be a thing simply in it self naught.

Against it many things are objected, as first, *That the matters which are noted in the holy scriptures to have belonged unto the ordinary office of any ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, are these which follow, with such like, and no other; namely, the watch of the sanctuary, the business of God, the ministry of the word and sacraments, oversight of the house of God, watching over his flock, prophesy, prayer, dispensations of the mysteries of God, charge and care of mens souls.* If a man would shew what the offices and duties of a surgeon or physician are; I suppose it were not his part, so much as to mention any thing belonging to the one or the other, in case either should be also a soldier or a merchant, or an house-keeper, or a magistrate; because the functions of these are different from those of the former, albeit one and the same man may happily be both. The case is like, when the scripture teacheth what duties are required in an ecclesiastical minister; in describing of whose office, to teach any other thing than such as properly and directly toucheth his office that way, were impertinent.

Yea, but in the old testament the two powers civil and ecclesiastical were distinguished, not only in nature, but also in person; the one committed unto Moses, and the magistrates joined with him; the other to Aaron, and his sons. Jehosaphat in his reformation doth not only distinguish causes ecclesiastical from civil, and erecteth divers courts for them, but appointeth also divers judges. With the Jews these two powers were not so distinguished, but that sometimes they might, and did concur in one and the same person. Was not *Eli* both priest and judge? After their return from captivity, *Ezdras* a priest, and the same their chief governor even in civil affairs also? These men which urge the necessity of making always a personal distinction of these two powers, as if by *Jehosaphat's* example the same person ought not to deal in both causes, yet are not scrupulous to make men of civil place and calling presbyters and ministers of spiritual jurisdiction in their own spiritual consistories.

If it be against the Jewish precedents for us to give civil power unto such as have ecclesiastical; is it not as much against the same for them to give ecclesiastical power unto such as have civil? They will answer perhaps, that their position is only against conjunction of ecclesiastical power of order, and the power of civil jurisdiction in one person. But this answer will not stand with their proofs, which make no less against the power of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in one person; for of these two powers *Jehosaphat's* example is: besides, the contrary example of *Eli*, and of *Ezra*, by us alledged, do plainly shew, that among the Jews even the power of order ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction were sometimes lawfully united in one and the same person. Pressed further we

are with our Lord and Saviour's example, who *denieth his kingdom to be of this world, and therefore as not standing with his calling refused to be made a King, to give sentence in a criminal cause of adultery, and in a civil of dividing an inheritance.*

The *Jews*, imagining that their Messiah should be a potent monarch upon earth, no marvel, tho' when they did otherwise wonder at Christ's greatness, they sought forthwith to have him invested with that kind of dignity, to the end he might presently begin to reign. Others of the *Jews*, which likewise had the same imagination of the Messiah, and did somewhat incline to think that peradventure this might be he, thought good to try whether he would take upon him that which he might do, being a king, such as they supposed their true Messiah should be. But Christ refused to be a King over them, because it was no part of the office of their Messiah, as they did falsely conceive; and to intermeddle in those acts of civil judgment he refused also, because he had no such jurisdiction in that commonwealth, being, in regard of his civil person, a man of mean and low calling. As for repugnancy between ecclesiastical and civil power, or any inconvenience that these two powers should be united, it doth not appear, that this was the cause of his resistance either to reign, or else to judge.

What say we then to the blessed apostles who teach, *That soldiers intangle not themselves with the businesses of this life, but leave them, to the end they may please him who hath chosen them to serve; and that so the good soldiers of Christ ought to do?* 2 Tim. 2. 4.

The apostles which taught this, did never take upon them any place or office of civil power. No, they gave over the ecclesiastical care of the poor, that they might wholly attend upon the word and prayer. St. Paul indeed doth exhort Timothy after this manner, *Suffer thou evil as a noble soldier of Jesus Christ: No man warring is entangled with the affairs of life, because he must serve such as have pressed him unto warfare,* the sense and meaning whereof is plain, that soldiers may not be nice and tender, that they must be able to endure hardness, that no man betaking himself unto wars continueth entangled with such kind of businesses, as tend only unto the ease and quiet felicity of this life; but if the service of him who hath taken them under his banner require the hazard, yea, the loss of their lives, to please him; they must be content and willing with any difficulty, any peril, be it never so much against the natural desire which they have to live in safety. And at this point the clergy of God must always stand; thus it behoved them to be affected as oft as their Lord and captain leadeth them into the field, whatsoever conflicts, perils, or evils they are to endure. Which duty being not such, but that therewith the civil dignities, which ecclesiastical persons amongst us do enjoy, may well enough stand; the exhortation of Paul to Timothy is but a slender allegation against them. As well might we

gather out of this place, that men having children or wives, are not fit to be ministers (which also hath been collected, and that by sundry of the ancient) and that it is requisite the clergy be utterly forbidden marriage. For, as the burthen of civil regiment doth make them who bear it the less able to attend their ecclesiastical charge; even so St. Paul doth say, that the married are careful for the world, the unmarried freer to give themselves wholly to the service of God. Howbeit, both experience hath found it safer, that the clergy should bear the care of honest marriage, than be subject to the inconveniences which single life, imposed upon them, would draw after it; and as many as are of sound judgment know it to be far better for this present age, that the detriment be born which haply may grow through the lessening of some few mens spiritual labours, than that the clergy and commonwealth should lack the benefit which both the one and the other may reap through their dealing in civil affairs. In which consideration, that men consecrated unto the spiritual service of God be licensed so far forth to meddle with the secular affairs of the world, as doth seem for some special good cause requisite, and may be without any grievous prejudice unto the church; surely, there is not in the apostles words, being rightly understood, any lett. That no apostle did ever bear office may it not be a wonder, considering the great devotion of the age wherein they liv'd, and the zeal of Herod, of Nero the great commander of the known world, and of other kings of the earth at that time, to advance by all means christian religion? their deriving unto others that smaller charge of distributing of the goods which are laid at their feet, and of making provision for the poor, which charge, being in part civil, themselves had before (as I suppose, lawfully) undertaken, and their following of that which was weightier, may serve as a marvelous good example for the dividing of one man's office into divers slips, and the subordinating of inferiors to discharge some part of the same, when by reason of multitude increasing, that labour waxeth great and troublesome, which before was easy and light: but very small force it hath to infer a perpetual divorce between ecclesiastical and civil power in the same persons. The most that can be said in this case is, *That sundry eminent canons, bearing the name of apostolical, and divers councils likewise there are, which have forbid-*

den the clergy to bear any secular office; and having enjoyn'd them to attend altogether upon reading, preaching, and prayer: whereupon the most of the antient fathers have shewed great dislikes that these two powers should be united in one person.

For a full and final answer whereunto, I would first demand, whether commensation and separation of these two powers be a matter of meer positive law, or else a thing simply with or against the law immutable of God and nature? That which is simply against this latter law can at no time be allowable in any person, more than adultery, blasphemy, sacrilege, and the like. But conjunction of power ecclesiastical and civil, what law is there which hath not at some time or other allowed as a thing convenient and meet? In the law of God we have examples sundry, whereby it doth most manifestly appear, how of him the same hath oftentimes been approved. No kingdom or nation in the world, but hath been thereunto accustomed without inconvenience and hurt. In the prime of the world, kings and civil rulers were priests for the most part all.

^a Cum multa divinitus pontifices, à majoribus nostris inventa atq; instituta sunt, tum nihil preclarior quam quod vos eisdem & religionibus deorum immortalium, & summe reipub. præfite valerunt. *Cic. pro domo sua ad pontiff.*

^b Honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentie assumebatur. *Tacit. hist. lib. 5.* He sheweth the reason wherefore their rulers were also priests. The joyning of these two powers, as now, so then likewise profitable for the publick State, but in respect clean opposite and contrary. For, whereas then divine things being more esteemed, were used as helps for the countenance of secular power; the case in these latter ages is turned upside down, earth hath now brought heaven under foot, and in the course of the world, hath of the two the greater credit. Priesthood was then a strengthening to kings, which now is forced to take strength and credit from far meaner degrees of civil authority. Hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eisdem reges & sacerdotes haberent, quorum iustitia religioni permixta incredibile quantum valeret. *Iust. hist. l. 36. lib. 42. sect. 22. c. de episc.*

The ^a Romans note it is a thing beneficial in their own commonwealth, and even to ^b them apparently forcible for the strengthening of the Jews regimēt under *Moses* and *Samuel*. I deny not, but sometime there may be, and hath been perhaps just cause to ordain otherwise. Wherefore we are not to urge those things which heretofore have been either ordered or done as thereby to prejudice those orders, which, upon contrary occasion, and the exigence of the present time, by like authority have been established. For, what is there which doth let, but that from contrary occasions, contrary laws may grow, and each be reasoned and dis-

puted for by such as are subject thereunto, during the time they are in force; and yet neither so opposite to other, but that both may laudably continue, as long as the ages which keep them do see no necessary cause which may draw them unto alteration? Wherefore in these things, canons, constitutions, and laws which have been at one time meet, do not prove that the church should always be bound to follow them. Ecclesiastical persons were by antient order forbidden to be executors of any man's testament, or to undertake the wardship of children. Bishops, by the imperial law, are forbidden to bequeath by testament, or otherwise to alienate any thing grown unto them after they were made bishops. Is there no remedy but that these, or the like orders, must therefore every where still be observed? the reason is not always evident, why former orders have been repealed and other established in their room. Herein therefore we must remember the axiom used in the civil laws, *That the prince is always presumed to do that with reason, which is not against reason being done, although no reason of his deed be exprest.* Which being in every respect as true of the church, and her divine authority in making laws, it should be some bridle unto those malapert and proud spirits, whose wits not conceiving the reason of laws that are established, they adore their own private fancy as the supreme law of all, and accordingly take upon them to judge that whereby they should be judged. But why labour we thus in vain? for even to change that which now is, and to establish instead thereof that which themselves would acknowledge the very self same which hath been, to what purpose were it, sith they protest, *That they utterly condemn as well that which*

T.C.I. l. r. p. 126 *hath been, as that which is; as well the antient, as the present superiority, authority, and power of ecclesiastical persons?*

The arguments answered, whereby they would prove that the law of God, and the judgment of the best in all ages, condemneth the ruling superiority of one minister over another. *T.C.I. l. r. p. 122*

XVI. Now there they lastly alledge, *That the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the judgment of the best in all ages, condemn all ruling superiority of ministers over ministers; they are in this, as in the rest, more bold to affirm, than able to prove the things which they bring for support of their weak and feeble cause. The bearing of dominion, or the exercising of authority (they say) is that wherein the civil magistrate is severed from the ecclesiastical officer, according to the words of our Lord and Saviour, kings of nations bear rule over them, but it shall not be so with you: Therefore bearing of dominion doth not agree to one minister over another.* This place hath been, and still is, altho' falsely, yet with far greater shew and likelihood of truth brought forth by the anabaptists, to prove that the church of Christ ought to have no civil magistrates, but be ordered only by Christ. Wherefore they urge the opposition between heathens, and them unto whom our Saviour speaketh. For, sith the apostles were opposite to heathens, not in that they were apostles,

flēs, but in that they were christians; the anabaptists inference, is, *That Christ doth here give a law, to be for ever observed by all true christian men, between whom and heathens there must be always this difference, that whereas heathens have kings and princes to rule, christians ought not in this thing to be like unto them.* Wherein their construction hath the more shew, because that which Christ doth speak to his apostles, is not found always agreeable unto them as apostles, or as pastors of men's souls, but oftentimes it toucheth them in generality, as they are christians; so that christianity being common unto them with all believers, such speeches must be so taken that they may be applied unto all, and not only unto them. They which consent with us, in rejecting such collections as the anabaptist maketh with more probability, must give us leave to reject such as themselves have made with less; for a great deal less likely it is, that our Lord should here establish an everlasting difference, not between his church and pagans, but between the pastors of his Church and civil governors. For if herein they must always differ, that the one may not bear rule, the other may; how did the apostles themselves observe this difference, the exercise of whose authority, both in commanding and in controlling others, the scripture hath made so manifest that no gloss can over-shadow it? Again, it being, as they would have it, our Saviour's purpose to with-hold his apostles, and in them all other pastors from bearing rule, why should kingly dominion be mentioned, which occasions men to gather, and not all dominion and rule, but this one only form was prohibited, and that authority was permitted them, so it were not regal? Furthermore, in case it had been his purpose to with-hold pastors altogether from bearing rule, why should kings of nations be mentioned, as if they were not forbidden to exercise, no not regal dominion it self, but only such regal dominion as heathen kings do exercise? The very truth is, our Lord and Saviour did aim at a far other mark than these men seem to observe. The end of his speech was to reform their particular mis-persuasion to whom he spake: and their mis-persuasion was that which was also the common fancy of the *Jews* at that time, that their Lord being the *Messias* of the world, should restore unto *Israel* that kingdom, whereof the *Romans* had as then bereaved them; they imagined that he should not only deliver the state of *Israel*, but himself reign as king in the throne of *David* with all secular pomp and dignity; that he should subdue the rest of the world, and make *Jerusalem* the seat of universal monarchy. Seeing therefore they had forsaken all to follow him, being now in so mean condition, they did not think, but that together with him they also should rise in state; that they should be the first and the most advanced by him.

Of this conceit it came, that the mother of the sons of *Zebedee* sued for her childrens preferment, and of this conceit it grew, that the apostles began to question amongst themselves which of them should be greatest: and in controlment of this conceit, it was, that our Lord so plainly told them, *that the thoughts of their hearts were vain.* The kings of nations have indeed their large and ample dominions, they reign far and wide, and their servants they advance unto honour in the world, they bestow upon them large and ample secular preferments, in which respect they are also termed many of them benefactors, because of the liberal hand which they use in rewarding such as have done them service: but, was it the meaning of the ancient prophets of God that the *Messias* the king of *Israel* should be like unto these kings, and his retinue grow in such as theirs? Wherefore ye are not to look for at my hands such preferment as kings of nations are wont to bestow upon their attendants, *With you not so.* Your reward in heaven shall be most ample, on earth your chiefest honour must be to suffer persecution for righteousness sake; submission, humility and meekness are things fitter for you to inure your minds withal, than these aspiring cogitations: if any amongst you be greater than other, let him shew himself greatest in being lowliest; let him be above them in being under them, even as a servant for their good. These are affections which you must put on; as for degrees of preferment and honour in this world, if ye expect any such thing at my hands ye deceive your selves, for in the world your portion is rather the clear contrary. Wherefore they who alledge this place against episcopal authority abuse it, they many ways deprave and wrest it clear from the true understanding wherein our Saviour himself did utter it.

For first, whereas he by way of meer negation had said, *With you it shall not be so*, fore-telling them only that it should not so come to pass as they vainly surmised; these men rake his words in a plain nature of a prohibition, as if Christ had thereby forbidden all inequality of ecclesiastical power. Secondly, whereas he did but cut off their idle hope of secular advancements; all standing superiority amongst persons ecclesiastical these men would rase off with the edge of his speech. Thirdly, whereas he in abating their hope even of secular advancements speaks but only with relation unto himself, informing them that he would be no such munificent Lord unto them in their temporal dignity and honour

nor, as they did erroneously suppose; so that any apostle might afterwards have grown by means of others to be even emperors of *Rome* for any thing in those words to the contrary; these men removing quite and clean the hedge of all such restraints, enlarge so far the bounds of his meaning, as if his very precise intent and purpose had been not to reform the error of his apostles, conceived as touching him, and to teach what himself would not be towards them; but to prescribe a special law both to them and their successor for ever; a law determining what they should not be in relation of one to another; a law forbidding that any such title should be given to any minister as might import or argue in him a superiority over other ministers. Being thus defeated of that succour which they thought their cause might have had out of the words of our Saviour Christ, they try their adventure in seeking what aid man's testimony will yield them: Cyprian *objecteth it to Florentinus as a proud thing, that by believing evil report, and misjudging of Cyprian, he made himself bishop of a bishop, and judge over him whom God had for the time appointed to be judge*, lib. 4. ep. 9. *The endeavour of godly men to strike at these insolent names may appear in the council of Carthage: where it was decreed, that the bishop of the chief see should not be entituled the exarch of priests, or the highest priest, or any other thing of like sense, but only the bishop of the chiefest see; whereby are shut out the name of archbishop, and all other such haughty titles.* In these allegations it fareth as in broken reports snatch'd out of the author's mouth, and broached before they be half either told on the one part, or on the other understood. The matter

T. C. l. i. p. 10.
pag. 95.

“Ὁτι δὲ τὸ πρῶ-
τον καθίδρυμα
ἐπισκοπῶν μὴ
ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
ἢ τοῦτ' ὀνομα-
στὶ ποτὶ ἀλλὰ
μὲν ἐκείνου
ἐπὶ πρῶτος καθί-
δρυμα, Can. 39.

which Cyprian complaineth of in *Florentinus* was thus: *Novatus* mistaking the easiness of Cyprian to admit men into the fellowship of believers after they had fallen away from the bold and constant confession of christian faith, took thereby occasion to separate himself from the church; and being united with certain excommunicate persons, they joyned their Wits together, and drew out against Cyprian their lawful bishop sundry grievous accusations; the crimes such, as being true, had made him incapable of that office whereof he was six years as then possessed. They went to *Rome*, and to other places, accusing him every where as guilty of those faults of which themselves had lewdly condemned him; pretending that twenty five *African* bishops (a thing most false) had heard and examined his cause in a solemn assembly, and that they all had given their sentence against him, holding his election by the canons of the church void. The same factious and seditious persons coming also unto *Florentinus*, who was at that time a man imprisoned for the testimony of Jesus Christ, but yet a favourer of the error of *Novatus*, their malicious accusations he over-willingly hearkened unto, gave them credit, concurred with them, and unto Cyprian in fine wrote his letters against Cyprian: which letters he justly taketh in marvellous evil part, and therefore severely controlleth his so great presumption in making himself a judge of a judge; and, as it were, a bishop's bishop, to receive accusations against him, as one that had been his ordinary. *What height of pride is this, saith Cyprian, what arrogancy of spirit, what a puffing up of mind, to call guides and priests to be examined and sifted before him? so that unless we shall be cleared in your court, and absolved by your sentence, behold for these six years space neither shall the brotherhood have had a bishop, nor the people a guide, nor the flock a shepherd, nor the church a governor, nor Christ a prelate, nor God a priest.* This is the pride which Cyprian condemneth in *Florentinus*, and not the title or name of archbishop; about which matter there was not at that time so much as the dream of any controversy at all between them. A silly collection it is, that because Cyprian reproveth *Florentinus* for lightness of belief, and presumptuous rashness of judgment, therefore he held the title of archbishop to be a vain and proud name. Archbishops were chief amongst bishops, yet archbishops had not over bishops that full authority which every bishop had over his own particular clergy. Bishops were not subject unto their archbishops as an ordinary, by whom at all times they were to be judged, according to the manner of inferior pastors, within the compass of each diocese. A bishop might suspend, excommunicate, depose such as were of his own clergy, without any other bishop's assistance; not so an archbishop the bishops that were in his own province, above whom divers prerogatives were given him, howbeit no such authority and power, as alone to be judge over them. For as a bishop could not be ordained, so neither might he be judg'd by any one only bishop, albeit that bishop were his metropolitan. Wherefore Cyprian, concerning the liberty and freedom which every bishop had, spake in the council of *Carthage*, whereat fourscore and seven bishops were present, saying, *It resteth that every of us declare what we think of this matter, neither judging nor severing from the right of communion any that shall think otherwise: for of us there is not any which maketh himself a bishop of bishops, or with tyrannical fear constraineth his colleagues unto the necessity of obedience, inasmuch as every bishop, according to the reach of his*

Concil. Car-
thag. de hac
baptizandis.

liberty and power, hath his own free judgment, and can have no more another his judge, than himself to be judge to another. Whereby it appeareth, that among the *African* bi-^{Lib. 2. c. 7.} shops none did use such authority over any, as the bishop of *Rome* did afterwards claim over all, forcing upon them opinions by main and absolute power. Wherefore unto the bishop of *Rome* the same *Cyprian* also writeth concerning his opinion about baptism: *These things we present unto your conscience, most dear brother, as well for common honour's sake, as of single and sincere love, trusting that as you are truly your self religious and faithful, so those things which agree with religion and faith will be acceptable unto you: howbeit we know, that what some have over-drunk in, they will not let go, neither easily change their mind, but with care of preserving whole amongst their brethren the bond of peace and concord, retaining still to themselves certain their own opinions wherewith they have been inured: wherein we neither use force, nor prescribe a law unto any, knowing that in the government of the church every ruler hath his own voluntary free judgment, and of that which he doth shall render unto the Lord himself an account.* As for the council of *Carthage*, doth not the very first canon thereof establish with most effectual terms all things which were before agreed on in the council of *Nice*? and that the council of *Nice* did ratify the preeminence of metropolitan bishops, who is ignorant? The name of an archbishop importeth only, a bishop having chiefly of certain prerogatives above his brethren of the same order. Which thing, since the council of *Nice* doth allow, it cannot be that the other of *Carthage* should condemn it, inasmuch as this doth yield unto that a christian unrestrained approbation.

The thing provided for by the synod of *Carthage* can be no other therefore, than only that the chiefest metropolitan, where many archbishops were within any greater province, should not be termed by those names, as to import the power of an ordinary jurisdiction belonging in such degree and manner unto him over the rest of the bishops and archbishops as did belong unto every bishop over other pastors under him. But much more absurd it is to affirm, that both *Cyprian* and the council of *Carthage* condemn even such superiority also of bishops themselves, over pastors their inferiors, as the words of *Ignatius* imply, in^{T. C. l. 1. p. 13.} terming the bishop, a prince of priests. Bishops to be termed arch-priests, in regard of their superiority over priests, is in the writings of the ancient fathers a thing so usual and familiar, as almost no one thing more. At the council of *Nice*, saith *Theodoret*,^{Theod. hist. eccl. l. 1. c. 7.} three hundred and eighteen arch-priests were present. Were it the meaning of the council of *Carthage*, that the title of chief-priests and such like, ought not in any sort at all to be given unto any christian bishop, what excuse would we make for so many ancient^{Hieronymus contra Lucifer. Salutem ecclesie pendere dicit à summi sacerdotis dignitate, id est, episcopis. Idem est in Hieronymo. Immo summus sacerdos quod dicitur ipseus in Carthagenis concilio. Vido C. omnes 38 diff. Item C. que sunt pontifices 12. q. 3. Item C. de his, de consec. diff. 5.} both fathers, and synods of fathers, as have generally applied the title of arch-priest unto every bishop's office? High time I think it is, to give over the obstinate defence of this most miserable forsaken cause; in the favour whereof neither God, nor amongst many wise and virtuous men as antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly spoken. Irksome confusion must of necessity be the end whereunto all such vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to bear it out but only an excessive measure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the start of a little time, before they came to be examined. In the writings of the ancient fathers, there is not any thing with more serious asseveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh bishops, that their authority hath divine allowance, that the bishop is the priest of God, that he is pontiff in Christ's stead, that, according to God's own law, the whole christian fraternity standeth bound to obey him. Of this there was not in the christian world of old any doubt or controversy made; it was a thing universally every where agreed upon. What should move men to judge that, now so unlawful and naughty, which then was so reverently esteemed? surely no other cause but this, men were in those times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful awe and subjection unto the pastors of their souls: now, we imagine our selves so able every man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have superiors; and for a mask to hide our pride, we pretend falsely the law of Christ, as if we did seek the execution of his will, when in truth we labour for the meer satisfaction of our own against his.

XVII. The chiefest cause of disdain and murmur against bishops in the church of *Eng-^{The second}land* is, that evil-affected eye wherewith the world looked upon them since the time that^{main thing} the irreligious prophaneness, beholding the due and just advancements of God's clergy, hath^{wherein the} under pretence of enmity unto ambition and pride proceeded so far, that the contumely^{of bishops} of old offered unto *Aaron* in the like quarrel may seem very moderate and quiet dealing, if we compare it with the fury of our own times. The ground and original of both their proceedings one and the same; in declaration of their grievances they differ not; the complaints as well of the one as the other are, *Wherefore lift ye up your selves thus far*^{Numb. 16. 3.}

above

above the congregation of the Lord? It is too much which you take upon you, too much power, and too much honour. Wherefore, as we have shewed, that there is not in their power any thing unjust or unlawful, so it resteth that in their honour also the like be done. The labour we take unto this purpose is by so much the harder, in that we are forced to wrestle with the stream of obstinate affection, mightily carried by a wilful prejudice, the dominion whereof is so powerful over them in whom it reigneth, that it giveth them no leave, no not so much as patiently to hearken unto any speech which doth not profess to feed them in this their bitter humour. Notwithstanding, for as much as I am persuaded that against God they will not strive, if they perceive once that in truth it is he against whom they open their mouths, my hope is their own confession will be at the length, *Behold we have done exceeding foolishly, it was the Lord, and we knew it not; him in his ministers we have despised, we have in their honour impugned his.* But the alteration of men's hearts must be his good and gracious work, whose most omnipotent power framed them. Wherefore to come to our present purpose, honour is no where due, saving only unto such as have in them that whereby they are found, or at the least presumed voluntarily beneficial unto them of whom they are honoured. Wheresoever nature seeth the countenance of a man, it still presumeth that there is in him a mind willing to do good, if need require, inasmuch as by nature so it should be; for which cause men unto men do honour, even for very humanity sake. And unto whom we deny all honour, we seem plainly to take from them all opinion of human dignity, to make no account or reckoning of them, to think them so utterly without virtue, as if no good thing in the world could be looked for at their hands. Seeing therefore it seemeth hard, that we should so hardly think of any man, the precept of St. Peter is, *Honour all men.* Which duty of every man towards all, doth vary according to the several degrees whereby they

1 Pet. 2. 17. are more and less beneficial, whom we do honour. *Honour thy physician,* saith the wiseman: the reason why, because for necessity's sake, God created him. Again, *Thou*

Lev. 19. 32. *shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the person of the aged:* the reason why, because the younger sort have great benefit by their gravity, experience, and wisdom, for

Ecclef. 25. 6. which cause, these things the wiseman termeth the crown or diadem of the aged. Honour is due to parents: the reason why, because we have our beginning from them; *Obeys the father that hath begotten thee, the mother that bare thee despise thou not.* Honour

Prov. 23. 22. is due unto kings and governors: the reason why, because God hath set them for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Thus we see by every

1 Pet. 2. 14. of these particulars, that there is always some kind of virtue beneficial, wherein they excel who receive honour; and that degrees of honour are distinguished according to the value of those effects which the same beneficial virtue doth produce.

Nor is honour only an inward estimation, whereby they are revered and well thought of in the minds of men; but honour, whereof we now speak, is defined to be an external sign, by which we give a sensible testimony that we acknowledge the beneficial virtue of others. Sarah honoured her husband Abraham; this appeareth by the title she gave him. The brethren of Joseph did him honour in the land of Egypt; their lowly and humble gesture sheweth it. Parents will hardly persuade themselves that this intentional honour, which reacheth no farther than the inward conception only, is the honour which their children owe them.

Touching that honour which, mystically agreeing unto Christ, was yielded literally and really unto Solomon; the words of the Psalmist concerning it are, *Unto him they shall give of the gold of Sheba, they shall pray for him continually, and daily bless him.* Weigh these things in themselves, titles, gestures, presents, other the like external signs wherein honour doth consist, and they are matters of no great moment. Howbeit, take them away, let them cease to be required, and they are not things of small importance, which that surcease were likely to draw after it. Let the lord mayor of London, or any other unto whose office honour belongeth, be deprived but of that title which in it self is a matter of nothing; and suppose we that it would be a small maim unto the credit, force and countenance of his office? It hath not without the singular wisdom of God been provided, that the ordinary outward tokens of honour should for the most part be in themselves things of mean account; for to the end they might easily follow as faithful testimonies of that beneficial virtue whereunto they are due, it behoved them to be of such nature, that to himself no man might over-eagerly challenge them, without blushing; nor any man where they are due withhold them, but with manifest appearance of too great malice or pride. Now, forasmuch as, according to the antient orders and customs of this land, as of the kingdom of Israel, and of all christian kingdoms through the world, the next in degree of honour unto the chief sovereign, are the chief prelates of God's church; what the reason hereof may be, it resteth next to be enquired.

XVIII. Other reason there is not any, wherefore such honour hath been judged due, saving only that publick good which the prelates of God's clergy are authors of. For I would know which of these things it is whereof we make any question, either that the favour of God is the chiefest pillar to bear up kingdoms and states; or, that true religion publicly exercised, is the principal mean to retain the favour of God; or, that the prelates of the church are they, without whom the exercise of true religion cannot well and long continue. If these three be granted, then cannot the publick benefit of prelacy be dissolved. And of the first or second of these I look not for any profect denial: the world at this will blush, not to grant, at the leastwise in word, as much as ^a heathens themselves have of old with most earnest asseveration acknowledged, concerning the force of divine grace in upholding kingdoms. Again, tho' his mercy doth so far strive with men's ingratitude, that all kind of publick iniquities deserving his indignation, their safety is thro' his gracious providence many times nevertheless continued, to the end that amendment might, if it were possible, avert their envy; so that as well commonweals as particular persons, both may and do endure much longer, when they are careful, as they should be, to use the most effectual means of procuring his favour on whom their continuance principally dependeth: yet this point no man will stand to argue, no man will openly arm himself to enter into set disputation against the emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, for making unto their laws concerning religion, this preface, ^b *Decere arbitramur nostrum imperium, subditos nostros de religione commonefacere. Ita enim & pleniorum acquiri Dei ac saluatoris nostri Jesu Christi benignitatem possibile existimamus, si quando & nos pro viribus ipsi placere studuerimus, & nostros subditos ad eam rem instituerimus: or against the emperor Justinian, for that he also maketh the like profession, ^c *Per sanctissimas ecclesias nostrum imperium sustineri, & communes res clementissimi Dei gratia muniri, credimus. And in another place, ^d Certissime credimus, quia sacerdotum puritas & decus, & ad Dominum Deum ac salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum fervor, & ab ipsis missæ per-**

petuæ preces, multum favorem nostræ reipublicæ & incrementum præbent.

^a L. 3. C. de episc. & cler.

^d L. 34. C. de episc. audiend.

Wherefore only the last point is that which men will boldly require us to prove; for no man feareth now to make it a question, *Whether the prelacy of the church be any thing available or no, to effect the good and long continuance of true religion?* Amongst the principal blessings wherewith God enriched *Israel*, the prophet in the psalm acknowledgeth especially this for one, *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep by the hands of Moses and Aaron.* That which sheep are, if pastors be wanting; the same are the people of God, if so be they want governors: and that which the principal civil governors are, in comparison of regents under them; the same are the prelates of the church, being compared with the rest of God's clergy.

Wherefore inasmuch as amongst the Jews, the benefit of civil government grew principally from *Moses*, he being their principal civil governor; even so the benefit of spiritual regiment grew from *Aaron* principally, he being in the other kind their principal rector, altho' even herein subject to the sovereign dominion of *Moses*. For which cause, these two alone are named as the heads and well-springs of all. As for the good which others did in service either in the commonwealth or of the sanctuary, the chiefest glory thereof did belong to the chiefest governors of the one sort and of the other, whose vigilant care and oversight kept them in their due order. Bishops are now as high-priests were then, in regard of power over other priests, and in respect of subjection unto high priests. What priests were then, the same now presbyters are, by way of their place under bishops. The one's authority therefore being so profitable, how should the other's be thought unnecessary. Is there any man professing christian religion which holdeth it not as a maxim, that the church of Jesus Christ did reap a singular benefit by apostolical regiment, not only for other respect, but even in regard of that prelacy whereby they had and exercised power of jurisdiction over lower guides of the church? Prelates are herein the apostles successors, as hath been proved.

Thus we see, that prelacy must needs be acknowledged exceedingly beneficial in the church: and yet for more perspicuity's sake, it shall not be pains superfluously taken, if the manner how, be also declared at large. For this one thing not understood by the vulgar sort, causeth all contempt to be offered unto higher powers, not only ecclesiastical, but civil: whom when proud men have disgraced, and are therefore reproved by such as carry some dutiful affection of mind, the usual apologies which they make for themselves, are these: *What more vertue in these great ones, than in others? we see no such eminent good which they do above other men.* We grant indeed, that the good which higher go-

D d

vernors

^a What good doth publickly grow from the prelacy.

^b Quis est tam vecors, qui aut cum fulpserit in cœlum Deos esse non sentiat, & ea quæ tanta mente fiunt ut vix quisquam arte ulla ordinem rerum ac vicissitudinem persequi possit, casu fieri putet, aut, cum Deos esse intellexit, non intellegit eorum numine hoc tantum imperium esse natum & auctum & reguntur? Cic. Tit. 1. l. 3. C. de summa trinit.

^c Psal. 77. 20.

^d Qui sacerdotes in veteri testamento vocabantur, hi sunt qui nunc presbyteri appellantur: & qui tunc principes sacerdotum, nunc episcopus vocatur. Rabba. Mour. de instit. cler. l. 3. c. 6.

vernors do, is not so immediate and near unto every of us, as many times the meaner labours of others under them, and this doth make it to be less esteemed.

But we must note, that it is in this case as in a ship; he that sitteth at the stern is quiet, he moveth not, he seemeth in a manner to do little or nothing, in comparison of them that sweat about other toil, yet that which he doth is in value and force more than all the labours of the residue laid together. The influence of the heavens above worketh infinitely more to our good, and yet appeareth not half so sensible as the force doth of things below. We consider not what it is which we reap by the authority of our chiefest spiritual governors, nor are likely to enter into any consideration thereof, till we want them; and that is the cause why they are at our hands so unthankfully rewarded. Authority is a constraining power; which power were needless if we were all such as we should be, willing to do the things we ought to do without constraint. But, because generally we are otherwise, therefore we all reap singular benefit by that authority which permitteth no men, though they would, to slack their duty. It doth not suffice, that the lord of an household appoint labourers what they should do, unless he set over them some chief workman to see they do it. Constitutions and canons made, for the ordering of church affairs, are dead task-masters. The due execution of laws spiritual, dependeth most upon the vigilant care of the chiefest spiritual governors, whose charge is to see that such laws be kept by the clergy and people under them: with those duties which the law of God, and the ecclesiastical canons require in the clergy; lay-governors are neither for the most part so well acquainted, nor so deeply and nearly touched. Requisite therefore it is, that ecclesiastical persons have authority in such things. Which kind of authority maketh them that have it prelates. If then it be a thing confessed, as by all good men it needs must be, to have prayers read in all churches, to have the sacraments of God administered, to have the mysteries of salvation plainly taught, to have God every where devoutly worshiped, and all this perpetually, and with quietness bringeth unto the whole church, and unto every member thereof inestimable good; how can that authority, which hath been proved the ordinance of God for preservation of these duties in the church, how can it chuse but deserve to be held a thing publicly most beneficial? It were to be wished, and is to be laboured for, as much as can be, that they who are set in such rooms may be furnished with honourable qualities and graces every way fit for their calling. But, be they otherwise, howsoever so long as they were in authority, all men reap some good by them, albeit not so much good as if they were abler men. There is not any amongst us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another man's duty, than the best of us is to discharge exactly his own; and therefore prelates, although neglecting many ways their duty unto God and men, do notwithstanding by their authority great good, in that they keep others, at the leastwise, in some awe under them.

It is our duty therefore, in this consideration, to honour them that rule as prelates, *1 Tim. 5. 17.* which office if they discharge well, the apostle's own verdict is, that the honour they have they be worthy of, yea, tho' it were double. And if their government be otherwise, the judgment of sage men hath ever been this, that albeit the dealings of governors be culpable, yet honourable they must be, in respect of that authority by which they govern. Great caution must be used that we neither be emboldned to follow them in evil, whom for authority's sake we honour, nor induced in authority to dishonour them, whom as examples we may not follow. In a word, not to dislike sin, tho' it should be in the highest, were unrighteous meekness, and proud righteousness it is to condemn or dishonour highness, tho' it should be in the sinfulness men that live. But so hard it is to obtain at our hands, especially as now things stand, the yielding of honour to whom honour in this case belongeth, that by a brief declaration only what the duties of men are towards the principal guides and pastors of their souls, we cannot greatly hope to prevail, partly for the malice of their open adversaries, and partly for the cunning of such as in a sacrilegious intent work their dishonour under covert, by more mystical and secret means. Wherefore requisite, and in a manner necessary it is, that by particular instances we make it even palpably manifest what singular benefit and publick use the nature of prelates is apt to yield.

First, no man doubteth, but that unto the happy condition of commonweals it is a principal help and furtherance, when in the eye of foreign states their estimation and credit is great. In which respect, the lord himself commending his own laws unto his people, mentioneth this as a thing not meanly to be accounted of, that their careful obedience yielded thereunto should purchase them a great good opinion abroad, and make them every where famous for wisdom. Fame and reputation groweth especially by the virtue, not of common ordinary persons, but of them which are in each estate most eminent by occasion of their higher place and calling. The mean man's actions, be they

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good

Deut. 4. 6.

good or evil, they reach not far, they are not greatly enquired into, except perhaps by such as dwell at the next door; whereas men of more ample dignity are as cities on the tops of hills, their lives are viewed afar off; so that the more there are which observe aloof *Mat. 5. 13.* what they do, the greater glory by their well-doing they purchase both unto God whom they serve, and to the state wherein they live. Wherefore if the clergy be a beautifying unto the body of this commonweal in the eyes of foreign beholders, and if in the clergy the prelacy be most exposed unto the world's eye, what publick benefit doth grow from that order, in regard of reputation thereby gotten to the land from abroad, we may soon conjecture. Amongst the *Jews* (their kings excepted) who so renowned throughout the world as their high-priest? Who so much or so often spoke of as their prelates?

2. Which order is not for the present only the most in sight, but for that very cause also the most commended unto posterity. For if we search those records wherein there hath descended from age to age whatsoever notice and intelligence we have of those things which were before us, is there any thing almost else, surely not any thing so much kept in memory, as the successions, doings, sufferings and affairs of prelates. So that either there is not any publick use of that light which the church doth receive from antiquity; or if this be absurd to think, then must we necessarily acknowledge our selves beholden more unto prelates than unto others their inferiors, for that good of direction which ecclesiastical actions recorded do always bring.

3. But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with our selves, what principal commodity that order yieldeth, or at leastwise is of its own disposition and nature apt to yield kings and princes, partly for information of their own consciences, partly for instruction what they have to do in a number of most weighty affairs, entangled with the cause of religion, having, as all men know, so usual occasion of often consultations and conferences with their clergy; suppose we, that no publick detriment would follow upon the want of honourable personages ecclesiastical to be used in those cases? It will be haply said, *That the highest might learn to stoop, and not to disdain the advice of some circum-spect, wise, and virtuous minister of God, albeit the ministry were not by such degrees distinguished.* What princes in that case might or should do, it is not material. Such difference being presupposed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the ordinance of God, there is no judicious man will ever make any question or doubt, but that fit and direct it is for the highest and chiefest order in God's clergy to be employed before others, about so near and necessary offices as the sacred estate of the greatest on earth doth require. For this cause *Joshua* had *Eleazer*; *David*, *Abiathar*; *Constantine*, *Hosius* bishop of *Corduba*; other emperors and kings their prelates, by whom in private (for with princes this is the most effectual way of doing good) to be admonished, counselled, comforted, and, if need were, reproved.

Whensoever sovereign rulers are willing to admit these so necessary private conferences for their spiritual and ghostly good, inasmuch as they do for the time while they take advice, grant a kind of superiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented even so far to bend to the gravest and chiefest persons in the order of God's clergy, yet this of the very best being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whose greater and higher callings do somewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and spirit wherewith the mind of so powerful persons are possessed; what should we look for in case God himself not authorizing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his prophets, the equal meanness of all did leave, in respect of calling, no more place of decency for one than for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagine what pleaseth them, in having to deal with so great personages, these personal differences are so necessary that there must be regard had of them.

4. Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's almightiness, and the sovereignty of the highest under God) upheld by wisdom and by valour, as by the chiefest human means to cause continuance in safety with honour (for the labours of them who attend the service of God, we reckon as means divine, to procure our protection from heaven;) from hence it riseth, that men excelling in either of these, or descending from such, as for excellency either way have been ennobled, or possessing howsoever the rooms of such as should be in politick wisdom, or in martial prowess eminent, are had in singular recommendation. Notwithstanding, because they are by the state of nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things; such they oftentimes prove, even under the best princes, as under *David* certain of the *Jewish* nobility were. In polity and council the world had not *Achitophel's* equal, nor hell his equal in deadly malice. *Joab* the general of the host of *Israel*, valiant, industrious, fortunate in war, but withal headstrong, cruel, treacherous, void of piety towards God; in a word, so conditioned, that easy it is not to define, whether it were for *David* harder to miss the benefit of his warlike

like hability, or to bear the enormity of his other crimes. As well for the cherishing of those virtues therefore, wherein if nobility do chance to flourish, they are both an ornament and a stay to the commonwealth wherein they live; as also for the bridling of those disorders, which if they loosely run into, they are by reason of their greatness dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more divine, than the sorting of the clergy into such degrees, that the chiefest of the prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of nobility, the reverend authority of the one, might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are exorbitant, and to correct such excesses in them, as whereunto their courage, state, and dignity maketh them over-prone? O that there were for encouragement of prelates herein, that inclination of all christian kings and princes towards them, which sometime a famous king of this land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal prelate under him in the actions of spiritual authority.

Petr. Blessen.
Ep. 5.

Let my lord archbishop know, (saith he) that if a bishop, or earl, or any other great person, yea, if my own chosen son, shall presume to withstand, or to hinder his will and disposition, whereby he may be withheld from performing the work of the embassy committed unto him; such a one shall find, that of his contempt I will shew my self no less a persecutor and revenger, than if treason were committed against mine own very crown and dignity. Sith therefore by the fathers and first founders of this commonweal, it hath, upon great experience and forecast, been judged most for the good of all sorts, that as the whole body politick wherein we live, should be for strength's sake a threefold cable, consisting of the king as a supreme head over all, of peers and nobles under him, and of the people under them; so likewise, that in this conjunction of states, the second wreath of that cable should, for important respects, consist as well of Lords spiritual as temporal. Nobility and prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it possibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one, must needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by consequence impair greatly the good of all?

5. The force of which detriment there is no doubt, but that the common sort of men would feel to their helpless wo, how goodly a thing soever they now surmise it to be, that themselves and their godly teachers did all alone without controlment of their prelate. For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a people destitute of pastors is subject, be unavoidably without government; and if the benefit of government, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the prophet, who albeit the people of *Israel* had sundry inferior governors, ascribeth not unto them the publick benefit of government, but maketh mention of *Moses* and *Aaron* only, the chief prince and chief prelate, because they were the well-spring of all the good which others under them did; may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the people their prelate, is to leave them in effect without guides; at leastwise, without those guides which are the strongest hands that God doth direct them by? *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep, saith the prophet, by the hands of Moses and Aaron.*

Isaiah 77. 20.

If now there arise any matter of grievance between the pastor and the people that are under him, they have their ordinary, a judge indifferent to determine their causes, and to end their strife. But in case there were no such appointed to sit, and to hear both, what would then be the end of their quarrels? They will answer, perhaps, *that for such purposes their synods shall serve.* Which is, as if in the commonwealth, the higher magistrates being removed, every township should be a state, altogether free and independent; and the controversies which they cannot end speedily within themselves, to the contentment of both parties, should be all determined by solemn parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of wit and judgment, which this age doth so much vaunt of and glory in, when unto these such odd imaginations, so great not only assent, but also applause is yielded?

6. As for those in the clergy, whose place and calling is lower; were it not that their eyes are blinded, lest they should see the thing that of all others is for their good most effectual; somewhat they might consider the benefit which they enjoy by having such in authority over them as are of the self-same profession, society, and body with them; such as have trodden the same steps before; such as know by their own experience, the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful pastors, intermingled with the multitude, are constrained every day to suffer in the exercise of their spiritual charge and function; unless their superiors, taking their causes even to heart, be, by a kind of sympathy, drawn to relieve and aid them in their virtuous proceedings, no less effectually, than loving parents their dear children.

Thus therefore prelaty being unto all sorts so beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honour at the hands of all, but we have just cause exceedingly to fear that those miserable times of confusion are drawing on, wherein *the people shall be oppressed one of another*; Mat. 3. 5. inasmuch as already that which prepareth the way therunto is come to pass, *children presume against the ancient, and the vile against the honourable*. Prelacy, the temperance of excesses in all estates, the glue and soder of the publick-weal, the ligament which rieth and connecteth the limbs of this body politick each to other, hath instead of deserved honour, all extremity of disgrace. The foolish every where plead, that unto the wise in heart they owe neither service, subjection, nor honour.

XIX. Now that we have laid open the causes for which honour is due unto prelates, What kinds of honour be due unto bishops. the next thing we are to consider is, what kinds of honour be due. The good government either of the church or the commonwealth, dependeth scarcely on any one external thing so much as on the publick marks and tokens whereby the estimation that governors are in is made manifest to the eyes of men. True it is, that governors are to be esteemed according to the excellency of their virtues; the more virtuous they are, the more they ought to be honoured, if respect be had unto that which every man should voluntarily perform unto his superiors. But the question is now, of that honour which publick order doth appoint unto church-governors, in that they are governours; the end whereof is, to give open sensible testimony, that the place which they hold is judged publickly in such degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the honours appointed to be done unto them do import. Wherefore this honour we are to do them, without presuming our selves to examine how worthy they are: and withdrawing it, if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that publick judgment which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable, that men in private should by refusal to do them such honour, reverse, as much as in them lieth, the publick judgment. If it deserve such grievous punishment, when any particular person adventurcth to deface those marks whereby is signified what value some small piece of coin is publickly esteemed at; it is sufferable that honours, the character of that estimation which publickly is had of publick estates and callings in the church or commonwealth, should at every man's pleasure be cancelled? Let us not think that without most necessary cause, the same hath been thought expedient. The first authors thereof were wise and judicious men; they knew it a thing altogether impossible, for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honour. Wherefore that all sorts might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their superiors of every degree, nor which every man's special fancy should think meet, but which being beforehand agreed upon as meet, by publick sentence and decision might afterwards stand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more necessary than to allot unto all degrees their certain honour, as marks of publick judgment concerning the dignity of their places; which mark, when the multitude should behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of such or such estimation their governors are, and in token thereof do carry those notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and signs of honour, do leave a correspondent impression in the minds of common beholders. Let the people be asked, who are the chiefest in any kind of calling? who most to be lifted unto? who of greatest account and reputation? and see if the very discourse of their minds lead them not unto those sensible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their suitable judgment, esteeming them the worthiest persons who carry the principal note and publick mark of worthiness. If therefore they see in other estates a number of tokens sensible, whereby testimony is given what account there is publickly made of them, but no such thing in the clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they else conclude, but that where they behold this, surely in that commonwealth religion, and they that are conversant about it, are not esteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time, the open contempt of God and godliness must needs ensue: *Qui bona fide Deus colit, amat & sacer-* Præf. l. 5. Silv. *does*, saith *Papinius*. In vain doth that kingdom or commonwealth pretend zeal to the honour of God, which doth not provide that his clergy also may have honour. Now if all that are employed in the service of God should have one kind of honour, what more confused, absurd and unseemly? Wherefore in the honour which hath been allotted unto God's clergy, we are to observe, how not only the kinds thereof, but also in every particular kind, the degrees do differ. The honour which the clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed consisteth especially in the preeminence of title, place, ornament, attendance, privilege, endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there should be no small odds between prelates, and the inferior clergy

Honour in title, place, ornaments, attendancy and privilege. **XX.** Concerning title, albeit even as under the law, all they whom God hath severed to offer him sacrifice were generally termed priests; so likewise the name of pastor or presbyter be now common unto all that serve him in the ministry of the gospel of Jesus Christ, yet both then and now, the higher orders, as well of the one sort as of the other, have by one and the same congruity of reason their different titles of honour, where-with we find them in the phrase of ordinary speech exalted above others. Thus the heads of the twenty four companies of priests, are in scripture termed arch-priests; *Aaron* and the successors of *Aaron* being above those arch-priests; themselves are in that respect further intituled high and great. After what sort antiquity hath used to stile christian bishops, and to yield them in that kind honour more than was meet for inferior pastors, I may the better omit to declare both because others have sufficiently done it already, and in so slight a thing, it were but a loss of time to bestow further travel. The allegation of Christ's prerogative to be named an arch-pastor simply, in regard of his absolute excellency over all, is no impediment but that the like title in an unlike signification may be granted unto others besides him, to note a more limited superiority, whereof men are capable enough without derogation from his glory, than which nothing is more sovereign. To quarrel at syllables, and to take so poor exceptions at the first four letters in the name of an archbishop, as if they were manifestly stollen goods, whereof restitution ought to be made to the civil magistrate, toucheth no more the prelates that now are, than it doth the very blessed apostle, who giveth unto himself the title of an arch-builder.

'Agrege's.

As for our Saviour's words alledged against the stile of *lordship* and *grace*, we have before sufficiently opened how far they are drawn from their natural meaning, to bouldster up a cause which they nothing at all concern. Bishop *Theodoret* intituled most honourable Emperors writing unto bishops, have not disdained to give them their appellations of honour, *your holiness, your blessedness, your amplitude, your highness*, and the like: such as purposely have done otherwise, are noted of insolent singularity and pride.

Lib. 5. c. 8.

Hist. Ecclef.

L. 7. C. de

summa trinit.

L. 33. C. de Episc. & Cler.

& L. 16. C. de Sacros. Ecclef.

Math. 23. 6, 7.

They love to have the chief seats in the assemblies;

and to be called of men, Rabbi.

Honour done by giving preheminance of place unto one sort before another, is for decency, order, and quietness sake so needful, that both imperial laws, and canons ecclesiastical have made their special provisions for it. Our Saviour's invektive against the vain affectation of superiority, whether in title, or in place, may not hinder these seemingly differences usual in giving and taking honour, either according to the one or the other.

Ecclef. 45. 7.

Something there is even in the ornaments of honour also: otherwise idle it had been for the wise man, speaking of *Aaron*, to stand so much upon the circumstance of his priestly attire, and to urge it as an argument of such dignity and greatness in him: *An everlasting covenant God made with Aaron, and gave him the priesthood among the people, and made him blessed through his comely ornament, and clothed him with the garment of honour.* The robes of a judge do not add to his virtue; the chiefest ornaments of kings is justice; holiness and purity of conversation doth much more adorn a bishop, than his peculiar form of cloathing. Notwithstanding both judges, thro' the garments of judicial authority, and thro' the ornaments of sovereignty, princes; yea, bishops thro' the very attire of bishops are made blessed, that is to say, marked and manifested they are to be such as God hath poured his blessing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good service. Thus to be called, is to be blessed, and therefore to be honoured with the signs of such a calling, must needs be in part a blessing also; for of good things even the signs are good.

Of honour, another part is attendancy; and therefore in the visions of the glory of God, angels are spoken of as his attendants. In setting out the honour of that mystical queen, the prophet mentioneth the virgin ladies which waited on her. Amongst the tokens of *Solomon's* honourable condition, his servants and waiters the sacred history omitteth not. This doth prove attendants a part of honour: but this as yet doth not shew with what attendancy prelates are to be honoured. Of the high priest's retinue amongst the *Jews*, somewhat the gospel it self doth intimate. And, albeit our Saviour came to minister, and not, as the *Jews* did imagine their messias should, to be ministered unto in this world, yet attended on he was by his blessed apostles, who followed him not only as scholars, but even as servants about him. After that he had sent them, as himself was sent of God, in the midst of that hatred and extreme contempt which they sustained at the world's hands, by saints and believers this part of honour was most plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went;

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which

which custom of the church was still continued in bishops their successors, as by *Ignatius* it is plain to be seen. And from hence no doubt those *Acolyths* took their beginning, of whom so frequent mention is made; the bishop's attendants, his followers they were: in regard of which service, the name of *Acolyths* seemeth plainly to have been given. The custom for bishops to be attended upon by many is, as *Justinian* doth shew, ancient. The affairs of regiment, wherein prelates are employed, make it necessary that they always have many about them whom they may command, altho' no such thing did by way of honour belong unto them.

Some mens judgment is, that if clerks, students, and religious persons were more, common serving-men and lay-retainers fewer than they are, in bishops palaces, the use and the honour thereof would be much more suitable than now. But these things, concerning the number and quality of persons fit to attend on prelates, either for necessity, or for honour's sake, are rather in particular discretion to be ordered, than to be argued of by disputes. As for the vain imagination of some, who teach the original hereof to have been a preposterous imagination of *Maximinus* the emperor, who being addicted unto idolatry, chose of the choicest magistrates to be priests, and to the end they might be in great estimation, gave unto each of them a train of followers: and that christian emperors, thinking the same would promote christianity, which promoted superstition, endeavoured to make their bishops encounter and match with those idolatrous priests; such frivolous conceits having no other ground than conceit, we weigh not so much as to frame any answer unto them: our declaration of the true original of ancient attendancy on bishops being sufficient. Now, if that which the light of sound reason doth reach to be fit, have upon like inducements reasonable, allowable, and good, approved it self in such wise as to be accepted, not only of us, but of pagans and infidels also, doth conformity with them that are evil, in that which is good, make that thing which is good, evil? We have not herein followed the heathens, nor the heathens us, but both we and they one and the self same divine rule, the light of a true and found understanding; which sheweth what honour is fit for prelates, and what attendancy convenient to be a part of their honour.

Touching privileges granted for honour's sake, partly in general unto the clergy, and partly unto prelates, the chiefest persons ecclesiastical in particular: of such quality and number they are, that to make but rehearsal of them we scarce think it safe, lest the very entrails of some of our godly brethren, as they term themselves, should thereat haply burst in sunder.

XXI. And yet of all these things rehearsed, it may be there never would have grown any question, had bishops been honoured only thus far forth. But the honouring of clergy with wealth, this is in the eyes of them which pretend to seek nothing but reformation of abuses, a sin that can never be remitted.

How soon, O how soon might the church be perfect, even without any spot or wrinkle, if publick authority would at the length say *Amen* unto the holy and devout requests of those godly brethren, who as yet with outstretched necks groan in the pangs of their zeal to see the houses of bishops rifled, and their so long desired livings gloriously divided amongst the righteous. But there is an impediment, a lett, which somewhat hindreth those good mens prayers from taking effect: they, in whose hands the sovereignty of power and dominion over this church doth rest, are persuaded there is a God; for undoubtedly either the name of godhead is but a feigned thing; or, if in heaven there be a God, the sacrilegious intention of church-robbers, which lurketh under this plausible name of reformation, is in his sight a thousand times more hateful than the plain professed malice of those very miscreants who threw their vomit in the open face of our blessed Saviour.

They are not words of persuasion by which true men can hold their own when they are over-beset with thieves. And therefore to speak in this cause at all, were but labour lost, saving only in respect of them, who being as yet unjoined unto this conspiracy, may be haply somewhat stayed, when they shall know betimes what it is to see thieves, and to run on with them, as the prophet in the psalm speaketh, *When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.*

For the better information therefore of men which carry true, honest, and indifferent minds, these things we will endeavour to make most clearly manifest.

First, That in goods and livings of the church, none hath propriety but God himself.

Secondly,

Secondly, that the honour which the clergy therein hath, is to be, as it were, God's receivers; the honour of prelates, to be his chief and principal receivers.

Thirdly, That from him they have right, not only to receive, but also to use such goods, the lower sort in smaller, and the higher in larger measure.

Fourthly, That in case they be thought, yea, or found to abuse the same, yet may not such honour be therefore lawfully taken from them, and be given away unto persons of other calling.

That of ecclesiastical goods, and consequently of the lands and livings which bishops enjoy, the propriety belongeth unto God alone.
^a Hof. 2. 5.
^b Ps. 50. 10.
^c Job 1. 21.

XXII. Possessions, lands, and livings spiritual, the wealth of the clergy, the goods of the church, are in such sort the Lord's own, that man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours; all things are his, in that from him they have their being, ^a *My corn, and my wine, and mine oil*, saith the Lord. All things his, in that he hath absolute power to dispose of them at his pleasure. ^b *Mine*, saith he, *are the sheep and oxen of a thousand hills*. All things his, in that when we have them, we may say with *Job*, ^c *God hath given*; and when we are deprived of them, *The Lord*, whose they are, hath likewise *taken them* away again. But these sacred possessions are his by another tenure: his, because those men who first received them from him, have unto him returned them again, by way of religious gift, or oblation. And in this respect it is, that the Lord doth term those houses, wherein such gifts and oblations were laid,

Mal. 3. 10. his treasures.

The ground whereupon men have resigned their own interest in things temporal, and given over the same unto God, is that precept which *Solomon* borroweth from the law of nature, *Honour the Lord out of thy substance, and of the chiefest of all thy revenue: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and with new wine the fat of thy press shall overflow*. For altho' it be by one most fitly spoken against those superstitious persons, who only are scrupulous in external rites; *Wilt thou win the favour of God? Be virtuous. They best worship him, that are his followers*. It is not the bowing of your knees, but of your hearts; it is not the number of your oblations, but the integrity of your lives; not your incense, but your obedience, which God is delighted to be honoured by: nevertheless, we must beware, lest simply understanding this, which comparatively is meant; that is to say, whereas the meaning is, that God doth chiefly respect the inward disposition of the heart, we must take heed we do not hereupon so worship him in spirit, that outwardly we take all worship, reverence, and honour from him.

Our God will be glorified both of us himself, and for us by others: to others because our hearts are known, and yet our example is required for their good; therefore it is not sufficient to carry religion in our hearts, as fire is carried in flint-stones, but we are outwardly, visibly, apparently to serve and honour the living God; yea, to employ that way, as not only for our souls, but our bodies; so not only our bodies, but our goods; yea, the choice, the flower, the chiefest of all thy revenue, saith *Solomon*. If thou hast any thing in all thy possessions, of more value and price than other, to what use shouldest thou convert it, rather than to this? *Samuel* was dear unto *Hannah* his mother: the child that *Hannah* did so much esteem, she could not chuse but greatly wish to advance; and her religious conceit was, that the honouring of God with it, was the advancing of it unto honour. The chiefest of the offspring of men, are the males which be first born: and, for this cause, in the ancient world they all were by right of their birth priests of the most High. By these and the like precedents, it plainly enough appeareth, that in what heart soever doth dwell unfeigned religion, in the same there resteth also a willingness to bestow upon God that soonest, which is most dear. Amongst us the law is, that sith gold is the chiefest of metals, if it be any where found in the bowels of the earth, it belongeth in right of honour, as all men know, to the king: whence hath this custom grown, but only from a natural persuasion, whereby men judge it decent, for the highest persons always to be honoured with the choicest things? *If ye offer unto God the blind, saith the prophet Malachi, is it not evil; if the lame and sick, is it good enough? Present it unto thy prince, and see if he will content himself, or accept thy person, saith the Lord of hosts*. When *Abel* presented God with an offering, it was the fattest of all the lambs in his whole flock; he honoured God not only out of his substance, but out of the very chiefest therein, whereby we may somewhat judge how religiously they stand affected towards God, who grudge that any thing worth the having should be his. Long it were to reckon up particularly, what God was owner of under the law; for of this sort was all which they spent in legal sacrifices; of this sort, their usual oblations and offerings; of this sort, tythes and first-fruits; of this sort, that which by extraordinary occasions they vowed unto God; of this sort, all that they gave to the building of the tabernacle; of this sort, all that which was gathered amongst them for erecting of the

Mal. 1. 8.

†

temple,

temple, and the ⁴ adorning of it erected; of this sort, whatsoever their corban contained, ¹ *Because (saith David) I have a delight in the house of my God, therefore I have given thereunto of my own both gold and silver to adorn it* with. ² *Chron.* 2. 5. wherein that blessed widow's deodate was laid up. Now either this kind of honour was prefiguratively altogether ceremonial, and then our Saviour accepteth it not; or, if we find that to him also it hath been done, and that with divine approbation given for encouragement of the world, to shew, by such kind of service, their dutiful hearts towards Christ; there will be no place left for men to make any question at all whether herein they do well or no.

Wherefore to descend from the synagogue, unto the church of Christ, albeit sacrifices, wherewith sometimes God was highly honoured, be not accepted as heretofore at the hands of men: yet, forasmuch as *honour God with thy riches*, is an edict of the inseparable law of nature, so far forth as men are therein required by such kind of homage to testify their thankful minds; this sacrifice God doth accept still. Wherefore as it was said of Christ, *that all kings shall worship him, and all nations do him service*; so this very kind of worship or service was likewise mentioned, lest we should think that our Lord and Saviour would allow of no such thing. *The kings of Tarshish, and of the Isles, shall bring presents, the kings of Sheba and Seba shall bring gifts.* And, as it maketh not a little to the praise of those sages mentioned in the gospel, that the first amongst men which did solemnly honour our Saviour on earth were they; so it sounded no less to the dignity of this particular kind, that the rest by it were prevented; *They fell down and worshipped him, and opened their treasures, and presented unto him gifts; gold, incense, and myrrh.* ³ *Matth.* 2. 11.

Of all those things which were done to the honour of Christ in his life-time, there is not one whereof he spake in such sort, as when *Mary*, to testify the largeness of her affection, seemed to waste away a gift upon him, the price of which gift might, as they thought who saw it, much better have been spent in works of mercy towards the poor, *Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this gospel should be preached throughout all the world, there shall also this that she hath done be spoken of, for memorial of her.* ⁴ *Joh.* 15. 16. Of service to God, the best works are they which continue longest: and, for permanency, what like donation, whereby things are unto him for ever dedicated? That the ancient lands and livings of the church were all in such sort given into the hands of God, by the just lords and owners of them, that unto him they passed over their whole interest and right therein, the form of sundry the said donations, as yet extant, most plainly sheweth. And where time hath left no such evidence as now remaining to be seen, yet the same intention is presumed in all donors, unless the contrary be apparent. But to the end it may yet more plainly appear unto all men, under what title the several kinds of ecclesiastical possessions are held, *Our Lord himself* (saith St. *Augustine*) *had coffers to keep those things which the faithful OFFER-ED unto him. Then was the form of the church-treasury first instituted, to the end that withal we might understand, that in forbidding to be careful for to-morrow, his purpose was not to bar his saints from keeping money, but to withdraw them from doing God service for wealth's sake, and from forsaking righteousness thro' fear of losing their wealth.* ⁵ *Aug.* cap. 15. de menda.

The first gifts consecrated unto Christ after his departure out of the world, were sums of money, in process of time other moveables were added, and at length goods unmoveable; churches and oratories hallowed to the honour of his glorious name; houses and lands for perpetuity conveyed unto him; inheritance given to remain his as long as the world should endure. *The apostles* (saith *Melchior*) *they foresaw that God would have his church amongst the Gentiles, and for that cause in Judea they took no lands, but price of lands sold.* ⁶ *C. 12. p. 1. cap. 15. & 16.* This he conjectureth to have been the cause why the apostles did that which the history reporteth of them.

The truth is, that so the state of those times did require, as well other where as in *Judea*. Wherefore, when afterwards it did appear much more commodious for the church to dedicate such inheritances; then, the value and price of them being sold, the former custom was changed for this, as for the better. The devotion of *Constantine* herein, all the world, even till this very day, admireth. They that lived in the prime of the christian world, thought no testament christianly made, nor any thing therein well bequeathed, unless something were thereby added unto Christ's patrimony. Touching which men, what judgment that the world doth now give, I know not; perhaps we deem them to have been herein but blind and superstitious persons. Nay, we in these cogitations are blind; they contrariwise did with *Solomon* plainly know and persuade themselves, that thus to diminish their wealth was, not to diminish but to augment it; according to that which God doth promise to his own people by the prophet *Malachi*, and which they by their own particular experience found true. If *Wickliff* therefore were of that opinion which his adversaries ascribe unto him, (whether truly, or of purpose to make him odious, I cannot tell, for in his writings I do not find it) namely, *That Constantine, and others*

Ecc

following

Th. Wald. tom following his steps did evil, as having no sufficient ground whereby they might gather, *1. lib. 4. c. 39.* that such donations are acceptable to Jesus Christ; it was in Wickliff a palpable error.

Gen. 28. 20.

I will use but one only argument, to stand in the stead of many. *Jacob* taking his journey unto *Haran*, made in this sort his solemn vow, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this journey which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and cloaths to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in safety; then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up a pillar shall be the house of God, and of all that thou shalt give me will I give the tenth unto thee.* May a christian man desire as great things as *Jacob* did at the hands of God? May he desire them in as earnest manner? May he promise as great thankfulness in acknowledging the goodness of God? May he vow any certain kind of publick acknowledgment beforehand? Or, tho' he vow it not, perform it after, in such sort that men may see he is persuaded how the Lord hath been his God? Are these particular kinds of testifying thankfulness to God, the erecting of oratories, the dedicating of lands and goods to maintain them, forbidden any where? Let any mortal man living threw but one reason wherefore in this point to follow *Jacob's* example, should not be a thing both acceptable unto God, and in the eyes of the world for ever most highly commendable. Concerning goods of this nature, goods, whereof when we speak, we term them, *τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρπαγόμενα*; the goods that are consecrated unto God; and, as *Tertullian* speaketh, *deposita pietatis*; things which piety and devotion hath laid up as it were in the bosom of God: touching such goods, the law civil, following mere light of nature, defineth them to be no man's, because no mortal man, or community of men, hath right of propriety in them.

XXIII. Persons ecclesiastical are God's stewards, not only for that he hath set them over his family, as the ministers of ghostly food, but even for this very cause also, that they are receivers of God's rents and that he hath them. Of the *Jews* it is plain that their tithes they offered unto the Lord, and those offerings the Lord bestowed upon the *Levites*. When the *Levites* gave the tenth of their tithes, this their gift the law doth term the Lord's heave-offering, and appoint that the high-priest should receive the same. * Of spoils taken in war, that part which they were accustomed to separate unto God, they brought it before the priest of the Lord, by whom it was laid up in the tabernacle of the congregation, for a memorial of their thankfulness towards God, and his goodness towards them in fighting for them against their enemies. As therefore the apostle inagnifieth the honour of *Melchisedech*, in that he being an high priest, did receive at the hands of *Abraham*, the tithes which *Abraham* did honour God with; so it argueth in the apostles themselves great honour, that at their feet the price of those possessions was laid, which men thought good to bestow on Christ. *St. Paul*, commending the churches which were in *Macedonia*, for their exceeding liberality this way, saith of them, that he himself would bear record, they had declared their forward minds according to their power, yea, beyond their power, and had so much exceeded his expectation of them, that they seemed as it were even to give away themselves first to the Lord, saith the apostle, and then by the will of God unto us: to him, as the owner of such gifts; to us, as his appointed receivers and dispensers. The gift of the church of *Antioch*, bestowed unto the use of distressed brethren which were in *Judea*, *Paul* and *Barnabas* did deliver unto the presbyters of *Jerusalem*; and the head of those presbyters was *James*, he therefore the chiefest dispenser thereof.

Amongst those canons which are entituled apostolical, one is this, *We appoint that the bishop have care of those things which belong to the church*; the meaning is, of church goods, as the reason following sheweth: *For if the precious souls of men must be committed unto him of trust, much more it becometh the charge of money to be given him, that by his authority the presbyters and deacons may administer all things to them that stand in need.* So that he which hath done them the honour to be, as it were, his treasurers, hath left them also authority and power to use these treasures, both otherwise, and for the maintenance even of their own estate; the lower sort of the clergy, according unto a manner, the higher, after a larger proportion. The use of spiritual goods and possessions hath been a matter much disputed of; grievous complaints there are usually made against the evil and unlawful usage of them, but with no certain determination hitherto on what things and persons, with what proportion and measure they being bestowed, do retain their lawful use. Some men condemn it as idle, superfluous, and altogether vain, that any part of the treasure of God should be spent upon costly ornaments appertaining unto his service: who being best worshiped, when he is served in spirit and truth, hath not for want of pomp and magnificence, rejected at any time those who with faithful

hearts have adored him. Whereupon the hereticks, termed *Henricians* and *Petrobustians*, threw down temples and houses of prayer, erected with marvellous great charge, as being in that respect not fit for Christ by us to be honoured in. We deny not, but that they who sometimes wandered as pilgrims on earth, and had no temples, but made caves and dens to pray in, did God such honour as was most acceptable in his sight; God did not reject them for their poverty and nakedness sake; their sacraments were not abhorred for want of vessels of gold.

Howbeit, let them who thus delight to plead answer me. When *Moses* first, and afterwards *David*, exhorted the people of *Israel* unto matter of charge about the service of God; suppose we it had been allowable in them to have thus pleaded, *Our fathers in Egypt served God devoutly, God was with them in all their afflictions, he heard their prayers, pitied their case, and delivered them from the tyranny of their oppressors; what house, tabernacle, or temple had they?* Such argumentations are childish and fond; God doth not refuse to be honoured at all where there lacketh wealth; but where abundance and store is, he there requireth the flower thereof, being bestowed on him, to be employed even unto the ornament of his service. In *Egypt* the state of his people was servitude, and therefore his service was accordingly. In the desert they had no sooner ought of their own, but a tabernacle is required; and in the land of *Canaan* a temple. In the eyes of *David* it seemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himself should be more richly seated than God.

But concerning the use of ecclesiastical goods bestowed this way, there is not so much contention amongst us, as what measure of allowance is fit for ecclesiastical persons to be maintained with. A better rule in this case to judge things by we cannot possibly have, than the wisdom of God himself; by considering what he thought meet for each degree of the clergy to enjoy in time of the law; what for levites, what for priests, and what for high-priests, somewhat we shall be the more able to discern rightly what may be fit, convenient, and right for the christian clergy likewise. Priests for their maintenance had those first-fruits of ^c cattle, ^f corn, wine, oil, and ^g other commodities of the earth, ^h which the *Jews* were accustomed yearly to present God with. They had ⁱ the price of which was appointed for men to pay in lieu of the first-born of their children, and the price of the first-born also amongst cattle which were unclean: they had the vowed ^j gifts of the people, or ^k the prices, if they were redeemable by the donors after vow, as some things were: they had the free and unwoven oblations of men: they had the remainder of things sacrificed: with tithes the levites were maintained; and with the tithe of their tithes the high-priest.

In a word, if the quality of that which God did assign to his clergy be considered, and their manner of receiving it, without labour, expence, or charge, it will appear, that the tribe of *Levi*, being but the twelfth part of *Israel*, had in effect as good as four twelfth parts of all such goods as the holy land did yield: so that their worldly estate was four times as good as any other tribes in *Israel* besides. But the high-priests condition, how ample? to whom belonged the tenth of all the tribe of this land, especially the law providing also, that as the people did bring the best of all things unto the priests and levites, so the levite should deliver the choice and flower of all their commodities to the high-priest, and so his tenth-part by that means be made the very best part amongst ten: by which proportion, if the levites were ordinarily in all not above thirty thousand men (whereas when *David* numbred them, he found almost thirty eight thousand above the age of thirty years) the high-priest after this very reckoning, had as much as three or four thousand others of the clergy to live upon. Over and besides all this, lest the priests of *Egypt* holding lands, should seem in that respect better provided for than the priests of the true God, it pleased him further to appoint unto them forty and eight whole cities with territories of land adjoining, to hold as their own free inheritance for ever. For to the end they might have all kind of encouragement, not only to do what they ought, but to take pleasure in that they did; albeit they were expressly forbidden to have any part of the land of *Canaan* laid out whole to themselves, by themselves, in such sort as the rest of the tribes had; soasmuch as the will of God was rather that they should throughout all tribes be dispersed, for the easier access of the people unto knowledge: yet were they not barred altogether to hold land, nor yet otherwise the worst provided for, in respect of that former restraint; for God, by way of special preeminence, undertook to feed them at his own table, and out of his own proper treasury to maintain them, that want and penury they might never feel, except God himself did first receive injury. A thing most worthy our consideration is the wisdom of God herein; for the common sort being prone unto envy and murmur little considereth of what necessity, use and importance, the sacred duties of the clergy are, and

for that cause hardly yieldeth them any such honour without repining and grudging thereat ; they cannot brook it, that when they have laboured and come to reap, there should so great a portion go out of the fruit of their labours, and be yielded up unto such as sweat not for it. But when the Lord doth challenge this as his own due, and require it to be done by way of homage unto him, whose meer liberality and goodness had raised them from a poor and servile estate, to place them where they had all those ample and rich possessions ; they must be worse than brute beasts, if they would storm at any thing which he did receive at their hands. And for him to bestow his own on his own servants (which liberty is not denied unto the meanest of men) what man liveth that can think it other than most reasonable ? Wherefore no cause there was, why that which the clergy had, should in any man's eye seem too much, unless God himself were thought to be of an over-having disposition.

This is the mark wherewith all those speeches drive, *Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren, the Lord is his inheritance* ; again, *To the tribe of Levi he gave no inheritance, the sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel are an inheritance of Levi* ; again, *The tithes of the which they shall offer as an offering unto the Lord, I have given the Levites for an inheritance* ; and again, *All the heave-offerings of the holy things which the children of Israel shall offer unto the Lord, I have given thee, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee, to be a duty for ever ; it is a perpetual covenant of salt before the Lord*. Now that, if such provision be possible to be made, the christian clergy ought not herein to be inferior unto the *Jewish*, what sounder proof than the apostle's own kind of argument ? *Do ye not know, that they which minister about the holy things, eat of the things of the temple ? and they which partake of the altar, are partakers with the altar ? (even so), hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel*. Upon which words I thus conclude, that if the people of God do abound, and abounding can so far forth find in their hearts to shew themselves towards Christ their Saviour thankful as to honour him with their riches, (which no law of God or nature forbiddeth) no less than the ancient *Jewish* people did honour God ; the plain ordinance of Christ appointeth as large and as ample proportion out of his own treasure unto them that serve him in the gospel, as ever the priests of the law did enjoy ? What further proof can we desire ? It is the blessed apostle's testimony, *That even so the Lord hath ordained*. Yea, I know not whether it be found to interpret the apostle otherwise than that, whereas he judgeth the presbyters *which rule well in the church of Christ to be worthy of double honour*, he means double unto that which the priests of the law received ; for if that ministry which was of the letter were so glorious, how shall not the ministry of the Spirit be more glorious ? If the teachers of the law of Moses, which God delivered written with letters in tables of stone, were thought worthy of so great honour, how shall not the teachers of the gospel of Christ be in his sight most worthy, the holy Ghost being sent from heaven to engrave the gospel on their hearts, who first taught it, and whose successors they that teach it at this day are ? So that according to the ordinance of God himself, their estate for worldly maintenance ought to be no worse than is granted unto other sorts of men, each according to that degree they were placed in. Neither are we so to judge of their worldly condition as if they were servants of men, and at mens hands did receive those earthly benefits by way of stipend in lieu of pains whereunto they are hired ; nay that which is paid unto them is homage and tribute due unto the Lord Christ. His servants they are, and from him they receive such goods by way of stipend. Not so from men : for at the hands of men, he himself being honoured with such things, hath appointed his servants therewith according to their several degrees and places to be maintained. And for their greater encouragement who are his labourers, he hath to their comfort assured them for ever, that they are, in his estimation, *worthy the hire* which he alloweth them ; and therefore if men should withdraw from him the store, which those his servants that labour in his work are maintained with, yet he in his word shall be found everlastingly true, their labour in the Lord shall not be forgotten ; the hire he accounteth them worthy of, they shall surely have either one way or other answered.

In the prime of the christian world, that which was brought and laid down at the apostles feet, they disposed of by distribution according to the exigence of each man's need. Neither can we think that they, who, out of Christ's treasury made provision for all others, were careless to furnish the clergy with all things fit and convenient for their estate : and as themselves were chiefest in place of authority and calling, so no man doubteth but that proportionally they had power to use the same for their own decent maintenance.¹ The apostles, with the rest of the clergy in *Jerusalem*, lived at that time according to the manner of a fellowship, for collegiate society, maintaining themselves and the

power of the church with a common purse, the rest of the faithful keeping that purse continually stored. And in that sense it is, that the sacred history saith, *All which believed were in one place, and had all things common.* In the histories of the church, and in the writings of the ancient fathers for some hundred of years after, we find no other way for the maintenance of the clergy but only this, the treasury of Jesus Christ furnished through mens devotion, bestowing sometimes goods, sometimes lands that way, and out of his treasury the charge of the service of God was defrayed, the bishop and the clergy under him maintained, the poor in their necessity ministred unto. For which purpose, every bishop had some one of the presbyters under him to be a treasurer of the church, to receive, keep, and deliver all; which office in churches cathedral remaineth even till this day, albeit the use thereof be not altogether so large now as heretofore. The disposition of these goods was by the appointment of the bishop. Wherefore *Prosper* speaking of the bishop's care herein, saith, *It was necessary for one to be troubled therewith, to the end that the rest under him might be freer to attend quietly their spiritual businesses.* And lest any man should imagine, that bishops by this means were hindred themselves from attending the service of God, *Even herein*, saith he, *they do God service; for if those things which are bestowed on the church be God's; he doth the work of God, who, not of a covetous mind, but with purpose of most faithful administration, taketh care of things consecrated unto God.* And forasmuch as the presbyters of every church could not all live with the bishop, partly for that their number was great, and partly because the people being once divided into parishes, such presbyters as had severally charge of them were by that mean more conveniently to live in the midst each of his own particular flock, therefore a competent number being fed at the same table with the bishop, the rest had their whole allowance apart, which several allowances were called *Sportule*, and they who received them, *Sportulantes fratres*. Touching the bishop, *signasse nos illis jam sciat ut & sportulis ut & sportulis* in was no other than it pleased him to set, the rest (as the manner of inferiors is to think that they which are over them always have too much) grudged many times at the measure of the bishops private expence, perhaps not without cause. Howsoever, by this occasion there grew amongst them great heart-burning, quarrel, and strife: where the bishops were found culpable, as eating too much beyond their tether, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of Christ's patrimony, being not greatly abundant, could bear; sundry constitutions hereupon were made to moderate the same, according to the churches condition in those times. Some before they were made bishops, having been owners of ample possessions, sold them and gave them away to the poor: Thus did *Paulinus*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and sundry others. Hereupon they, who entering into the same spiritual and high function held their secular possessions still, were hardly thought of: and even when the case was fully resolved, that so to do was not unlawful, yet it grew a question, *Whether they lawfully might then take any thing out of the publick treasury of Christ?* a question, *Whether bishops, holding by civil title sufficient to live of their own, were bound in conscience to leave the goods of the church altogether to the use of others?* Of contentions about these matters there was no end, neither appeared there any possible way for quietness, otherwise than by making partition of church-revenues according to the several ends and uses for which they did serve, that so the bishop's part might be certain. Such partition being made, the bishop enjoyed his portion several to himself; the rest of the clergy likewise theirs, a third part was severd to the furnishing and upholding of the church; a fourth to the erection and maintenance of houses wherein the poor might have relief. After which separation made, lands and livings began every day to be dedicated unto each use severally, by means whereof every of them became in short time much greater than they had been for worldly maintenance; the fervent devotion of men being glad that this new opportunity was given, of shewing zeal to the house of God in more certain order.

lived and communed always with him. * *Prosper. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 9. Pont. Diacon. in vita Cypri.*

By these things it plainly appeareth what proportion of maintenance hath been ever thought reasonable for a bishop; sith in that very partition agreed on to bring him unto his certain stint, as much is allowed unto him alone as unto all the clergy under him, namely, a fourth part of the whole yearly rents and revenues of the church. Nor is it likely, that, before those temporalities, which now are such eye-fores, were added unto the honour of bishops, their state was so mean as some imagine. For if we had no other evidence than the covetous and ambitious humour of hereticks, whose impotent desires

Ad 2. 44.
* *Diff. Prosper. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 12. Oecon. l. 14. C. de sacra. Eccles. & Nov. 7. in princip. * Prosper. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 16.*
* *Cyp. l. 4. Ep. 5. Presbyterii honorem de-*
* *signasse nos il-*
* *lis jam sciat ut*
* *et sportulis*
* *Presbyteris*
* *honorentur, &*
* *divisiones*
* *quas quanti-*
* *tatis parti-*
* *antur, sensu*
* *nobiscum pro-*
* *vectis & cor-*
* *roboratis annis*
* *fuit. Which*
* *words of Cy-*
* *prian do shew,*
* *that every*
* *presbyter had*
* *his standing*
* *allowance*
* *out of the*
* *church treas-*
* *ury; that be-*
* *sides the same*
* *allowance cal-*
* *led Sportula,*
* *some also had*
* *their portion*
* *in that divi-*
* *dend which*
* *was the re-*
* *mainder of*
* *very months*
* *expence;*
* *thirdly, that*
* *out of the pres-*
* *byters under*
* *him, the bi-*
* *shop as then*
* *had a certain*
* *number of the*
* *gravest, who*

*Lat. de vera
sap. l. 5. c. 30.*

of aspiring thereunto, and extream discontentment as oft as they were defeated, even this doth shew that the state of bishops was not a few degrees advanced above the rest. Wherefore of grand apostates which were in the very prime of the primitive church, thus *Lactantius* above thirteen hundred years sithence testified, *Men of a slippery faith they were, who feigning that they knew and worshipped God, but seeking only that they might grow in WEALTH and honour, affected the place of the HIGHEST PRIESTHOOD*; whereunto, when their betters were chosen before them, they thought it better to leave the church, and to draw their favourers with them, than to endure those men their governors, whom themselves desire to govern. Now, whereas against the present estate of bishops, and the greatness of their port, and the largeness of their expences at this day, there is not any thing more commonly objected than those ancient canons, whereby they are restrained unto a far more sparing life; their houses, their retinue, their diet limited within a far more narrow compass than is now kept; we must know, that those laws, and orders were made when bishops lived of the same purse which served as well for a number of others as them, and yet all at their disposing? So that convenient it was to provide that there might be a moderate stint appointed to measure their expences by, lest others should be injured by their wastfulness. Contrariwise, there is now no cause wherefore any such law should be injured, when bishops live only of that which hath been peculiarly allotted unto them. They having therefore temporalities and other revenues to bestow for their own private use, according to that which their state requireth, and no other having with them any such common interest therein, their own discretion is to be their law for this matter; neither are they to be pressed with the rigour of such ancient canons as were framed for other times, much less so odiously to be upbraided with unconformity unto the pattern of our Lord and Saviour's estate, in such circumstances as himself did never mind to require that the rest of the world should of necessity be like him. Thus against the wealth of the clergy they alledge how meanly Christ himself was provided for; against bishops palaces, his want of a hole to hide his head in; against the service done unto them, that *he came to minister, not to be ministered unto in the world*. Which things, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud or ambitious desires of the ministers of Christ, and even of all christians, whatsoever they be; and to teach men contentment of mind, how mean soever their estate is, considering that they are but servants to him, whose condition was far more abased than theirs is, or can be; so to prove such difference in state between us and him unlawfully, they are of no force or strength at all. If one convented before their consistories, when he standeth to make this answer, should break our into invectives against their authority, and tell them that Christ, when he was on earth, did not sit to judge; but stand to be judged; would they hereupon think it requisite to dissolve their eldership, and to permit no tribunals, no judges at all, for fear of swerving from our Saviour's example? If those men, who have nothing in their mouths more usual than the poverty of Jesus Christ and his apostles, alledge not this as *Julian* sometime did, *beati pauperes*, unto christians, when his meaning was to spoil them of that they had; our hope is then, that as they seriously and sincerely wish, that our Saviour Christ in this point may be followed, and to that end only propose his blessed example; so, at our hands again, they will be content to hear with like willingness the holy apostle's exhortation made unto them of the laity also, *Be ye followers of us, even as we are of Christ; let us be your example, even as the Lord Jesus Christ is ours, that we may all proceed by one and the same rule*.

*1 Cor. ix. 1.
Phil. 3. 16.*

That for their unworthiness to deprive both them and their successors of such goods, and to convey the same unto men of secular calling, were extream sacrilegious injustice.

XXIV. But beware we of following Christ as thieves follow true men, to take their goods by violence from them. Be it that bishops were all unworthy, not only of livings, but even of life, yet what hath our Lord Jesus Christ deserved, for which men should judge him worthy to have the things that are his given away from him unto others that have no right unto them? For at this mark it is that the head lay-reformers do all aim. Must these unworthy prelates give place? What then? Shall better succeed in their rooms? Is this desired, to the end that others may enjoy their honours which shall do Christ more faithful service than they have done? Bishops are the worst men living upon earth; therefore let their sanctified possessions be divided: Amongst whom? O blessed reformation! O happy men, that put to their helping hands for the furtherance of so good and glorious a work! Wherefore, albeit the whole world at this day do already perceive, and posterity be like hereafter a great deal more plainly to discern; nor that the clergy of God is thus heaved at because they are wicked, but that means are used to put it into the heads of the simple multitude that they are such indeed, to the end that those who thirst for the spoil of spiritual possessions may, till such time as they have their purpose, be thought to covet nothing but only the just extinguishment of un-reformable

reformable persons; so that in regard of such mens intentions, practices, and machinations against them, the part that suffereth these things may most fitly pray with *David*, *Judge thou me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according unto mine innocency: O let the malice of the wicked come to an end, and be thou the guide of the just.* 7. 8. Notwithstanding, so far as it doth not stand with christian humility otherwise to think, than that this violent outrage of men is a rod in the ireful hands of the Lord our God, the smart whereof we deserve to feel: let it not seem grievous in the eyes of my reverend L.L. the bishops, if to their good consideration I offer a view of those fores which are in the kind of their heavenly function most apt to breed, and which, being not in time cured, may procure at the length that which God of his infinite mercy avert. Of bishops in his time *St. Jerom* complaineth, that they took it in great disdain to have any fault, great or small, found with them. *Epiphanius* likewise, before *Jerom*, noteth their impatience this way to have been the very cause of a schism in the church of Christ; at what time one *Audius*, a man of great integrity of life, full of faith, and zeal towards God, beholding those things which were corruptly done in the church, told the B.B. and presbyters their faults, in such sort as those men are wont, who love the truth from their hearts, and walk in the paths of a most exact life. Whether it were covetousness, or sensuality in their lives; absurdity or error in their teaching; any breach of the laws and canons of the church wherein he espied them faulty, certain and sure they were to be thereof most plainly told. Which thing, they whose dealings were justly culpable, could not bear; but instead of amending their faults, bent their hatred against him who sought their amendment, till at length they drove him, by extremity of infestation, thro' weariness of striving against their injuries, to leave both them, and with them the church. Amongst the manifold accusations, either generally intended against the bishops of this our church, or laid particularly to the charge of any of them, I cannot find that hitherto their spitefullest adversaries have been able to say justly, that any man for telling them their personal faults in good and christian sort, hath sustained in that respect much persecution. Wherefore, notwithstanding mine own inferior state and calling in God's church, the consideration whereof assureth me, that in this kind the sweetest sacrifice which I can offer unto Christ is meek obedience, reverence and awe unto the prelates which he hath placed in seats of higher authority over me, emboldned I am, so far as may conveniently stand with that duty of humble subjection, meekly to crave my good L.L. your favourable pardon, if it shall seem a fault thus far to presume; or, if otherwise, your wonted courteous acceptance.

—*Smite hæc haud mollia fata
Sublatis aperire dolis.*

Æmili. l. 12.

In government, be it of what kind soever, but especially if it be such kind of government as prelates have over the church, there is not one thing publicly more hurtful, than that an hard opinion should be conceived of governors at the first: and a good opinion how should the world ever conceive of them for their after-proceeding in regiment, whose first access and entrance thereunto giveth just occasion to think them corrupt men, which fear not that God in whose name they are to rule? Wherefore a scandalous thing it is to the church of God, and to the actors themselves dangerous, to have aspired unto rooms of prelacy by wicked means. We are not at this day troubled much with that tumultuous kind of ambition, wherewith the elections of *Damasus* in *St. Jerom's* age, and of *Maximus* in *Gregory's* time, and of others, were long sithence stained. Our greatest fear is rather the evil which *Leo* and *Anthemius* did by imperial constitution endeavour as much as in them lay, to prevent. He which granteth, or he which receiveth the office and dignity of a bishop, otherwise than beseecheth a thing divine and most holy; he which bestoweth, and he which obtaineth it after any other sort than were honest and lawful to use, if our Lord Jesus Christ were present himself on earth to bestow it even with his own hands, sinneth a sin by so much more grievous than the sin of *Belshazzar*, by how much offices and functions heavenly are more precious than the meanest ornaments or implements which thereunto appertain. If it be, as the apostle saith, that the holy Ghost doth make bishops, and that the whole action of making them is God's own deed, men being therein but his agents, what spark of the fear of God can there possibly remain in their hearts, who representing the person of God, in naming worthy men to excusata, si veneranda Dei templa pecuniis expugnentur? Quem murum integritatis aut vallum providebimus si auri sacra fames in penetralia veneranda proferpat? quid denique cautum esse poterit aut securum, si sanctitas incorrupta corrumpatur? Cesset altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, & à sacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaque castus & humilis nostris temporibus eligatur episcopus, ut quocunque locorum pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Nec pretio sed precibus ordinetur antistes. l. 31. C. de episc. & ceteris.

ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical charge, do sell that which in his name they are to bestow; or who, standing as it were at the throne of the living God, do bargain for that which at his hands they are to receive? Wo worth such impious and irreligious prophanations. The church of Christ hath been hereby made, not a *den of thieves*, but in a manner the very dwelling-place of foul spirits; for undoubtedly such a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into the seat of episcopal regiment.

2. Men may by orderly means be invested with spiritual authority, and yet do harm, by reason of ignorance how to use it to the good of the church. *It is, saith Chrysostom, πολλὰ μὲν ἀξιώματα, δύσκολον δὲ ἐπισκοπεῖν; a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be that which a bishop should be.* Yea, a hard and a toilsome thing it is for a bishop to know the things that belong unto a bishop. A right good man may be a very unfit magistrate. And for discharge of a bishop's office, to be well minded is not enough, no, not to be well learned also. Skill to instruct is a thing necessary, skill to govern much more necessary in a bishop. It is not safe for the church of Christ, when bishops learn what belongeth unto government, as empericks learn physick by killing of the sick. Bishops were wont to be men of great learning in the laws, both civil, and of the church; and while they were so, the wisest men in the land for counsel and government, were bishops.

3. Know we never so well what belongeth unto a charge of so great moment, yet can we not therein proceed, but with hazard of publick detriment, if we rely on our selves alone, and use not the benefit of conference with others. A singular mean to unity and concord amongst themselves, a marvelous help unto uniformity in their dealings, no small addition of weight and credit unto that which they do, a strong bridle unto such as watch for occasions to stir against them; finally, a very great stay unto all that are under their government, it could not chuse but be soon found, if bishops did often and seriously use the help of mutual consultation. These three rehearsed are things only preparatory unto the course of episcopal proceedings. But the hurt is more manifestly seen which doth grow to the church of God, by faults inherent in their several actions; as when they carelessly ordain; when they institute negligently; when corruptly they bestow church livings, benefices, prebends, and rooms especially of jurisdictions; when they visit for gain sake, rather than with serious intent to do good; when their courts erected for the maintenance of good order, are disordered; when they regard not the clergy under them; when neither clergy nor laity are kept in that awe for which this authority should serve; when any thing appeareth in them rather than a fatherly affection towards the flock of Christ; when they have no respect to posterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requisite means whereby their authority should be upheld. Surely the hurt which groweth out of these defects must needs be exceeding great. In a minister ignorance and disability to teach is a maim; nor is it held a thing allowable, to ordain such, were it not for the avoiding of a greater evil which the church must needs sustain; if in so great scarcity of able men, and insufficiency of most parishes throughout the land to maintain them, both publick prayer and the administration of sacraments should rather want, than any man thereunto be admitted lacking dexterity and skill to perform that which otherwise was most requisite. Wherefore the necessity of ordaining such, is no excuse for the rash and careless ordaining of every one that hath but a friend to bestow some two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf. By reason whereof the church groweth burdened with silly creatures more than need, whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very order it self into contempt.

It may be that the fear of a *quare impedit* doth cause institutions to pass more easily than otherwise they would. And to speak plainly the very truth, it may be that writs of *quare non impedit* were for these times most necessary in the other's place: yet where law will not suffer men to follow their own judgment, to shew their judgment they are not hindered. And I doubt not but that even conscienceless and wicked patrons, of which sort the swarms are too great in the church of *England*, are the more emboldened to present unto bishops any refusal, by finding so easy acceptance thereof. Somewhat they might redress this fore, notwithstanding so strong impediments, if it did plainly appear that they took it indeed to heart, and were not in a manner contented with it.

Shall we look for care in admitting whom others present, if that which some of our selves confer be at any time corruptly bestowed? A foul and an ugly kind of deformity it hath, if a man do but think what it is for a bishop to draw commodity and gain from those things whereof he is left a free bestower, and that in trust, without any other obligation than his sacred order only, and that religious integrity which hath been presumed on in him. Simoniack corruption I may not for honour's sake suspect to be amongst men of so great place. So often they do not, I trust, offend by sale, as by unad-

vifed gift of fuch preferments, wherein that ancient canon fhould fpecially be remem-
 bred, which forbiddeth a bifhop to be led by human affection, in beftowing the things
 of God. A fault no where fo hurtful, as in beftowing places of jurifdiction, and in fur-
 nifhing cathedral churches, the prebendaries and other dignities whereof are the very
 true fucceffors of thofe ancient prefbyters which were at the firft as counfellors unto bi-
 fhops. A foul abufe it is, that any one man fhould be loaded, as fome are, with livings
 in this kind, yea, fome even of them who condemn utterly the granting of any two be-
 nefices unto the fame man, whereas the other is in truth a matter of far greater fequel,
 as experience would foon fhew, if churches cathedral being furnifhed with the refi-
 dence of a competent number of vertuous, grave, wife and learned divines, the reft of
 the prebends of every fuch church were given within the diocefe, unto men of worthieft
 defert, for their better encouragement unto induftry and travel; unlefs it feem alfo con-
 venient to extend the benefit of them unto the learned in univerfities, and men of fpecial
 employment otherwife in the affairs of the church of God. But howfoever, furely with
 the publick good of the church it will hardly ftand, that in any one perfon fuch favours
 be more multiplied than law permitteth in thofe livings which are with cure.

Touching bifhops vifitations, the firft inftitution of them was profitable, to the end
 that the ftate and condition of churches being known, there might be for evils grow-
 ing, convenient remedies provided in due time. The obfervation of church laws, the
 correction of faults in the fervice of God, and manners of men, thefe are things that
 vifitors fhould feek. When thefe things are enquired of formally, and but for cuftom
 fake, fees and penfions being the only thing which is fought, and little elfe done by vi-
 fitations; we are not to marvel if the bafenefs of the end doth make the action it felf
 loathfome. The good which bifhops may do, not only by thefe vifitations belonging
 ordinarily to their office, but alfo in refpect of that power which the founders of col-
 leges have given them of fpecial truft, charging even fearfully their confciences therewith:
 the good, I fay, which they might do by this their authority, both within their own dio-
 ceffe, and in the well-fprings themfelves, the univerfities, is plainly fuch as cannot chufe
 but add weight to their heavy accounts in that dreadful day, if they do it not.

In their courts, where nothing but fingular integrity and juftice fhould prevail, if pal-
 pable and grofs corruptions be found, by reafon of offices fo often granted unto men who
 feek nothing but their own gain, and make no account what difgrace doth grow by their
 unjuft dealings unto them under whom they deal, the evil hereof fhall work more than
 they which procure it do perhaps imagine.

At the hands of a bifhop, the firft thing looked for is a care of the clergy under him,
 a care, that in doing good they may have whatfoever comforts and encouragements his
 countenance, authority, and place may yield. Otherwife what heart fhall they have to
 proceed in their painful courfe, all forts of men befides being fo ready to malign, defpife,
 and every way opprefs them? Let them find nothing but difdain in bifhops; in the ene-
 mies of prefent government, if that way they lift to betake themfelves, all kind of favour-
 able and friendly help; unto which part think we it likely that men having wit, courage,
 and ftomach will incline?

As great a fault is the want of feverity when need requireth, as of kindnefs and cour-
 tefy in bifhops. But touching this, what with ill uſage of their power among the meaner,
 and what with diſuſage amongſt the higher fort, they are in the eyes of both forts as bees
 having loſt their ſting. It is a long time ſithence any great one hath felt, or almoſt any
 one much feared the edge of that eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, which ſometime held lords and
 dukes in a more religious awe than now the meanef are able to be kept.

A bifhop, in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affec-
 tion towards them that are under his charge, what good might he do ten thouſand ways
 more than any man knows how to ſet down? But the ſouls of men are not loved; that
 which Chriſt ſhed his blood for is not eſteemed precious. This is the very root, the
 fountain of all negligence in church government.

Moſt wretched are the terms of mens eſtate, when once they are at a point of wretch-
 leſneſs ſo extreme, that they bend not their wits any farther than only to ſhift out the
 prefent time, never regarding what ſhall become of their ſucceſſors after them. Had our
 predeceſſors fo looſely caſt off from them all care and reſpect to poſterity, a church
 chriſtian there had not been, about the regiment whereof we ſhould need at this day
 to ſtrive. It was the barbarous affection of *Nero*, that the ruin of his own imperial
 ſeat he could have been well enough contented to ſee, in caſe he might alſo have ſeen it
 accompanied with the fall of the whole world: an affection not more intolerable than
 theirs, who care not to overthrow all poſterity, ſo they may purchaſe a few days of igno-
 minious ſafety unto themſelves and their prefent eſtates; if it may be termed a ſafety

which tendeth so fast unto their very overthrow that are the purchasers of it in so vile and base manner.

Men whom it standeth upon to uphold a reverend estimation of themselves in the minds of others, without which the very best things they do are hardly able to escape disgrace, must, before it be over-late, remember how much easier it is to retain credit, once gotten, than to recover it, being lost. The executors of bishops are sued, if their mansion-house be suffered to go to decay: but whom shall their successors sue for the dilapidations which they make of that credit, the unrepaired diminutions whereof will in time bring to pass, that they which would most do good in that calling, shall not be able, by reason of prejudice generally settled in the minds of all sorts against them? By what means their estimation hath hitherto decayed, it is no hard thing to discern. *Herod and Archelaus* are noted to have sought out purposely the dullest and most ignoble that could be found amongst the people, preferring such to the high-priest's office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the multitude had of that order, and to procure a more expedite course for their own wicked counsels, whereunto they saw the high-priests were no small impediment, as long as the common sort did much depend upon them. It may be there hath been partly some shew and just suspicion of like practice in some, in procuring the undeserved preferments of some unworthy persons, the very cause of whose advancement hath been principally their unworthiness to be advanced. But neither could this be done altogether without the inexcusable fault of some preferred before, and so oft we cannot imagine it to have been done, that either only or chiefly from thence this decay of their estimation may be thought to grow. Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning adversaries, but much more which themselves have effected against themselves. A bishop's estimation doth grow from the excellency of virtues suitable unto his place. Unto the place of a bishop those high divine virtues are judged suitable, which virtues being not easily found in other sorts of great men, do make him appear so much the greater, in whom they are found.

Devotion, and the feeling sense of religion, are not usual in the noblest, wisest, and chiefest personages of state, by reason their wits are so much employed another way, and their minds so seldom conversant in heavenly things. If therefore wherein themselves are defective they see that bishops do blessedly excel, it frameth secretly their hearts to a sloping kind of disposition, clean opposite to contempt: the very countenance of *Moses* was glorious, after that God had conferred with him. And where bishops are, the powers and faculties of whose souls God hath possessed, those very actions, the kind whereof is common unto them with other men, have notwithstanding in them a more high and heavenly form, which draweth correspondent estimation unto it, by virtue of that celestial impression which deep meditation of holy things, and as it were conversation with God, doth leave in their minds. So that bishops which will be esteemed of as they ought, must frame themselves to that very pattern from whence those *Asian* bishops unto whom *St. John* writeth, were denominated, even so far forth as this our frailty will permit; shine they must, as angels of God in the midst of perverse men. They are not to look that the world should always carry the affection of *Constantine*, to bury that which might derogate from them, and to cover their imbecillities. More than high time it is, that they bethink themselves of the apostle's admonition, *attende tibi, have a vigilant eye to thy self*. They err if they do not persuade themselves, that wheresoever they walk or sit, be it in their churches or in their consistories, abroad or at home, at their tables or in their closets, they are in the midst of snares laid for them. Wherefore, as they are, with the prophet, every one of them to make it their hourly prayer unto God, *Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness, because of enemies*; so it is not safe for them, no not for a moment, to slacken their industry in seeking every way that estimation which may further their labours unto the church's good. Absurdity, though but in words, must needs be this way a main, where nothing but wisdom, gravity, and judgment is looked for. That which the son of *Syrach* hath concerning the writings of the old sages, *wise sentences are found in them*, should be the proper mark and character of bishops' speeches, whose lips, as doors, are not to be opened, but for egress of instruction and sound knowledge. If base servility and dejection of mind be ever espied in them, how should men esteem them as worthy the rooms of the great ambassadors of God? A wretched desire to gain by bad and unseemly means, standeth not with a mean man's credit, much less with that reputation which fathers of the church should be in. But if besides all this there be also coldness in works of piety and charity, utter contempt even of learning it self, no care to further it by any such helps as they easily might and ought to afford, no not as much as that due respect unto their very families about them, which all men that are of account do order, as near as they can, in such sort that no grievous offensive deformity

mity be therein noted; if there still continue in that most reverend order such as by so many engines work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own estimation amongst men, some of the rest secretly also permitting others their industrious opposites every day more to seduce the multitude, how should the church of God hope for great good at their hands?

What we have spoken concerning these things, let not malicious accusers think themselves therewith justified, no more than *Shimei* was by his sovereign's most humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which so impudent a caitiff's tongue upbraided him withal; the one in the virulent rancour of a canker'd affection took that delight for the present which in the end did turn to his own more tormenting wo, the other in the contrite patience even of deserved malediction, had yet this comfort, *It may² Sam. 16. 12* be the Lord will look on mine affliction, and do me good for his cursing this day. As for us, over whom Christ hath placed them to be the chiefest guides and pastors of our souls, our common fault is, that we look for much more in our governors than a tolerable sufficiency can yield, and bear much less than humanity and reason do require we should. Too much perfection over-rigorously exacted in them, cannot but breed in us perpetual discontentment, and on both parts cause all things to be unpleasant. It is exceedingly worth the noting, which *Plato* hath about the means whereby men fall into an utter dislike of all men with whom they converse: *This jurness of mind which maketh every man's* Plat. in Phæd, *dealings unsavoury in our taste, entereth by unskilful over-weaning, which at the first we have of one, and so of another, in whom we afterwards find our selves to have been deceived, they declaring themselves in the end to be frail men, whom we judged demi-gods: when we have oftentimes been thus beguiled, and that far besides expectation, we grow at the length to this plain conclusion, That there is nothing at all found in any man. Which bitter conceit is unseemly, and plain to have risen from lack of mature judgment in human affairs: which if so be we did handle with art, we would not enter into dealings with men, otherwise than being beforehand grounded in this persuasion, that the number of persons notably good or bad is but very small; that the most part of good have some evil, and of evil men, some good in them.* So true our experience doth find those aphorisms of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, Ἀδυνατὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῇ κακίᾳ, to purge goodness quite and clean from all mixture of evil here, is a thing impossible. Again, Τὸ μὴ λίαν Μ. Τριφ. in πᾶ κακὸν εὐδαίει τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔστι. mandro.dial.6. When in this world we term a thing good, we cannot by exact construction have any other true meaning, than that the said thing so termed is not noted to be a thing exceeding evil. And again, Μῶνον ὃ Ἀσκληπείε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἕξον εὐαμύς. Amongst men, *O Esculapius*, the name of that which is good we find, but no where the very true thing it self. When we censure the deeds and dealings of our superiors, to bring with us a fore-conceit thus qualified shall be as well on our part as theirs a thing available unto quietness. But howsoever the case doth stand with mens either good or bad quality, the verdict which our Lord and Saviour hath given should continue for ever sure. *Quæ Dei sunt, Deo*, let Mal. 3. 8: men bear the burthens of their own iniquity, as for those things which are God's, let not Act. 5. 2. God be deprived of them. For if only to withhold that which should be given, be no better than to rob God, if to withdraw any mite of that which is but in purpose only bequeathed, though as yet undelivered into the sacred treasure of God, be a sin for which *Ananias* and *Sapphira* felt so heavily the dreadful hand of divine revenge; quite and clean to take that away which we never gave, and that after God hath for so many ages therewith been possessed, and that without any other shew of cause, saying only that it seemeth in their eyes who seek it, too much for them which have it in their hands, can we term it or think it less than most impious injustice, most heinous sacrilege? Such was the religious affection of *Joseph*, that it suffered him not to take that advantage, no Gm. 47. 22. not against the very idolatrous priests of *Egypt*, which he took for the purchasing of other mens lands to the king; but he considered, that albeit their idolatry deserved hatred, yet for the honour's sake due unto priesthood, better it was the king himself should yield them relief in publick extremity, than permit that the same necessity should constrain also them to do as the rest of the people did. But it may be, men have now found out, that God hath proposed the christian clergy, as a prey for all men freely to seize upon; that God hath left them as the fishes of the sea, which every man that listeth to gather into his net may; or that there is no God in heaven to pity them, and to regard the injuries which man doth lay upon them: yet the publick good of this church and commonwealth, doth, I hope, weigh somewhat in the hearts of all honestly disposed men. Unto the publick good no one thing is more directly available, than that such as are in place, whether it be of civil or of ecclesiastical authority, be so much the more largely furnished even with external helps and ornaments of this life, how much the more

highly they are in power and calling advanc'd above others. For nature is not contented with bare sufficiency unto the sustenance of man, but doth evermore cover a decency proportionable unto the place which man hath in the body or society of others. For according unto the greatness of mens calling, the measure of all their actions doth grow in every man's secret expectation, so that great men do always know that great things are at their hands expected. In a bishop great liberality, great hospitality, actions in every kind great are look'd for: And for actions which must be great, mean instruments will not serve. Men are but men, what room soever amongst men they hold. If therefore the measure of their worldly habilities be beneath that proportion which their calling doth make to be look'd for at their hands, a stronger inducement it is than perhaps men are aware of unto evil and corrupt dealings for supply of that defect. For which cause we must needs think it a thing necessary unto the common good of the church, that great jurisdiction being granted unto bishops over others, a state of wealth proportionable should likewise be provided for them. Where wealth is had in so great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extream contempt, surely to make bishops poorer than they are, were to make them of less account and estimation than they should be. Wherefore if detriment and dishonour do grow to religion, to God, to his church, when the publick account which is made of the chief of the clergy decayeth, how should it be, but in this respect, for the good of religion, of God, of his church, that the wealth of bishops be carefully preserved from the further diminution? The travels and crosses wherewith prelacy is never unaccompanied, they which feel them know how heavy and how great they are: Unless such difficulties therefore annexed unto that estate be temper'd, by annexing thereunto things esteem'd of in this world, how should we hope that the minds of men, shunning naturally the burthens of each function, will be drawn to undertake the burthen of episcopal care and labour in the church of Christ? Wherefore if long we desire to enjoy the peace, quietness, order and stability of religion, which prelacy (as hath been declared) causeth, then must we necessarily, even in favour of the publick good, uphold those things, the hope whereof being taken away, it is not the meer goodness of the charge, and the divine acceptation thereof, that will be able to invite many thereunto. What shall become of that commonwealth or church in the end, which hath not the eye of learning to beautify, guide, and direct it? At the length, what shall become of that learning, which hath not wherewith any more to encourage her industrious followers? And finally, what shall become of that courage to follow learning, which hath already so much failed through the only diminution of her chiefest rewards, bishopricks? Surely, wheresoever this wicked intendment of overthrowing cathedral churches, or of taking away those livings, lands, and possessions, which bishops hitherto have enjoyed, shall once prevail, the hand-maids attending thereupon will be paganism and extreme barbarity. In the law of *Moses*, how careful provision is made that goods of this kind might remain to the church for ever: *Ye shall not make common the holy things of the children of Israel, lest ye dye, saith the Lord.* Touching the fields annexed unto levitical cities, the law was plain, they might not be sold; and the reason of the law this, *for it was their possession for ever.* He which was Lord and owner of it, his will and pleasure was, that from the Levites it should never pass to be enjoyed by any other. The Lord's own portion, without his own commission and grant, how should any man justly hold? They which hold it by his appointment, had it plainly with this condition, *They shall not sell of it, neither change it, nor alienate the first-fruits of the land; for it is holy unto the Lord.* It falleth sometimes out, as the prophet *Habakkuk* noteth, that the very prey of savage beasts becometh dreadful unto themselves. It did so in *Judas*, *Achan*, *Nebuchadnezzar*; their evil purchased goods were their snare, and their prey their own terror; a thing no where so likely to follow, as in those goods and possessions, which being laid where they should not rest, have by the Lord's own testimony his most bitter curse; their undividable companion. These persuasions we use for other mens cause, not for theirs with whom God and religion are parts of the abrogated law of ceremonies. Wherefore not to continue longer in the cure of a fore desperate, there was a time when the clergy had almost as little as these good people wish. But the kings of this realm and others, whom God had blest, considered devoutly with themselves, as *David* in like case sometimes had done, *It is meet that we at the hands of God should enjoy all kinds of abundance, and God's clergy suffer want?* They considered that of *Solomon*, *honour God with thy substance, and the chiefest of all thy revenue; so shall thy barns be filled with corn, and thy vessels shall run over with new wine.* They considered how the care which *Jehosaphat* had, in providing that the Levites might have encouragement to do the work of the Lord chearfully, was left of God as a fit pattern to be followed in

Numb. 18. 32.

Lev. 25.

Ezek. 48. 14.

Habak. 2. 17.

Mal. 3. 9.

Prov. 3. 9.

2 Chron. 9. chap. 19.

in the church for ever. They consider'd what promise our Lord and Saviour had made unto them, at whose hands his prophets should receive but the least part of the meanest kind of friendliness, though it were but a draught of water: which promise seemeth not to be taken, as if Christ had made them of any higher courtesy uncapable, and had promised reward unto such as give them but that, but unto such as leave them but that. They considered how earnest the apostle is, that if the ministers of the law were so amply provided for, less care then ought not to be had of them, who under the gospel of Jesus Christ possess correspondent rooms in the church. They considered how needful it is, that they who provoke all others unto works of mercy and charity, should especially have wherewith to be examples of such things, and by such means to win them, with whom other means, without those, do commonly take very small effect.

In these and the like considerations, the church-revenues were in ancient times augmented, our Lord thereby performing manifestly the promise made to his servants, that they which did leave either father, or mother, or lands, or goods for his sake, should receive even in this world an hundred fold. For some hundred of years together, they which joyned themselves to the church, were fain to relinquish all worldly emoluments, and to endure the hardness of an afflicted estate. Afterward the Lord gave rest to his church, kings and princes became as fathers thereunto, the hearts of all men inclined towards it, and by his providence there grew unto it every day earthly possessions in more and more abundance, till the greatness thereof bred envy, which no diminutions are able to satisfy. For, as those ancient nursing fathers thought they did never bestow enough; even so in the eye of this present age, as long as anything remaineth, it seemeth to be too much. Our fathers we imitate in *perversum*, as *Tertullian* speaketh; like them we are, by being in equal degree the contrary unto that which they were. Unto those earthly blessings which God as then did with so great abundance pour down upon the ecclesiastical state, we may in regard of most near resemblance, apply the self same words which the prophet hath, *God blessed them exceedingly; and, by this very mean, turned the hearts of their own brethren to hate them, and to deal politickly with his servants.* Computations are made, and there are huge sums set down for princes, to see how much they may amplify and enlarge their own treasure; how many publick burthens they may ease; what present means they have to reward their servants about them, if they please but to grant their assent, and to accept of the spoil of bishops, by whom church-goods are but abused unto pomp and vanity. Thus albeit they deal with one, whose princely vertue giveth them small hope to prevail in impious and sacrilegious motions; yet shame they not to move her royal majesty even with a suit not much unlike unto that wherewith the Jewish high-priest tried Judas, whom they solicited unto treason against his master, and proposed unto him a number of silver pence in lieu of so vertuous and honest a service. But her sacred majesty disposed to be always like her self, her heart so far estranged from willingness to gain by pillage of that estate, the only awe whereof under God she hath been unto this present hour, as of all other parts of this noble commonwealth, wherof she hath vowed her self a protector till the end of her days on earth, which if nature could permit, we wish, as good cause we have, endless: this her gracious inclination is more than a seven times sealed warrant, upon the same assurance wherof touching time and action, so dishonourable as this, we are on her part most secure, not doubting but that unto all posterity it shall for ever appear, that from the first to the very last of her sovereign proceedings there hath not been one authorized deed other than consonant with that *Symmachus* saith, *Fiscus bonorum principum, non sacerdotum damnis sed hostium spoliis augeatur*; consonant with the imperial law, *Ea quæ ad beatissimæ ecclesiæ jura pertinent, tanquam ipsam sacrosanctam & religiosam ecclesiam intacta convenit venerabiliter custodiri; ut sicut ipsa religionis & fidei mater perpetua est, ita ejus patrimonium jugiter servetur illæsum.* As for the ease of publick burthens, let any politician living make it appear, that by confiscation of bishops livings, and their utter dissolution at once, the commonwealth shall ever have half that relief and ease which it receiveth by their continuance as now they are, and it shall give us some cause to think, that albeit we see they are impiously and irreligiously minded, yet we may esteem them at least to be tolerable commonwealths men. But the case is too clear and manifest, the world doth but too plainly see it, that no one order of subjects whatsoever within this land doth bear the seventh part of that proportion which the clergy beareth in the burthens of the commonwealth: no revenue of the crown like unto it, either for certainty or for greatness. Let the good which this way hath grown to the commonwealth by the dissolution of religious houses, teach men what ease unto publick burthens there is like to grow by the overthrow of the clergy. My meaning is not hereby to make the state

Lib. 10. ep. 54.
DDD. Valent.
Theodof. &
Archad. l. 14.
c. de sacrol.
ecclesie

of bishopricks, and of those dissolved companies alike the one no less unlawful to be removed than the other. For those religious persons were men which followed only a special kind of contemplative life in the commonwealth, they were properly no portion of God's clergy (only such amongst them excepted, as were also priests, their goods (that excepted, which they unjustly held through the pope's usurped power of appropriating ecclesiastical livings unto them) may in part seem to be of the nature of civil possessions, held by other kinds of corporations, such as the city of *London* hath divers. Wherefore, as their institution was human, and their end for the most part superstitious, they had not therein merely that holy and divine interest which belongeth unto bishops, who being employed by Christ in the principal service of his church, are receivers and disposers of his patrimony, as hath been shewed, which whosoever shall with-hold or withdraw at any time from them, he undoubtedly robbeth God himself. If they abuse the goods of the church unto pomp and vanity, such faults we do not excuse in them. Only we wish it to be consider'd whether such faults be verily in them, or else but objected against them by such as gape after spoil, and therefore are no competent judges what is moderate and what excessive in them, whom under this pretence they would spoil. But the accusation may be just. In plenty and fulness it may be we are of God more forgetful than were requisite. Notwithstanding men should remember how not to the clergy alone it was said by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, *Ne cum manducaveris & biberis & domos optimas edificaveris*: If the remedy prescrib'd for this disease be good, let it impartially be applied. *Interest reip. ut re sua QUISQUE bene utatur*. Let all states be put to their moderate pensions, let their livings and lands be taken away from them whosoever they be, in whom such ample possessions are found to have been matters of grievous abuse: were this just, would noble families think this reasonable? The title which bishops have to their livings is as good as the title of any sort of men unto whatsoever we account to be most justly held by them; yea, in this one thing the claim of *B. B.* hath preheminance above all secular titles of right, in that God's own interest is the tenure whereby they hold, even as also it was to the priests of the law an assurance of their spiritual goods and possessions, whereupon though they many times abused greatly the goods of the church, yet was not God's patrimony therefore taken away from them, and made saleable unto other tribes. To rob God, to ransack the church, to overthrow the whole order of christian bishops, and to turn them out of land and living, out of house and home, what man of common honesty can think it for any manner of abuse to be a remedy lawful or just? We must confess that God is righteous in taking away that which men abuse: but doth that excuse the violence of thieves and robbers? Complain we

* Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum aurige, mimi & scorta hereditas capiunt, solis clericis & menachis, id lege prohibetur, & prohibetur non à persecutoribus sed principibus christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo quod meruerimus hanc legem. Ad Nepot. 7. ^b Obad. verif. 5.

will not with St. *Jerome*, ^a *That the hands of men are so straitly tied, and their liberal minds so much bridled and held back from doing good by augmentation of the church-patrimony*. For we confess that herein mediocrity may be and hath been sometime exceeded. There did want heretofore a *Moses* to temper mens liberality, to say unto them who enrich'd the church *sufficit*, stay your hands lest fervor of zeal do cause you to empty your selves too far. It may be the largeness of mens hearts being then more moderate, had been after more durable; and one state by too much over-growing the rest, had not given occasion unto the rest to undermine it. That evil is now sufficiently cur'd: the church-treasury, if then it were over full, hath since been reasonably well emptied. That which *Moses* spake unto givers, we must now inculcate unto takers away from the church, let there be some stay, some stint in spoiling. ^b *If grape gatherers came unto them*, saith the prophet, *would they not leave some remnant behind?* But it hath far'd with the wealth of the church as with a tower, which being built at the first with the highest, overthroweth it self after by its own greatness; neither doth the ruin thereof cease with the only fall of that which hath exceeded mediocrity, but one part beareth down another, till the whole be laid prostrate. For although the state ecclesiastical both others and even bishops themselves, be now fallen to so low an ebb, as all the world at this day doth see; yet because there remaineth still somewhat which unsatiable minds can thirst for, therefore we seem not to have hitherto sufficiently wronged. Touching that which hath been taken from the church in appropriations known to amount to the value of one hundred twenty six thousand pounds yearly, we rest contentedly and quietly without it, till it shall please God to touch the hearts of men, of their own voluntary accord to restore it to him again; judging thereof no otherwise than some others did of those goods which were by *Sylla* taken away from the citizens of *Rome*, that albeit they were in truth *male capta*, unconscionably taken away from the right owners at the first, nevertheless seeing that such as were after possessed of them held them not without some title, which law did after a sort make good, *repetitio eorum proculdubio labefactabat compositam civitatem*. What hath been taken away as dedicated unto uses superstitious, and consequently not given unto God, or at the leastwise not so rightly given, we repine not

thereat. That which hath gone by means secret and indirect, through corrupt compositions or compacts we cannot help. What the hardness of mens hearts doth make them loth to have exacted, though being due by law, even thereof the want we do also bear. Out of that which after all these deductions cometh clearly unto our hands, I hope it will not be said that towards the publick charge we disburse nothing. And doth the residue seem yet excessive? The ways whereby temporal men provide for themselves and their families, are fore-closed unto us. All that we have to sustain our miserable life with, is but a remnant of God's own treasure, so far already diminished and clipt, that if there were any sense of common humanity left in this hard-hearted world, the impoverished estate of the clergy of God, would at the length even of very commiseration be spared. The mean gentleman that hath but an hundred pound land to live on, would not be hasty to change his wordly estate and condition with many of these so over-abounding prelates; a common artisan or tradesman of the city, with ordinary pastors of the church. It is our hard and heavy lot, that no other sort of men being grudging at, how little benefitsoever the publick weal reap by them, no state complained of for holding that which hath grown unto them by lawful means; only the governors of our souls, they that study day and night so to guide us, that both in this world we may have comfort, and in the world to come endless felicity and joy, (for even such is the very scope of all their endeavours; this they wish, for this they labour, how hardly soever we use to construe of their intents;) hard, that only they should be thus continually lifted at for possessing but that whereunto they have, by law both of God and man, most just title. If there should be no other remedy, but that the violence of men, in the end, must needs bereave them of all succour, further than the inclinations of others shall vouchsafe to cast upon them, as it were by way of alms, for their relief but from hour to hour; better they are not than their fathers, who have been contented with as hard a portion at the world's hands: let the light of the sun and moon, the common benefit of heaven and earth, be taken away from *B. B.* if the question were, whether God should lose his glory, and the safety of his church be hazarded, or they relinquish the right and interest which they have in the things of this world. But sith the question in truth is, whether *Levi* shall be deprived of the portion of God or no, to the end that *Simeon* or *Reuben* may devour it as their spoil, the comfort of the one, in sustaining the injuries which the other would offer, must be that prayer poured out by *Moses* the prince of prophets, in most tender affection to *Levi*, *Bless, O Lord, his substance, accept thou the work of his hands; smite through the loyns of them that rise up against him, and of them which hate him, that they rise no more.* Deut. 33. 10.

O F T H E

L A W S

O F

Ecclesiastical Polity.

B O O K VIII.

Containing their seventh assertion, that to no civil Prince or Governor, there may be given such power of ecclesiastical dominion, as by the laws of this land belongeth unto the supreme regent thereof.

Maccab. 14.

WE come now to the last thing whereof there is controversy moved, namely, *The power of supreme jurisdiction*; which for distinction sake we call, *The power of ecclesiastical dominion*. It was not thought fit in the *Jews commonwealth*, that the exercise of *supremacy ecclesiastical* should be denied unto him, to whom the exercise of *chiefly civil* did appertain; and therefore their kings were invested with both. This power they gave unto *Simon*, when they consented that he should be their prince, not only to set men over their works, and country, and weapons, but also to provide for the holy things; and that he should be obeyed of every man, and that the writings of the country should be made in his name, and that it should not be lawful for any of the people, or priests, to withstand his words, or to call any congregation in the country without him. And if haply it be furnished, that thus much was given to *Simon*, as being both prince and high-priest; which otherwise (being their *civil governor*) he could not lawfully have enjoyed; we must note, that all this is no more than the ancient kings of that people had, being kings, and not priests. By this power *David*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Josias*, and the rest, made those laws and orders which sacred history speaketh of, concerning matters

matters of meer religion, the affairs of the temple, and service of God. Finally, had it not been by the virtue of this power, how should it possibly have come to pass, that the piety or impiety of the kings did always accordingly change the publick face of religion, which things the prophets by themselves never did, nor at any time could hinder from being done? Had the priests alone been posselt of all power in spiritual affairs, how should any thing concerning matter of religion have been made but only by them? In them it had been, and not in the king, to change the face of religion at any time; the altering of religion, the making of ecclesiastical laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of dominion, are still termed *the deeds of the king*; to shew, that in him was placed the supremacy of power in this kind over all, and that unto their priests the same was never committed, saving only at such times as the priests were also kings and princes over them. According to the pattern of which example the like power in causes ecclesiastical is by the laws of this realm annexed unto the crown; and there are which do imagine, that kings being meer lay persons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their callings; which thing to the end that they may persuade, they first make a necessary separation perpetual and personal between *the church* and *the commonwealth*. Secondly, they so tie all kind of *power ecclesiastical* unto the church, as if it were in every degree their only right, who are by proper spiritual functions termed church-governors, and might not unto christian princes in any wise appertain. To lurk under shifting ambiguities, and equivocations of words in matter of principal weight, is childish. A church and a commonwealth we grant are things in nature one distinguished from the other. A commonwealth is one way, and a church another way defined. in their opinions the church and commonwealth are corporations, not distinguished only in nature and definition, but in substance perpetually severed; so that they which are of the one can neither appoint nor execute in whole nor in part the duties which belong to them which are of the other, without open breach of the law of God which hath divided them, and doth require that so being divided they should distinctly or severally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the other's approbation for that which either hath to do. We say that the care of religion being common to all societies politick, such societies as do embrace the true religion have the name of the church given unto every one of them for distinction from the rest; so that every body politick hath some religion, but the church that religion which is only true. Truth of religion is the proper difference whereby a church is distinguished from other politick societies of men; we here mean true religion in gross, and not according to every particular. For they which in some particular points of religion do sever from the truth, may nevertheless truly (if we compare them to men of an heathenish religion) be said to hold and profess that religion which is true. For which cause there being of old so many politick societies established through the world, only the commonwealth of *Israel* which had the truth of religion was in that respect the church of God: and the church of Jesus Christ is every such politick society of men as doth in religion hold that truth which is proper to christianity. As a politick society it doth maintain religion, as a church that religion which God hath revealed by Jesus Christ. With us therefore the name of a church importeth only a society of men, first united into some publick form of regiment, and secondly distinguished from other societies by the exercise of religion. With them on the other side the name of the church in this present question importeth not only a multitude of men so united and so distinguished, but also further the same divided necessarily and perpetually from the body of the commonwealth; so that even in such a politick society as consisteth of none but christians, yet the church and commonwealth are two corporations, independently subsisting by it self.

We hold, that seeing there is not any man of the church of *England* but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth, nor any member of the commonwealth which is not also of the church of *England*, therefore as in a figure triangle the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self same line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlye the rest: so albeit properties and actions of one do cause the name of a commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of the church to be given to a multitude, yet one and the self same multitude may in such sort be both. Nay, it is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied also to be of the other: contrariwise, unless they against us should hold, that the church and the commonwealth are two, both distinct and separate societies; of which two one comprehendeth always persons not belonging to the other, (that which they do) they could not conclude out of the difference between the church and the commonwealth, namely that the bishops may not meddle with the

affairs of the commonwealth because they are governors of another corporation, which is the church; nor kings, with making laws for the church, because they have government not of this corporation, but of another divided from it; the commonwealth and the walls of separation between these two, must for ever be upheld: they hold the necessity of perfonal separation which clean excludeth the power of one man's dealing with both; we of natural, but that one and the same person may in both bear principal sway.

The causes of common received errors in this point seem to have been especially two: one, that they who embrace true religion living in such commonwealths as are opposite thereto; and in other publick affairs, retaining civil communion with such as are constrained for the exercise of their religion, to have a ferveral communion with those who are of the same religion with them. This was the state of the *Jewish* church both in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, the state of christian churches a long time after Christ. And in this case, because the proper affairs and actions of the church, as it is the church, hath no dependance on the laws, or upon the government of the civil state; an opinion hath thereby grown, that even so it should be always. This was it which deceived *Allen* in the writing of his apology: *The apostles* (saith he) *did govern the church in Rome, when Nero bare rule, even as at this day in all the church's dominions. The church hath a spiritual regiment without dependance, and so ought she to have amongst heathens, or with christians.* Another occasion of which misconceit is, that things appertaining to religion are both distinguished from other affairs, and have always had in the church spiritual persons chosen to be exercised about them. By which distinction of spiritual affairs, and persons therein employed from temporal, the error of perfonal separation always necessary between the church and commonwealth hath strengthen'd it self. For of every polittick society that being true which *Aristotle* saith, namely, *That the scope thereof is not simply to live, nor the duty so much to provide for the life, as for the means of living well*: And that even as the soul is the worthier part of man, so human societies are much more to care for that which tendeth properly to the soul's estate, than for such temporal things which the life hath need of. Other proof there needeth none to shew that as by all men the kingdom of God is to be sought first, so in all commonwealths things spiritual ought above temporal to be sought for; and of things spiritual, the chiefest is religion. For this cause, persons and things employ'd peculiarly about the affairs of religion are by an excellency term'd spiritual. The heathens themselves had their spiritual laws, and causes, and affairs always sever'd from their temporal; neither did this make two independent estates among them. God by revealing true religion doth make them that receive it his church. Unto the *Jews* he so reveal'd the truth of religion, that he gave them in special considerations laws, not only for the administration of things spiritual, but also temporal. The Lord himself appointing both the one and the other in that commonwealth, did not thereby distract it into severall independent communities, but institute severall functions of one and the self-same community. Some reasons therefore must there be alledg'd why it should be otherwise in the church of Christ.

*Arist. Pol. l. 3.
cap. 16.
Maccab. 7.*

*Arist. Pol. l. 3.
cap. 20.
Liv. lib. 1.*

Three kinds of
their proofs
are taken from
the difference
of affairs and
offices.

I shall not need to spend any great store of words in answering that which is brought out of the holy scripture to shew that secular and ecclesiastical affairs and offices are distinguished; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, using by phrase of speech to oppose the commonweal to the church of Christ; neither yet their reasons which are wont to be brought forth as witnesses, that the church and commonweal were always distinct. For whether a church or commonweal do differ, is not the question we strive for; but our controversy is concerning the kind of distinction, whereby they are sever'd the one from the other; whether as under heathen kings the church did deal with her own affairs within her self without depending at all upon any in civil authority; and the commonweal in hers, altogether without the privy of the church, so it ought to continue still even in such commonweals as have now publickly embrac'd the truth of christian religion; whether they ought evermore to be two societies in such sort, severall and distinct. I ask therefore what society was that in *Rome*, whereunto the apostle did give the name of the church of *Rome* in his time? If they answer (as needs they must) that the church of *Rome* in those days was that whole society of men which in *Rome* professed the name of Christ, and not that religion which the laws of the commonweal did then authorize; we say as much, and therefore grant that the commonweal of *Rome* was one society, and the church of *Rome* another, in such sort that there was between them no natural dependance. But when whole *Rome* became christian when they all embraced the gospel, and made laws in defence thereof, if it be held that the church and commonweal of *Rome* did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be possible, save only one, and that is, they must restrain the name of a church

church in a christian commonweal to the clergy, excluding all the rest of believers, both prince and people. For if all that believe be contained in the name of the church, how should the church remain by personal subsistence divided from the commonweal, when the whole commonweal doth believe? The church and the commonweal are in this case therefore personally one society, which society being termed commonweal as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regiment; a church as it liveth under the spiritual law of Christ; forsomuch as these two laws contain so many and different offices, there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole and making it two several impaled societies.

The difference therefore either of affairs or offices ecclesiastical from secular is no argument that the church and commonweal are always separate and independent the one on the other; which thing even *Allain* himself considering somewhat better, doth in this point a little correct his former judgment beforementioned, and confesseth in his defence of *English* catholicks, that the power political hath her princes, laws, tribunals; the spiritual, her prelates, canons, councils, judgments, and those (when the temporal princes were pagans) wholly separate; but in christian commonweals joynd though not confounded. Howbeit afterwards his former sting appeareth again; for in a commonwealth he holdeth, that the church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any civil person whatsoever, as in *England* he saith it doth.

It will be objected, that the fathers do oftentimes mention the commonweal and the church of God by way of opposition. Can the same thing be opposed to it self? If one and the same society be both church and commonwealth, what sense can there be in that speech; *That they suffer and flourish together*? What sense is that which maketh one thing to be adjudg'd to the church, and another to the commonweal? Finally in that which putteth a difference between the causes of the province and the church, doth it not hereby appear that the church and the commonweal are things evermore personally separate? No, it doth not hereby appear that there is perpetually any such separation; we speak of them as two, we may sever the rights and the causes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant is between them, albeit we make no personal difference. For the truth is, that the church and the commonwealth are names which import things really different: but those things are accidents, and such accidents as may and always should lovingly dwell together in one subject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents signified by these names, doth not prove different subjects for them always to reside in. For albeit the subjects wherein they be resident be sometimes different, as when the people of God have their residence among infidels; yet the nature of them is not such, but that their subject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident, in those accidents they are to be divers. There can be no error in our own conceit concerning this point, if we remember still what accident that is for which a society hath the name of a commonwealth, and what accident that which doth cause it to be termed a church. A commonwealth we name it simply in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live; a church for the truth of that religion which they profess. Now names betokening accidents inabstracted, betoken not only the accidents themselves, but also together with them subjects wherunto they cleave. As when we name a schoolmaster and a physician, those names do not only betoken two accidents, teaching and curing, but also some person or persons in whom those accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be in one man, as well as they are for the most part in divers. The commonweal and church therefore being such names, they do not only betoken these accidents of civil government and christian religion which we have mention'd, but also together with them such multitudes as are the subjects of those accidents. Again, their nature being such as they may well enough dwell together in one subject, it followeth that their names though always implying difference of accidents that hath been set down, yet do not always imply different subjects also. When we oppose therefore the church and commonwealth in christian society, we mean by the commonwealth that society with relation to all the publick affairs thereof, only the matter of true religion excepted; by the church, the same society with only reference unto the matter of true religion, without any affairs. Besides, when that society which is both a church and a commonwealth doth flourish in those things which belong unto it as a commonwealth, we then say, the commonwealth doth flourish; when in both them, we then say, the church and commonwealth do flourish together.

The prophet *Esay* to note corruptions in the commonwealth complaineth, *That where justice and judgment had lodged, now were murderers; princes were become companions of thieves, every one loved gifts and rewards, but the fatherless was not judged, neither did*

Mal. 1. 8. *the widows cause come before them.* To shew abuses in the church, *Malachy* doth make his complaint, *Ye offer unclean bread upon mine altar: if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, it is not evil as ye think; if the lame and the sick, nothing is amiss.* The treasure which *David* bestowed upon the temple did argue the love which he bore unto the church: the pains which *Nehemiah* took for building the walls of the city are tokens of his care for the commonwealth. Causes of the commonwealth, or province, are such as *Gallio* was content to be judge of. *If it were a matter of wrong, or an evil deed, (O ye Jews) I would according to reason maintain you.* Causes of the church are such as *Gallio* there reciteth; *If it be a question of your law, look ye to it, I will be no judge thereof.* In respect of this difference therefore the church and the commonwealth may in speech be compared or opposed aptly enough the one to the other; yet this is no argument that they are two independent societies.

3. Taken from the effect of punishment inflicted by the one or the other.

Some other reasons there are which seem a little more nearly to make for the purpose, as long as they are but heard and not sifted. For what though a man being sever'd by excommunication from the church be not thereby deprived of freedom in the city, or being there discomfited, is not therefore forthwith excommunicated and excluded the church: what though the church be bound to receive them upon repentance, whom the commonwealth may refuse again to admit: if it chance the same man to be shut out of both, division of the church and commonwealth which they contended for will very hardly hereupon follow. For we must note, that members of a christian commonwealth have a triple state; a natural, a civil, and a spiritual. No man's natural estate is cut off otherwise than by that capital execution. After which he that is none of the body of the commonwealth doth not I think remain fit in the body of that visible church. And concerning man's civil estate, the same is subject partly to inferior abatements of liberty, and partly to diminution in the highest degree, such as banishment is; sith it casteth out quite and clean from the body of the commonwealth, it must needs also consequently cast the banished party even out of the very church he was of before, because that church and the commonwealth he was of were both one and the same society: so that whatsoever doth utterly separate a man's person from the one it separateth from the other also. As for such abatements of civil estate as take away only some privilege, dignity, or other benefit which a man enjoyeth in the commonwealth, they reach only to our dealing with publick affairs, from which what may let but that men may be excluded and thereunto restored again without diminishing or augmenting the number of persons in whom either church or commonwealth consisteth? He that by way of punishment loseth his voice in a publick election of magistrates, ceaseth not thereby to be a citizen. A man disfranchised may notwithstanding enjoy as a subject the common benefit of protection under laws and magistrates. So that these inferior diminutions which touch men civilly, but neither do clean extinguish their estates as they belong to the commonwealth, nor impair a whit their condition as they are of the church of God: these, I say, do clearly prove a difference of the one from the other, but such a difference as maketh nothing for their surmise of distracted societies.

And concerning excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the church, and yet not from the commonwealth; howbeit so, that the party excommunicate is not thereby sever'd from one body which subsisteth in it self, and retain'd by another in like sort subsisting; but he which before had fellowship with that society whereof he was a member, as well touching things spiritual as civil, is now by force of excommunication, although not sever'd from the body in civil affairs, nevertheless for the time cut off from it as touching communion in those things which belong to the same body as it is the church. A man which having been both excommunicated by the church, and depriv'd of civil dignity in the commonwealth, is upon his repentance necessarily reunited into the one, but not of necessity into the other. What then? That which he is admitted unto is a communion in things divine, whereof both parts are partakers; that from which he is with-held is the benefit of some human privilege or right which other citizens happily enjoy. But are not these saints and citizens one and the same people? Are they not one and the same society? Doth it hereby appear that the church which received an excommunicate, can have no dependancy on any person which hath chief authority and power of these things in the commonwealth whereunto the same party is not admitted? Wherefore to end this point, I conclude; first, that under the dominions of infidels the church of Christ and their commonwealth were two societies independent. Secondly, that in those commonwealths where the bishop of *Rome* beareth sway, one society is both the church and the commonwealth: but the bishop of *Rome* doth divide the body into two divers bodies, and doth not suffer the church to depend upon the power of any civil prince and potentate. Thirdly, that within this realm of *England* the case is neither as in the one,

one, nor as in the other of the former two: but from the state of pagans we differ, in that with us one society is both the church and commonwealth, which with them it was not; as also from the state of those nations which subjected themselves to the bishop of *Rome*, in that our church hath dependance from the chief in our commonwealth, which it hath not when he is suffered to rule. In a word, our state is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect people, which people was not part of them the commonwealth, and part of them the church of God; but the self-same people whole and entire were both under one chief governor on whose supreme authority they did all depend. Now the drift of all that hath been alledged to prove perpetual separation and independency between the church and the commonwealth is, that this being held necessary, it might consequently be thought fit, that in a christian kingdom he whose power is greatest over the commonwealth, may not lawfully have supremacy of power also over the church, that is to say, so far as to order thereby and to dispose of spiritual affairs, so far as the highest uncommanded commander in them. Whereupon it is grown a question, whether government ecclesiastical, and power of dominion in such degrees as the laws of this land do grant unto the sovereign governor thereof, may by the said supreme governor lawfully be enjoy'd and held. For resolution wherein, we are, first, to define what the power of dominion is. Secondly, then to shew by what right. Thirdly, after what sort. Fourthly, in what measure. Fifthly, in what inconveniency. According to whose example christian kings may have it. And when these generals are opened, to examine afterwards how lawful that is which we in regard of dominion do attribute unto our own: namely, the title of headship over the church, so far as the bounds of this kingdom do reach. Secondly, the prerogative of calling and dissolving great assemblies, about spiritual affairs publick. Thirdly, the right of assenting unto all those orders concerning religion, which must after be in force as law. Fourthly, the advancement of principal church governors to their rooms of prelacy. Fifthly, judicial authority higher than others are capable of. And sixthly, exemption from being punishable with such kind of censures as the platform of reformation doth teach, that they ought to be subject unto.

What the power of Dominion is.

Without order there is no living in publick society, because the want thereof is the mother of confusion, whereupon division of necessity followeth; and out of division destruction. The apostle therefore giving instruction to publick societies, requireth that all things be orderly done. Order can have no place in things, except it be settled, amongst the persons that shall by office be conversant about them. And if things and persons be ordered, this doth imply that they are distinguished by degrees. For order is a gradual disposition. The whole world consisting of parts so many, so different, is by this only thing upheld; he which framed them, hath set them in order. The very deity it self both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a law, that wheresoever there is a coagmentation of many, the lowest be knit unto the highest by that which being interjacent may cause each to cleave to the other, and so all to continue one. This order of things and persons in publick societies is the work of policy, and the proper instrument thereof in every degree is power; power being that hability which we have of our selves, or receive from others for performance of any action. If the action which we have to perform be conversant about matters of meer religion, the power of performing it is then spiritual; and if that power be such as hath not any other to over-rule it, we term it dominion, or power supreme, so far as the bounds thereof extend. When therefore christian kings are said to have spiritual dominion or supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories they have an authority and power to command even in matters of christian religion, and that there is no higher nor greater that can in those cases over-command them, where they are placed to reign as kings. But withal we must likewise note that their power is termed supremacy, as being the highest, not simply without exception of any thing. For what man is so brain-sick, as not to except in such speeches God himself the king of all dominion? Who doubteth but that the king who receiveth it must hold it of and under the law, according to that old axiom, *Attribuat rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei potestatem*: and again, *rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo & lege*. Thirdly, whereas it is altogether without reason, That kings are judged to have by virtue of their dominion, altho' greater power than any, yet not than all the state of those societies conjoynd, wherein such sovereign rule is given

given them; there is not any thing hereunto to the contrary by us affirm'd, no not when we grant supream authority unto kings, because supremacy is not otherwise intended or meant to exclude partly foreign powers, and partly the power which belongeth in several unto others, contain'd as parts in that politick body over which those kings have supremacy: *Where the king hath power of dominion, or supream power, there no foreign state, or potentate, no state or potentate domestical, whether it consisteth of one or many, can possibly have in the same affairs and causes authority higher than the king.* Power of spiritual dominion therefore is in causes ecclesiastical that ruling authority which neither any foreign state nor yet any part of that politick body at home, wherein the same is establish'd, can lawfully over-rule. It hath been declar'd already in general how *the best establish'd dominion is where the law doth most rule the king*; the true effect whereof particularly is found as well in ecclesiastical as civil affairs. In these the king, thro' his supream power, may do sundry great things himself, both appertaining to peace and war, both at home, and by command, and by commerce with states abroad, because the law doth so much permit. Sometimes, on the other side, *The king alone hath no right to do without consent of his lords and commons in parliament: the king himself cannot change the nature of pleas, nor courts, no not so much as restore blood,* because the law is a bar unto him; the positive laws of the realm have a privilege therein, and restrain the king's power; which positive laws, whether by custom or otherwise establish'd without repugnancy to the laws of God and nature, ought not less to be in force even in supernatural affairs of the church; whether in regard of ecclesiastical laws, we willingly embrace that of *Ambrose, imperator bonus intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est, Kings have dominion to exercise in ecclesiastical causes, but according to the laws of the church*; whether it be therefore the nature of courts, or the form of pleas, or the kind of governors, or the order of proceeding in whatsoever business, for the receiv'd laws and liberty of the church *the king hath supream authority and power, but against them never.* What such positive laws hath appointed to be done by others than the king, or by others with the king, and in what form they have appointed the doing of it, the same of necessity must be kept; neither is the king's sole authority to alter it; yet, as it were a thing unreasonable, if in civil affairs the king, albeit the whole universal body did joyn with him, should do any thing by their absolute power for the ordering of their state at home, in prejudice of those ancient laws of nations which are of force throughout all the world, because the necessary commerce of kingdoms dependeth on them: so in principal matters belonging to christian religion a thing very scandalous and offensive it must needs be thought if either kings or laws should dispose of the law of God, without any respect had unto that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the world, and wherein there is no law of God which forceth us to swerve from the ways wherein so many and holy ages have gone. Wherefore not without good consideration the very law it self hath provided, *That judges ecclesiastical appointed under the king's commission shall not adjudge for heresy any thing but that which heretofore hath been adjudged by the authority of the canonical scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by some other general council wherein the same hath been declared heresy by the express words of the said canonical scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be determin'd to be heresy by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in the convocation, an. 1. reg. Eliz.* By which words of the law who doth not plainly see, how that in one branch of proceeding by virtue of the king's supream authority, the credit which those four first general councils have throughout all churches, and evermore had, was judg'd by the making of the aforesaid act a just cause wherefore they should be mention'd in that case, as a requisite part of that rule wherewith dominion was to be limited? But of this we shall further consider when we come unto that which sovereign power may do in making ecclesiastical laws.

Unto which supream power in kings two kinds of adversaries there are which have oppos'd themselves: one sort defending, *That supream power in causes ecclesiastical throughout the world appertaineth of divine right to the bishop of Rome*: another sort, *That the said power belongeth in every national church unto the clergy thereof assembled.* We which defend as well against the one as against the other, *That kings within their own precincts may have it,* must shew by what right it must come unto them. First unto me it seemeth almost out of doubt and controversy, that every independent multitude before any certain form of regiment establish'd, hath under God supream authority, full dominion over it self, even as a man not tied with the band of subjection as yet unto any other, hath over himself the like power. God creating mankind did endue it naturally with power to guide it self in what kind of society soever he should chuse to live. A man which is born lord

The right
which men
give, God ra-
tifies.

of himself may be made another servant. And that power which naturally whole societies have, may be derived unto many, few, or one, under whom the rest shall then live in subjection. Some multitudes are brought into subjection by force, as they who being subdued are fain to submit their necks unto what yoke it pleaseth their conquerors to lay upon them, which conquerors by just and lawful wars do hold their power over such multitudes as a thing descending unto them, divine providence it self so disposing. For it is God who giveth victory in the day of war, and unto whom dominion in this sort is derived, the same they enjoy according to the law of nations, which law authorizeth conquerors to reign as absolute lords over them whom they vanquish. Sometimes it pleaseth God himself by special appointment to chuse out and nominate such as to whom dominion shall be given, which thing he did often in the commonwealth of *Israel*. They which in this sort receive power immediately from God, have it by meer divine right, they by human on whom the same is bestowed according to mens discretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own governors. By which of these means soever it happen that kings or governors be advanced unto their estates, we must acknowledge both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themselves to be God's lieutenants, and confess their power which they have to be his. As for supream power in ecclesiastical affairs, the word of God doth no where appoint that all kings should have it, neither that any should not have it; for which cause it seemeth to stand altogether by human right, that unto christian kings there is such dominion given.

Again, on whom the same is bestowed at men's discretions, they likewise do hold it by divine right. If God in his revealed word hath appointed such power to be, although himself extraordinarily bestow it not, but leave the appointment of persons to men; yea, albeit God do neither appoint nor assign the person, nevertheless when men have assigned and established both, who doth doubt but that sundry duties and affairs depending thereupon are prescribed by the word of God, and consequently by that very right to be exacted? For example sake, the power which *Roman* emperors had over foreign provinces was not a thing which the law of God did ever institute; neither was *Tiberius Cæsar* by especial commission from heaven therewith invested, and yet payment of tribute unto *Cæsar* being now made emperor is the plain law of *Jesus Christ*; unto kings by human right, honour by very divine right, is due; man's ordinances are many times proposed as grounds in the statutes of God. And therefore of what kind soever the means be whereby governors are lawfully advanced to their states, as we by the laws of God stand bound meekly to acknowledge them for God's lieutenants, and to confess their power his, so by the same law they are both authoriz'd and required to use that power as far as it may be in any state available to his honour. The law appointeth no man to be a husband, but if a man hath betaken himself unto that condition, it giveth him power and authority over his own wife. That the christian world should be ordered by the kingly regiment, the law of God doth not any where command; and yet the law of God doth give them which once are exalted unto that place of estate right to exact at the hands of their subjects general obedience in whatsoever affairs their power may serve to command, and God doth ratify works of that sovereign authority which kings have received by men. This is therefore the right whereby kings do hold their power; but yet in what sort the same doth rest and abide in them it somewhat behoveth farther to search, where that we be not enforced to make over large discourses about the different conditions of sovereign or supream power, that which we speak of kings shall be in respect of the state, and according to the nature of this kingdom, where the people are in no subjection, but such as willingly themselves have condescended unto for their own most behoof and security. In kingdoms therefore of this quality the highest governor hath indeed universal dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire body, over the several parts whereof he hath dominion; so that it standeth for an axiom in this case, the king is *major singulis, universis minor*. The king's dependency we do not construe as some have done, who are of opinion that no man's birth can make him a king, but every particular person advanced to such authority hath at his entrance into his reign the same bestowed on him as an estate in condition by the voluntary deed of the people, in whom it doth lie to put by any one, and to prefer some other before him better liked of, or judged fitter for the place, and that the party so rejected hath no injury done unto him, no, although the same be done in a place where the crown doth go *diu & a*, by succession, and to a person which is capital, and hath apparently, if blood be respected, the nearest right. They plainly affirm in all well appointed kingdoms, the custom evermore hath been and is, that children succeed not their parents till the people after a sort have created them anew, neither that they grow to their fathers as natural and proper heirs, but are then to be reckoned for kings

Finis Brutus
vindic. p. 83.

pag. 85.

kings when at the hands of such as represent the king's majesty, they have by scepter and a diadem received as it were the investiture of a kingly power. Their very words are, *That where such power is settled into a family or kindred, the stock it self is thereby chosen, but not the twig that springeth of it. The next of the stock unto him that reigneth are not through nearness of blood made kings, but rather set forth to stand for the kingdom. Where regal dominion is hereditary, it is notwithstanding (if we look to the persons which have it) altogether elective.* To this purpose are selected heaps of scriptures concerning the solemn coronation or inauguration of *Saul*, of *David*, of *Solomon*, and others, by the nobles, ancients, and people of the commonweal of *Israel*; as if these solemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of dominion is given. Which strange, untrue, and unnatural conceits, set abroad by seeds-men of rebellion, only to animate unquiet spirits, and to feed them with possibility of aspiring to thrones, if they can win the hearts of the people, what hereditary title soever any other before them may have: I say unjust and insolent positions I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of truth more orient; for unless we will openly proclaim defiance unto all law, equity, and reason, we must (there is no remedy) acknowledge, that in kingdoms hereditary birth giveth right unto sovereign dominion; and the death of the predecessor putteth the successor by blood in seisin. Those publick solemnities before specified do but serve for an open testification of the inheritor's right, or belonging unto the form of inducing him into possession of that thing he hath right unto: therefore in case it doth happen that without right of blood a man in such wise be possessed, all these new elections and investings are utterly void, they make him no indefeasible estate, the inheritor by blood may dispossess him as an usurper. The case thus standing, albeit we judge it a thing most true, that kings, even inheritors, do hold their right in the power of dominion, with dependency upon the whole body politick over which they have rule as kings; yet so it may not be understood as if such dependency did grow, for that every supream governor doth personally take from thence his power by way of gift, bestowed of their own free accord upon him at the time of his entrance into the said place of his sovereign government: but the case of dependency is that first original conveyance, when power was derived from the whole into one; to pass from him unto them, whom out of him nature by lawful births should produce, and no natural or legal inability make incapable. *Neither can any man with reason think, but that the first institution of kings, a sufficient consideration wherefore their power should always depend on that from which it always flows by original influence of power, from the body unto the king, is the cause of kings dependency in power upon the body.* By dependency we mean subordination and subjection. A manifest token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain argument that lands are held under any as lords, than if we see that such lands in defect of heirs fall unto them by escheat: In like manner it doth follow rightly, that seeing dominion when there is none to inherit it returneth unto the body, therefore they which before were inheritors thereof did hold it with dependency upon the body, so that by comparing the body with the head, as touching power, it seemeth always to reside in both, fundamentally and radically in the one, in the other derivatively; in one the habit, in the other the act of power. May a body politick then at all times withdraw in whole or in part the influence of dominion which passeth from it, if inconveniencies do grow thereby? It must be presumed, that supream governors will not in such case oppose themselves, and be stiff in detaining that, the use whereof is with publick detriment: but surely without their consent I see not how the body by any just means should be able to help it self, saving when dominion doth escheat; such things therefore must be thought upon beforehand, that power may be limited ere it be granted, which is the next thing we are to consider.

Truly de Of.

In what Measure.

IN power of dominion, all kings have not an equal latitude. Kings by conquest make their own charter; so, that how large their power, either civil or spiritual is, we cannot with any certainty define further, than only to set them in the line of the law of God and nature for bounds. Kings by God's own special appointment have also that largeness of power which he doth assign or permit with approbation. Touching kings which were first instituted by agreement and composition made with them, over whom they reign, and how far their power may extend, the articles of compact between them is to

shew : not only the articles of compact at the first beginning, which for the most part are either clean worn out of knowledge, or else known to very few, but whatsoever hath been after in free and voluntary manner condescended unto, whether by express consent, (whereof positive laws are witnesses,) or else by silent allowance, famously notified through custom, reaching beyond the memory of man. By which means of after-agreement, it cometh many times to pass in kingdoms, that they whose ancient predecessors were by violence and force made subject, do by little and little grow into that sweet form of kingly government which philosophers define, *regency willingly sustained, and indued with chiefly of power in the greatest things*. Many of the ancients, in their writings, do speak of kings with such high and ample terms, as if universality of power, even in regard of things, and not of persons, did appertain to the very being of a king. The reason is, because their speech concerning kings they frame according to the state of those monarchs to whom unlimited authority was given ; which some not observing, imagine that all kings, even in that they are kings, ought to have whatsoever power they judge any sovereign ruler lawfully to have enjoyed. But the most judicious philosopher, whose eye scarce any thing did escape, which was to be found in the bosom of nature, he considering how far the power of one sovereign ruler may be different from another regal authority, noteth in *Spartan* kings, *That of all others they were most tied to law, and so the most restrained power*. A king which hath not supreme power in the greatest things, rather intituled a king, than invested with real sovereignty. We cannot properly term him a king, of whom it may not be said, at the leastwise, as touching certain the chiefest affairs of the state, *ἀρχὴν ἀρχουδαι ὡς ἐδούλει*, his right in them is to have rule, not subject to any other predominancy. I am not of opinion that simply in kings the most, but the best limited power is best both for them and the people : the most limited is that which may deal in fewest things, the best that which in dealing is tied unto the soundest, perfectest, and most indifferent rule, which rule is the law. I mean not only the law of nature, and of God ; but the national law consonant thereunto. *Happier that people whose law is their king in the greatest things, than that whose king is himself their law. Where the king doth guide the state, and the law the king, that commonwealth is like an harp or melodious instrument, the strings whereof are tuned and handled all by one hand, following as laws the rules and canons of musical science*. Most divinely therefore *Archytas* maketh unto publick felicity these four steps and degrees, every of which doth spring from the former, as from another cause, *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ ἀρχὼν ἀνδραγαθός, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιμυρὸς ἀνδραγῆς, ἡ δὲ ἔλλα κοινὴ εὐδαιμονία*. *The king ruling by law, the magistrate following, the subject free, and the whole society happy*. Adding on the contrary side, that where this order is not, it cometh by transgression thereof to pass that a king groweth a tyrant ; he that ruleth under him abhorreth to be guided by him, or commanded ; the people subject unto both, have freedom under neither, and the whole community is wretched. In which respect, I cannot chuse but commend highly their wisdom, by whom the foundation of the commonwealth hath been laid ; wherein though no manner of person or cause be unsuited unto the king's power, yet so is the power of the king over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the law it self is a rule. The axioms of our regal government are these, *Lex facit regem* : the king's grant of any favour made contrary to the law is void ; *Rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest*. Our kings therefore, when they are to take possession of the crown, they are called unto, have it pointed out before their eyes, even by the very solemnities and rites of their inauguration, to what affairs, by the same law, their supreme power and authority reacheth ; crowned we see they are, enthronized and anointed ; the crown a sign of a military dominion ; the throne of sedentary or judicial ; the oil of religious and sacred power. It is not on any side denied, that kings may have authority in secular affairs. The question then is, *What power they may lawfully have, and exercise in causes of God*. A prince, or magistrate, or a community, (saith Doctor Stapleton,) may have power to lay corporal punishment on them which are teachers of perverse things ; power to make laws for the peace of the church ; power to proclaim, to defend, and even by revenge to preserve the very articles of religion themselves from violation. Others, in affection no less devoted unto the papacy, do likewise yield, that the civil magistrate may by his edicts and laws keep all ecclesiastical persons within the bounds of their duties, and constrain them to observe the canons of the church, to follow the rule of ancient discipline. That if *Joash* was commended for his care and provision concerning so small a part of religion, as the church-treasure ; it must needs be both unto christian kings themselves greater honour, and to christianity a larger benefit, when the custody of religion, and the worship of God in general is their charge. If therefore all these things mentioned be most properly the affairs of God's ecclesiastical causes ; if the actions specified be works of power ; and if that power

be such as kings may use of themselves, without the fear of any other power superior in the same thing; it followeth necessarily, that kings may have supreme power, not only in civil, but also in ecclesiastical affairs, and consequently that they may withstand what bishop or pope soever shall, under the pretended claim of higher spiritual authority, oppose themselves against their proceedings. But they which have made us the former grant, will never herunto condescend; what they yield that princes may do, it is with secret exception always understood, if the bishop of *Rome* give leave, if he interpose no prohibition; wherefore, somewhat it is in shew, in truth nothing, which they grant. Our own reformers do the very like, when they make their discourse in general concerning the authority which magistrates may have, a man would think them to be far from withdrawing any jot of that which with reason may be thought due, *The prince and civil magistrate* (saith one of them) *hath to see the laws of God touching his worship, and touching all matters, and all orders of the church to be executed, and duly observed; and to see every ecclesiastical person do that office whereunto he is appointed; and to punish those which fail in their office accordingly.* Another acknowledgeth, *That the magistrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his sword, punish all persons, enforce all to their duties towards God and men; maintain by his laws every point of God's word, punish all vice in all men; see into all causes, visit the ecclesiastical estate, and correct the abuses thereof: finally, to look to his subjects, that under him they may lead their lives in all godliness and honesty.* A third more frankly professeth, *That in case their church-discipline were established, so little it shortneth the arms of sovereign dominion, in causes ecclesiastical, that her gracious majesty, for any thing they teach or hold to the contrary, may no less than now remain still over all persons, in all things supreme governess, even with that full and royal authority, superiority, and prebeminence, supremacy and prerogative, which the laws already established do give her, and her majesty's injunctions, and the articles of the convocation-house, and other writings apologetical of her royal authority, and supreme dignity, do declare and explain.* *Possidonius* was wont to say of the epicure, *That he thought there were no gods, but that those things which he spake concerning the gods, were only given out for fear of growing odious amongst men; and therefore that in words he left gods remaining, but in very deed overthrew them, in so much as he gave them no kind of action.* After the very self-same manner, when we come unto those particular effects, prerogatives of dominion which the laws of this land do grant unto the kings thereof, it will appear how these men, notwithstanding their large and liberal speeches, abate such parcels out of the afore-alleged grant and flourishing shew; that a man comparing the one with the other, may half stand in doubt, left their opinion in very truth be against that authority which by their speeches they seem mightily to uphold, partly for the avoiding of publick obloquy, envy, and hatred; partly to the intent they may both in the end by the establishment of their discipline, extinguish the force of supreme power which princes have, and yet, in the mean while, by giving forth these smooth discourses, obtain that their favourers may have somewhat to alledge for them by way of apology, and that such words only sound towards all kind of fulness of power. But for my self, I had rather contrive such their contradictions in the better part, and impute their general acknowledgment of the lawfulness of kingly power unto the force of truth, presenting it self before them sometimes above their particular contrarities, oppositions, denials, unto that error which having so fully posselt their minds, casteth things inconvenient upon them; of which things in their due place. Touching that which is now in hand, we are on all sides fully agreed, first, that there is not any restraint or limitation of matter for regal authority and power to be conversant in, but of religion only; and of whatsoever cause thereunto appertaineth, kings may lawfully have charge, they lawfully may therein exercise dominion, and use the temporal sword. Secondly, that some kind of actions conversant about such affairs are denied unto kings: as namely, actions of power and order, and of spiritual jurisdiction, which hath with it inseparably joined power to administer the word and sacraments, power to ordain, to judge as an ordinary, to bind and loose, to excommunicate, and such like. Thirdly, that even in those very actions which are proper unto dominion, there must be some certain rule, whereunto kings in all their proceedings ought to be strictly tied; which rule for proceeding in ecclesiastical affairs and causes by regal power, hath not hitherto been agreed upon with such uniform consent, and certainty, as might be wished. The different sentences of men herein I will now go about to examine, but it shall be enough to propose what rule doth seem in this case most reasonable.

The case of deriving supreme power from a whole intire multitude into some special part thereof; as partly the necessity of expedition in publick affairs, partly the inconvenience of confusion and trouble, where a multitude of equals dealcth; and partly the disposition

T. C. l. i.
p. 192.

Farmer's def.
of the godly
magistrate.

Humble motion,
p. 163.

Cicero, lib. i.
de nat. dcor.

Kinds.

By what rule.

pation which must needs ensue, in companies where every man wholly seeketh his own particular (as we all would do, even with other mens hurts) and haply the very overthrow of themselves, in the end also, if for the procurement of the common good of all men, by keeping every severall man in order, some were not invested with authority over all, and encouraged with prerogative honour to sustain the weighty burthen of that charge. The good which is proper unto each man, belongeth to the common good of all, as part to the whole perfection; but these two are things different; for men by that which is proper, are severed; united they are by that which is common. Wherefore, besides that which moveth each man in particular to seek his own private good, there must be of necessity in all publick societies also a general mover directing unto common good, and framing every man's particular unto it. The end whereunto all government was instituted, was *bonum publicum*, the *universal* or *common good*. Our question is of domination, for that end and purpose derived into one; such as all in one publick state have agreed, that the supreme charge of all things should be committed unto one: they, I say, considering what inconveniency may grow where states are subject unto sundry supreme authorities, have for fear of these inconveniences withdrawn from liking to establish many; *ἐκ ἀγαθῆς προνοίας*; the multitude of supreme commanders is troublesome. *No man* (saith our Saviour) *can serve two masters*; surely two supreme masters would make any ones service somewhat uneasy in such cases as might fall out. Suppose that to morrow the power which hath dominion in justice require thee at the court; that which in war, at the field; that which in religion, at the temple; all have equal authority over thee, and impossible it is, that then in such case thou shouldst be obedient unto all: by chusing any one whom thou wilt obey, certain thou art for thy disobedience to incur the displeasure of the other two.

But there is nothing for which some comparable reason or other may not be found. Are we able to shew any commendable state of government, which by experience and practice hath felt the benefit of being in all causes subject unto the supreme authority of one? Against the policy of the *Israelites*, I hope there will no man except, where *Moses* deriving so great a part of his burthen in government unto others, did notwithstanding retain to himself universal supremacy; *Jehoshaphat* appointing one to be chosen in the affairs of God, and another in the king's affairs, did this as having dominion over them in both. If therefore from approbation of heaven, the kings of God's own chosen people had in the affairs of jewish religion supreme power, why not christian kings the like also in christian religion? First, unless men will answer, as some have done, *That the Jews religion was of far less perfection and dignity than ours, ours being that truth whereof theirs was but a shadowish prefigurative resemblance*. Secondly, *That all parts of their religion, their laws, their sacrifices, and their rites and ceremonies, being fully set down to their hands, and needing no more, but only to be put in execution, the kings might well have highest authority to see that done; whereas with us there are a number of mysteries even in belief, which were not so generally for them, as for us necessary to be with sound express acknowledgment understood. A number of things belonging to external government, and our manner of serving God, not set down by particular ordinances, and delivered to us in writing, for which cause the state of the church doth now require that the spiritual authority of ecclesiastical persons be large, absolute, and not subordinate to regal power*. Thirdly, *That whereas God armeth religion jewish as christian with the temporal sword; but of spiritual punishment, the one with power to imprison, to scourge, to put to death; the other with bare authority to censure and excommunicate: there is no reason that the church, which hath no visible sword, should in regiment be subject unto any other power, than only unto theirs which have authority to bind and loose*. Fourthly, *That albeit whilst the church was restrained unto one people, it seemed not incommodious to grant their king the general chieftie of power; yet now the church having spread it self over all nations, great inconveniences must thereby grow, if every christian king in his severall territory shall have the like power*. Of all these differences, there is not one which doth prove it a thing repugnant to the law either of God, or of nature, that all supremacy of external power be in christian kingdoms granted unto kings thereof, for preservation of quietness, unity, order, and peace, in such manner as hath been shewed.

Ob utilitatem publicam reip. per unum con- f. uli oportere, prudentissimi docent. L. C. 11. F. de origine juris civili- lis.

According to what example.

Stap. de prin. Doct. p. 197.

Stap. ib.

Idem. ib.

Of the Title of Headship.

FOR the title or state it self, although the laws of this land have annexed it to the crown, yet so far we should not strive, if so be men were nice and scrupulous in this behalf only; because they do wish that for reverence to Christ Jesus the civil magistrate did rather use some other form of speech, wherewith to expresse that sovereign authority which he lawfully hath over all, both persons and causes of the church. But I see that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name so applied, do it because they mislike that such power should be given to civil governors. The great exception that Sir *Thomas Moor* took against that title, who suffered death for denial of it, was for that it maketh a lay, a secular person, the head of the state spiritual or ecclesiastical; as tho' God himself did not name *Saul* the head of all the tribes of *Israel*; and consequently of that tribe also among the rest, whereunto the state spiritual or ecclesiastical belonged. When the authors of the centuries reprove it in kings and civil governors, the reason is, *ipsis non competit iste primatus*; such kind of power is too high for them, they fit it not. In excuse of Mr. *Calvin*, by whom this realm is condemned of blasphemy, for intituling *H. 8. Supreme head of this church, under Christ*, a charitable conjecture is made, that he spake by misinformation; howbeit, as he professeth utter dislike of that name, so whether the name be used or no, the very power it self which we give unto civil magistrates, he much complaineth of, and protesteth, *That their power over all things was it, which had ever wounded him deeply: that unadvised persons had made them too spiritual, that throughout Germany this fault did reign; that in those very parts where Calvin himself was, it prevailed more than was to be wished; that rulers by imagining themselves so spiritual, have taken away ecclesiastical government; that they think they cannot reign unless they abolish all the authority of the church, and be themselves the chief judges, as well in doctrine, as in the whole spiritual regency.* So that, in truth, the question is, whether the magistrate, by being head in such sense as we term him, do use or exercise any part of that authority, nor which belongeth unto Christ, but which other men ought to have.

These things being first considered thus, it will be easier to judge concerning our own estate, whether by force of ecclesiastical government kings have any other kind of prerogative than they may lawfully hold and enjoy. It is, as some do imagine, too much that kings of *England* should be termed heads, in relation of the church. That which we do understand by headship is, their only supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs and causes. That which lawful princes are, what should make it unlawful for men in spiritual titles or titles to signify? If the having of supreme power be allowed, why is the expressing thereof by the title of *head*, condemned? They seem in words (at leastwise some of them) now at length to acknowledge, that kings may have dominion or supreme government, even over all, both persons and causes. We, in terming our princes *heads of the church*, do but testify that we acknowledge them such governors. Again, to this it will peradventure be reply'd, *That howsoever we interpret our selves, it is not fit for a mortal man, and therefore not fit for a civil magistrate to be intituled the head of the church, which was given to our Saviour Christ, to lift him above all powers, rules, dominions, titles, in heaven or in earth. Where, if this title belong also to civil magistrates, then it is manifest that there is a power in earth, whereunto our Saviour Christ is not in this point superior. Again, if the civil magistrate may have this title, he may be termed also the first-begotten of all creatures, the first-begotten of all the dead, yea, the redeemer of his people. For these are alike given him, as dignities whereby he is lifted up above all creatures. Besides this, the whole argument of the apostle, in both places, doth lead to shew that this title, head of the church, cannot be said of any creature. And further, the very demonstrative articles amongst the Hebrews, especially whom St. Paul doth follow, serveth to tie that which is verified of one, unto himself alone: so that when the apostle doth say that Christ is κεφαλῆ, the head; it is as if he should say, Christ, and none other, is the head of the church.* Thus have we against the entituling of the highest magistrate, head, with relation unto the church, four several arguments gathered, by strong surmise, out of words marvellously unlikely to have been written to any such purpose, as that whereunto they are now used and urged. To the *Ephesians* the apostle writeth, *That Christ, God had set on his right hand in the heavenly places above all the regency and authority, and power and dominion, and whatsoever name is named, not in this world only, but in that which shall be also: and hath under his feet set all things, and hath given him head above all things unto the church, which is his body, even the fulness of him which accompliseth all in all.* To the *Colossians*, in like manner, *That he is the head of the body*

Rasiensis epist.
p. 517. Perf.
Cent. 7. Calvin
in com. 7.
Amos 7. 13.

T. C. l. a. p. 4.
11.

Eph. i. 21.
Col. i. 18.

Eph. i. 20, 21.
22, 23.

Col. i. 18.

of the church, who is a first-born regency out of the dead, to the end he might be made amongst them all such an one as hath the chiefty: he meaneth, amongst all them whom he mentioned before, saying, *By him all things that are, were made; the things in the heavens, and the things in the earth, the things that are visible, and the things that are invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or regencies, &c.* Unto the fore-alleged arguments therefore we answer: first, that it is not simply the title of *head*, in such sort understood, as the apostle himself meant it; so that the same being imparted in another sense unto others, doth not any ways make those others his equals; inasmuch as diversity of things is usually to be understood, even when of words there is no diversity; and it is only the adding of one and the same thing unto divers persons, which doth argue equality in them. If I term Christ and *Cæsar* Lords, yet this is no equalizing *Cæsar* with Christ, because it is not thereby intended: *To term the emperor lord*, (saith Tertullian) *I, for my part, will not refuse, so that I be not required to call him lord in the same sense that God is so termed.* Neither doth it follow, which is objected in the second place, that if the civil magistrate may be intitled a *head*, he may as well be termed, *the first begotten of all creatures, the first begotten of the dead, and the redeemer of his people.* For albeit the former dignity doth lift him up no less than these, yet these terms are not applicable, and apt to signify any other inferior dignity, as the former term of *head* was. The argument of matter which the apostle followeth hath small evidence or proof, that his meaning was to appropriate unto Christ that the aforesaid title; otherwise than only in such sense as doth make it, being so understood, too high to be given to any creature.

As for the force of the article where our Lord and Saviour is called the *head*, it serveth to tie that unto him by way of excellency, which in meaner degrees is common to others; it doth not exclude any other utterly from being termed *head*, but from being intitled as Christ is, *the head*, by way of the very highest degree of excellency: not in the communication of names, but in the confusion of things, there is error. Howbeit, if *head* were a name that could not well be, nor never had been used to signify that which a magistrate may be in relation to some church, but were by continual use of speech appropriated unto the only thing it signifieth; being applied unto Jesus Christ then, altho' we must carry in our selves a right understanding, yet ought we otherwise rather to speak, unless we interpret our own meaning by some clause of plain speech, because we are all else in manifest danger to be understood according to that construction and sense, wherein such words are personally spoken. But here the rarest construction, and most removed from common sense, is that which the word doth import being applied unto Christ; that which we signify by it in giving to the magistrate, it is a great deal more familiar in the common conceit of men.

The word is so fit to signify all kinds of superiority, preheminance, and chiefry, that nothing is more ordinary than to use it in vulgar speech, and in common understanding so to take it. If therefore christian kings may have any preheminance or chiefry above all others, altho' it be less than that which *Theodore Beza* giveth, who placeth kings amongst the principal members whereunto publick function in the church belongeth; and denieth not, but that of them which have publick function, the civil magistrate's power hath all the rest at command, in regard of that part of his office, which is to procure that peace and good order be especially kept in things concerning the first table; if even hereupon they term him *the head of the church*, which is *his kingdom*, it should not seem so unfit a thing; which title surely we could not communicate to any other, no not altho' it should at our hands be exacted with torments, but that our meaning herein is made known to the world, so that no man which will understand can easily be ignorant that we do not impart unto kings, when we term them *heads*, the honour which is properly given to our Lord and Saviour Christ, when the blessed apostle in scripture doth term him *the head of the church*.

The power which we signify in that name, differeth in three things plainly from that which Christ doth challenge.

First, it differeth in order, because God hath given to his church for the head, *ἡ κεφαλὴ ὑπερῶν πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ἡ πρώτη ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* *far above all principalities, and powers, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come:* whereas the power which others have, is subordinate unto his.

Secondly, again, as he differeth in order, so in measure of power also; because God hath given unto him the ends of the earth for his possession; unto him, dominion from sea to sea, unto him all power both in heaven and earth, unto him such sovereignty, as doth not only reach over all places, persons, and things, but doth rest in his own only person, and is not by any succession continued; he reigneth as head and king, nor is there

there any kind of law which tieth him, but his own proper will and wisdom, his power is absolute, the same jointly over all, which it is severally over each: not so the power of any other headship. How kings are restrained, and how their power is limited, we have shewed before; so that unto him is given by the title of *headship over the church*, that largeness of power, wherein neither man nor angel, can be matched nor compared with him.

Thirdly, the last and greatest difference between him and them, is in the very kind of their power. The head being, of all other parts of the body, most divine, hath dominion over all the rest; it is the fountain of sense, of motion; the throne where the guide of the soul doth reign; the court from whence direction of all things human proceedeth. Why Christ is called *the head of the church*, these causes themselves do yield. As the head is the chiefest part of a man, above which there is none, always joined with the body; so Christ the highest in his church, is always knit to it. Again, as the head giveth sense and motion unto all the body, so he quickneth us, and, together with understanding of heavenly things, giveth strength to walk therein. Seeing therefore that they cannot affirm Christ sensibly present, or always visibly joined unto his body the church which is on earth, inasmuch as his corporal residence is in heaven. Again, seeing they do not affirm (it were intolerable if they should) that Christ doth personally administer the external regiment of outward actions in the church, but, by the secret inward influence of his grace, giveth spiritual life, and the strength of ghostly motions thereunto: impossible it is, that they should so close up their eyes, as not to discern what odds there is between that kind of operation which we imply in the *headship* of princes, and that which agreeth to our Saviour's dominion over the church. The *headship* which we give unto kings, is altogether visibly exercised, and ordereth only the external frame of the church-affairs here amongst us; so that it plainly differeth from Christ's, even in very nature and kind. To be in such sort united unto the church as he is; to work as he worketh, either on the whole church, or upon any particular assembly, or in any one man, doth neither agree, nor hath any possibility of agreeing unto any one besides him.

T. C. l. 2.
P. 411.

Against the first distinction or difference, it is to be objected, *That to entitle a magistrate head of the church, although it be under Christ, is absurd. For Christ hath a twofold superiority; over his, and over kingdoms: according to the one, he hath a superior, which is his Father; according to the other, none but immediate authority with his Father; that is to say, of the church he is head and governor only as the son of man; head and governor of kingdoms only as the Son of God. In the church, as man, he hath officers under him, which officers are ecclesiastical persons. As for the civil magistrate, his office belongeth unto kingdoms, and to commonwealths, neither is he there an under or subordinate head, considering that his authority cometh from God, simply and immediately, even as our Saviour Christ's doth. Whereunto the sum of our answer is, first, that as Christ being Lord or Head over all, doth by virtue of that sovereignty rule all; so he hath no more a superior in governing his church, than in exercising sovereign dominion upon the rest of the world besides. Secondly, that all authority, as well civil as ecclesiastical, is subordinate unto him. And thirdly, the civil magistrate being termed head, by reason of that authority in ecclesiastical affairs which hath been already declared that themselves do acknowledge to be lawful; it followeth, that he is a head even subordinated of Christ, and to Christ. For more plain explication whereof, unto God we acknowledge daily, that kingdom, power, and glory, are his; that he is the immortal and invisible king of ages; as well the future which shall be, as the present which now is. That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all, he worketh not without, but by the Son, who thro' coeternal generation received of the Father that power which the Father hath of himself. And for that cause our Saviour's words concerning his own dominion are, *to me all power both in heaven and earth is given.* The Father by the Son did create, and doth guide all; wherefore Christ hath supreme dominion over the whole universal world. Christ is God. Christ is $\Lambda\gamma\omega$, the consubstantial Word of God, Christ is also that consubstantial Word which made man. As God, he saith of himself, *I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end: he which was, and which is, and which is to come; even the very Omnipotent.* As the consubstantial Word of God, he hath with God, before the beginning of the world, that glory, which, as he was man, he requireth to have; *Father, glorify thy Son with that glory which with thee he enjoyed before the world was.* Further, it is not necessary, that all things spoken of Christ should agree to him either as God, or else as man; but some things as he is the consubstantial Word of God, some things as he is that Word incarnate. The works of supreme dominion which have been since the first beginning wrought by the power of the Son of God, are now most properly and truly the works of the Son of man: the Word made flesh doth sit for*

Apos. 1. 8.

John 17. 5.

ever, and reign as sovereign Lord over all. Dominion belongeth unto the kingly office of Christ, as propitiation and mediation unto his priestly; instruction, unto his pastoral and prophetic office. His works of dominion are, in sundry degrees and kinds, according to the different conditions of them that are subject unto it: he presently doth govern, and hereafter shall judge the world, intire and wholly; and therefore his regal power cannot be with truth restrained unto a proportion of the world only. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as all do not shew and acknowledge, with dutiful submission, that obedience which they owe unto him; therefore such as do, their Lord he is termed by way of excellency, no otherwise than the apostle doth term God the Saviour generally of all, but especially of the faithful; these being brought to the obedience of faith, are every where spoken of as men translated into that kingdom, wherein whosoever is comprehended, Christ is the author of eternal salvation unto them; they have a high and ghostly fellowship with God, and Christ, and saints; or, as the apostle in more ample manner speaketh, *Aggregated they are unto mount Sion, and to the city of the living God; the celestial Jerusalem, and to the company of innumerable angels, and to the congregation of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all; and to the spirits of just and perfect men, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new testament.* In a word, they are of that mystical body, which we term the church of Christ. As for the rest, we account them *aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and that live in the kingdom of darkness, and that are in this present world without God.* Our Saviour's dominion is therefore over these, as over rebels; over them, as over dutiful and loving subjects. Which things being in holy scriptures so plain, I somewhat muse at that strange position, that Christ in the government of his church, and superiority over the officers of it, hath himself a superior, which is the Father; but in governing of kingdoms and commonwealths, and in the superiority which he hath over kingdoms, no superior.

Again, *That the civil magistrate's authority cometh from God immediately, as Christ's doth;* T. C. l. 4. *and is subordinate unto Christ.* In what evangelist, apostle, or prophet, is it found, that Christ (supreme governor of the church) should be so unequal to himself, as he is supreme governor of kingdoms? The works of his providence for the preservation of mankind by upholding kingdoms, not only obedient unto, but also obstinate and rebellious against him, are such as proceed from divine power; and are not the works of his providence for safety of God's elect, by gathering, inspiring, comforting, and every way preserving his church, such as proceed from the same power likewise. Surely, if Christ, as God and man, hath ordained certain means for the gathering and keeping of his church, seeing this doth belong to the government of that church; it must in reason follow, I think, that as God and man he worketh in church regiment; and consequently hath no more there any superiors, than in the government of the commonwealth. Again, *to be in the midst of his, wheresoever they are assembled in his name,* and *to be with them to the world's end,* are comforts which Christ doth perform to his church as Lord and Governor; yea, such as he cannot perform, but by that very power wherein he hath no superior. Wherefore, unless it can be proved, that all the works of our Saviour's government in the church are done by the mere and only force of his human nature, there is no remedy but to acknowledge it a manifest error, that Christ in the government of the world is equal to the Father, but not in the government of the church. Indeed, to the honour of this dominion, it cannot be said, that God did exalt him otherwise than only according to that human nature wherein he was made low. For, as the Son of God, there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him: and yet the dominion whereunto he was in his human nature lifted up, is not without divine power exercised. It is by divine power, that the Son of man, who sitteth in heaven, doth work as King and Lord upon us which are on earth. The exercise of his dominion over the church militant cannot chuse but cease, when there is no longer any militant church in the world. And therefore, as generals of armies when they have not finished the work, are wont to yield up such commissions as were given for that purpose, and to remain in the state of subjects, and not as lords, as concerning their former authority; even so, when the end of all things is come, the Son of man (who till then reigneth) shall do the like, as touching regiment over the militant church on the earth. So that between the Son of man and his brethren, over whom he reigneth now in this their warfare, there shall be then, as touching the exercise of that regiment, no such difference; they not warring any longer under him, but he together with them, under God, receiving the joys of everlasting triumph, that so God may be in all; all misery in all the wicked, thro' his justice; in all the righteous, thro' his love, all felicity and bliss. In the mean while he reigneth over the world as king, and doth those things wherein none is superior unto him, whether we respect the works of his providence and kingdom, or of his regiment over the church. The cause of error in this point doth seem to have been a miscon-

T. C. l. 2.
p. 415.

Heb. 9. 25.

Exod. 7. 25.
Lev. 13. 1.
Prov. 8. 15.
Humble mo-
tion, p. 63.
Rev. 1. 5.

1 Cor. 3. 12.

T. C. l. 2.
p. 413.

ceit, that Christ, as Mediator, being inferior to his Father, doth, as Mediator, all works of regiment over the church; when, in truth, regiment doth belong to his kingly office, mediatorship to his priestly. For, as the high-priest both offered sacrifices for expiation of the peoples sins, and entered into the holy place, there to make intercession for them: so, Christ having finished upon the cross that part of his priestly office, which wrought the propitiation for our sins, did afterwards enter into very heaven, and doth there, as Mediator of the new testament, appear in the sight of God for us. A like sleight of judgment it is, when they hold, that civil authority is from God, but not immediately thro' Christ, nor with any subordination to God, nor doth any thing from God, but by the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. They deny it not to be said of Christ in the old testament, *By me princes rule, and the nobles, and all the judges of the earth.* In the new as much is taught, *That Christ is the Prince of the kings of the earth.* Wherefore, to the end it may more plainly appear, how all authority of man is derived from God through Christ, and must by christian men be acknowledged to be no otherwise held than of, and under him; we are to note, that, because whatsoever hath necessary being, the Son of God doth cause it to be, and those things without which the world cannot well continue, have necessary being in the world; a thing of so great use as government cannot chuse but be originally from him. Touching that authority which civil magistrates have in ecclesiastical affairs, it being from God by Christ, as all other good things are, cannot chuse but be held as a thing received at his hands; and because such power is of necessity for the ordering of religion, wherein the essence and very being of the church consisteth, can no otherwise flow from him, than according to that special care which he hath to govern and guide his own people; it followeth, that the said authority is of and under him after a more special manner, in that *he is head of the church*, and not in respect of his general regency over the world. *All things* (saith the apostle, speaking unto the church) *are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Kings are Christ's as saints, because they are of the church, if not collectively, yet divisively understood. It is over each particular person within that church where they are kings: surely, authority reaching both unto all mens persons, and to all kinds of causes also, it is not denied but that they may have and lawfully exercise it; such authority it is, for which, and for no other in the world, we term them heads; such authority they have under Christ, because he in all things is Lord over all; and even of Christ it is that they have received such authority, inasmuch as of him all lawful powers are; therefore the civil magistrate is, in regard of this power, an under and subordinate head of Christ's people.

It is but idle where they speak, *That altho', for several companies of men, there may be several heads or governors, differing in the measure of their authority from the chiefest, who is head over all; yet it cannot be in the church, for that the reason why head-magistrates appoint others for such several places is, because they cannot be present every where to perform the office of an head. But Christ is never from his body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not to substitute any, which may be heads, some over one church, and some over another.* Indeed the consideration of man's imbecility, which maketh many heads necessary where the burthen is too great for one, moved *Jethro* to be a persuader of *Moses*, that a number of heads or rulers might be instituted for discharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he saw was troublesome. Now although there be not in Christ any such defect or weakness, yet other causes there be divers, more than we are able to search into, wherefore it might seem unto him expedient to divide his kingdom into many provinces, and place many heads over it, that the power which each of them hath in particular with restraint, might illustrate the greatness of his unlimited authority. Besides, howsoever Christ be spiritually always united unto every part of his body, which is the church; nevertheless, we do all know, and they themselves who alledge this, will, I doubt not, confess also, that from every church here visible, Christ, touching visible and corporal presence, is removed as far as heaven from the earth is distant. Visible government is a thing necessary for the church; and it doth not appear, how the exercise of visible government over such multitudes every where dispersed throughout the world, should consist without sundry visible governors; whose power being the greatest in that kind, so far as it reacheth, they are in consideration thereof termed so far heads. Wherefore, notwithstanding the perpetual conjunction, by vertue whereof our Saviour always remaineth spiritually united unto the parts of his mytical body; heads indeed with supreme power, extending to a certain compass, are for the exercise of a visible regiment not unnecessary. Some other reasons there are belonging unto this branch which seem to have been objected, rather for the exercise of mens wits in dissolving sophisms, than that the authors of them could think in likelihood thereby to strengthen their cause. For example, *If the magistrate be head*
of

of the church within his own dominion, then is he none of the church: for all that are T. C. 1. 2. of the church make the body of Christ, and every one of the church fulfilleth the place of one member of the body. By making the magistrate therefore head, we do exclude him from being a member subject to the head, and so leave him no place in the church. P. 4. 9. U. H. 8. 6. 9. By which reason, the name of a body politick is supposed to be always taken of the inferior sort alone, excluding the principal guides and governors, contrary to all mens customs of speech. The error ariseth by misconceiving of some scripture-sentences, where Christ as the head, and the church as the body, are compared or opposed the one to the other. And because in such comparisons or oppositions, the body is taken for those only parts which are subject unto the head, they imagine that whoso is the head of any church, he is therefore even excluded from being a part of that church; that the magistrate can be none of the church, if so we make him the head of the church in his own dominions: a chief and principal part of the church therefore, next this, is surely a strange conclusion. A church doth indeed make the body of Christ, being wholly taken together; and every one in the same church fulfilleth the place of a member in the body, but not the place of an inferior member, the which hath supreme authority and power over all the rest. Wherefore, by making the magistrate head in his own dominions, we exclude him from being a member subject unto any other person which may visibly there rule in a place of a superior or head over him; but so far are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the church, that we do grant him the chief place. Indeed the heads of those visible bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferior in that spiritual body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithstanding ought to be honoured, as possessing in order the highest rooms: but for the magistrate to be termed, in his dominions, an head, doth not bar him from being any way a part or member of the church of God.

As little to the purpose are those other cavils: *A church which hath the magistrate for head, is perfect man without Christ.* So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto should be an addition of that which is too much. Again, *If the church be the body of Christ and of the civil magistrate, it shall have two heads, which being monstrous, is to the great dishonour of Christ and his church.* Thirdly, *If the church be planted in a popular estate, then, forasmuch as all govern in common, and all have authority, all shall be heads there, and no body at all; which is another monster.* It might be feared what this birth of so many monsters together might portend, but that we know how things, natural enough in themselves, may seem monstrous, thro' misconceit; which error of mind is indeed a monster: and the skilful in nature's mysteries have used to term it the womb of monsters; if any be, it is that troubled understanding, wherein, because things lie confusedly mixt together, what they are it appeareth not. A church perfect without Christ, I know not how a man shall imagine; unless there may be either christianity without Christ, or else a church without christianity. If magistrates be heads of the church, they are of necessity christians, then is their head Christ. The adding of Christ, universal head over all, unto magistrates particular headship, is no more superfluous in any church than in other societies; each is to be both severally subject unto some head, and to have a head also general for them all to be subject unto. For so in armies, in civil corporations, we see it farch. A body politick, in such respects, is not like a natural body; in this, more heads than one is superfluous; in that not. It is neither monstrous, nor yet uncomely for a church to have different heads: for if christian churches be in number many, and every of them a perfect body by it self, Christ being Lord and Head over all; why should we judge it a thing more monstrous for one body to have two heads, than one head so many bodies? Him that God hath made the supreme head of the whole church; the head, not only of that mystical body which the eye of man is not able to discern, but even of every christian politick society, of every visible church in the world? And whereas, lastly, it is thought so strange, that in popular states a multitude, to it self, should be both body and head, all this wonderment doth grow from a little oversight, in deeming that the subject wherein headship ought to reside, should be evermore some one person; which thing is not necessary. For in the collective body that have not derived as yet the principality of power into some one or few, the whole of necessity must be head over each part; otherwise it could not have power possibly to make any one certain person head; inasmuch as the very power of making a head belongeth unto headship. These supposed monsters we see therefore are no such giants, as that there should need any Hercules to tame them.

The last difference which we have between the title of head when we give it unto Christ, and when we give it to other governors is, that the kind of dominion which it importeth is not the same in both. Christ is head, as being the fountain of life and ghostly nurri-

ment, the well-spring of spiritual blessings poured into the body of the church; they heads, as being the principal instruments for the church's outward government; he head, as founder of the house; they, as his chiefest officers. Against this is exception especially taken, and our purveyors are herein said to have their provision from the popish shambles: for by *Pighius* and *Harding*, to prove that Christ alone is not head of the church, this distinction, they say, is brought, that according to the inward influence of grace, Christ only is head; but according to the outward government, the being head is a thing common to him with others. To raise up falsehoods of old condemned, and bring it for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which already hath sufficiently been proved an error, and is worthily so taken, this would justly deserve censuring. But shall manifest truth therefore be reproached, because men convicted in some things of manifest untruth have at any time thought or alledged it? If too much eagerness against their adversaries had not made them forget themselves, they might remember, where being charged as maintainers of those very things, for which others before them had been condemn'd of heresy, yet, lest the name of any such heretick holding the same which they do, should make them odious; they stick not frankly to confess, *That they are not afraid to consent in some points with Jews and Turks.* Which defence, for all that, were a very weak buckler for such as should consent with *Jews and Turks* in that which they have been abhorred and hated for in the church. But as for this distinction of headship, spiritual and mystical of Jesus Christ, ministerial and outward in others besides Christ; what cause is there to mislike either *Harding* or *Pighius*, or any other besides for it? That which they have been reprov'd for, is, not because they did therein utter an untruth, but such a truth as was not sufficient to bear up the cause which they did thereby seek to maintain. By this distinction, they have both truly and sufficiently proved that the name of *head* importing power and dominion over the church might be given to others besides Christ, without prejudice to any part of his honour. That which they should have made manifest was, the name of *head*, importing the power of universal dominion over the whole church of Christ militant, doth, and that by divine right, appertain to the pope of *Rome*. They did prove it lawful to grant unto others besides Christ, the power of headship in a different kind from his; but they should have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the bishop of *Rome*, a power universal in that different kind. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully so great power as they challenged in that kind, and not in making two kinds of power, unless some reasons can be shewed for which this distinction of power should be thought erroneous and false. A little they stir, (altho' in vain) to prove that we cannot with truth make such distinction of power, whereof the one kind should agree unto Christ only, and the other be further communicated. Thus therefore they argue, *If there be no head but Christ, in respect of spiritual government, there is no head but he in respect of the word, sacraments, and discipline administered by those whom he hath appointed, for as much also as it is his spiritual government.* Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kinds of power, of which two, the one being spiritual, is proper unto Christ; the other, men are capable of, because it is visible and external: we do amiss altogether in distinguishing, they think, for as much as the visible and external power of regiment over the church, is only in relation unto the word, sacraments, and discipline, administered by such as Christ hath appointed thereunto, and the exercise of this power is also his spiritual government: therefore we do but vainly imagine a visible and external power in the church differing from his spiritual power. Such disputes as this, do somewhat resemble the practising of well-willers upon their friends in the pangs of death; whose manner is, even then, to put smoak in their nostrils, and so to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impossible to keep them living. The kind of affection which the favourers of this labouring cause bear towards it will not suffer them to see it dye, although by what means they should make it live, they do not see. But they may see that these wrestlings will not help. Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcast so clear a light with some mist of ambiguity in the name of spiritual regiment? to make things therefore so plain, that henceforward a child's capacity may serve rightly to conceive our meaning; we make the spiritual regiment of Christ to be generally that whereby his church is ruled and governed in things spiritual. Of this general we make two distinct kinds; the one in visible, exercised by Christ himself in his own person; the other outwardly administered by them whom Christ doth allow to be rulers and guiders of his church. Touching the former of these two kinds, we teach that Christ, in regard thereof, is particularly term'd *the head of the church of God*; neither can any other creature, in that sense and meaning, be termed head besides him, because it importeth the conduct and government of our souls by the hand of that blessed Spirit wherewith we are sealed and marked, as being peculiarly his. Him only therefore do we acknowledge to be the

Lord, which dwelleth, liveth, and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that head, which giveth salvation and life unto his body; him only to be that fountain from whence the influence of heavenly graces distilleth, and is deriv'd into all parts, whether the word, or the sacraments, or discipline, or whatsoever be the means whereby it floweth. As for the power of administering these things in the church of Christ, which power we call the power of order, it is indeed both spiritual and his; spiritual, because such properly concerns the spirit: his, because by him it was instituted. Howbeit, neither spiritual, as that which is inwardly and invisibly exercised; nor his, as that which he himself in person doth exercise. Again, that power of dominion, which is indeed the point of this controversy, and doth also belong to this second kind of spiritual government, namely, unto that regiment which is external and visible; this likewise being spiritual in regard of the manner about which it dealeth; and being his, in as much as he approveth whatsoever is done by it, must notwithstanding be distinguished also from that power whereby he himself in person administ'reth the former kind of his own spiritual regiment, because he himself in person doth not administer this; we do not therefore vainly imagine, but truly and rightly discern a power external and visible in the church exercised by men, and severed in nature from that spiritual power of Christ's own regiment: which power is termed spiritual, because it worketh secretly, inwardly, and invisibly: his, because none doth, nor can it personally exercise, either besides or together with him; seeing that him only we may name our head, in regard of his; and yet, in regard of that other power from this, term others also, besides him heads, without any contradiction at all. Which thing may very well serve for answer unto that also which they further alledge against the aforesaid distinction, namely, *That even the outward societies and assemblies of the church, where one or two are gathered together in his name, either for hearing of the word, or for prayer, or any other church exercise, our Saviour Christ being in the midst of them as mediator, must be their head: and if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a head fully, it followeth, that even in the outward societies and meetings of the church, no meer man can be called the head of it, seeing that our Saviour Christ doing the whole office of the head himself alone, leaveth nothing to men, by doing whereof they may obtain that title.* Which objection I take as being made for nothing but only to maintain argument. For they are not so far gone as to argue this in sooth and right good earnest. *God standeth* (saith the *Psalmist*) *in the midst of Gods*; if God be there present, he must undoubtedly be present as God; if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a God fully, it followeth, that God himself alone doing the whole office of a God, leaveth nothing in such assemblies to any other, by doing whereof they may obtain so high a name. The *Psalmist* therefore hath spoken amiss, and doth ill to call judges, Gods. Not so; for as God hath this office differing from theirs, and doth fully discharge it even in the midst of them, so they are not hereby excluded from all kind of duty, for which that name should be given unto them also, but in that duty for which it was given them they are encouraged religiously and carefully to order themselves after the self-same manner. Our Lord and Saviour being in the midst of his church as head is our comfort, without the abridgment of any one duty; for performance whereof others are termed heads in another kind than he is. If there be of the ancient fathers, which say, *That there is but one head of the church, Christ; and that the minister that baptizeth cannot be the head of him that is baptized, because Christ is the head of the whole church: and that Paul could not be head of the church which he planted, because Christ is the head of the whole body;* they understand the name of head in such sort as we grant, that it is not applicable to any other, no not in relation, to the least part of the whole church; he which baptizeth, baptizeth into Christ; he which converteth, converteth into Christ; he which ruleth, ruleth for Christ. The whole church can have but one to be head as lord and owner of all; wherefore if Christ be head in that kind, it followeth, that no other besides can be so either to the whole or to any part.

To call and dissolve all solemn Assemblies about the publick affairs of the Church.

Amongst sundry prerogatives of *Simon's* dominion over the *Jews* there is reckoned, as not the least, *That no man might gather any great assembly in the land without him.* For so the manner of *Jewish* regiment had always been, that whether the

cause for which men assembled themselves in peaceable, good, and orderly sort were ecclesiastical, or civil, supream authority should assemble them. *David* gather'd all *Israel* together unto *Jerusalem*; when the ark was to be remov'd, he assembled the sons of *Aaron* and the *Levites*. *Solomon* did the like at such time as the temple was to be dedicated; when the church was to be reform'd *Asa* in its time did the same. The same upon like occasions was done afterwards by *Joash*, *Hezekias*, *Josia*, and others.

Polyb. l. 6. de milit. ac domest. Rom. discipl.

The consuls of *Rome*, *Polybius* a firmeth to have had a kind of regal authority, in that they might call together the senate and people whensoever it pleased them. Seeing therefore the affairs of the church and christian religion are publick affairs, for the ordering whereof more solemn assemblies sometimes are of as great importance and use, as they are for secular affairs; it seemeth no less an act of supream authority to call the one, than the other. Wherefore the clergy, in such wise gathered together, is an ecclesiastical senate, which with us, as in former times, the chiefest prelate at his discretion did use to assemble; so that afterwards in such considerations as have been before specified, it seemed more meet to annex the said prerogative to the crown. The plot of reform'd discipline not liking thereof so well, taketh order that every former assembly before it breaketh up should it self appoint both the time and place of their after-meeting again. But because I find not any thing on that side particularly alledged against us herein, a longer disputation about so plain a cause shall not need. The ancient imperial law forbiddeth such assemblies as the emperor's authority did not cause to be made. Before emperors became christians, the church had never any general synod; their greatest meeting consisting of bishops and other the gravest in each province. As for the civil governor's authority, it suffered them only as things not regarded, or not accounted of at such times as it did suffer them. So that what right a christian king hath as touching assemblies of that kind, we are not able to judge till we come to later times, when religion had won the hearts

Lib. 1. de col. illicit. & de conventiculis, cap. de episc. & presbyt.

Hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Constant. concil. Theodos. Sardicen concil. à Con. Hieron. contr. Rufinum l. 2.

of the highest powers. *Constantine* (as *Pighius* doth grant) was not only the first that ever did call any general council together, but even the first that devised the calling of them for consultation about the businesses of God. After he had once given the example, his successors a long time follow'd the same; in so much that St. *Hieron* to disprove the authority of a synod which was pretended to be general, useth this as a forcible argument, *Dic, quis imperator hanc synodum jussit convocari?* Their answer hereunto is no answer, which say, *That the emperors did not this without conference had with the bishops*: for to our purpose it is enough, if the clergy alone did it not otherwise than by the leave

Sozomen l. 6. cap. 7. Ambros. epist. 32.

and appointment of their sovereign lords and kings. Whereas therefore it is on the contrary side alledg'd, that *Valentinian* the elder being requested by catholic bishops to grant that there might be a synod for the ordering of matters call'd in question by the *Arians*, answered, that he being one of the laity might not meddle with such matters; and thereupon willed, that the priests and bishops to whom the care of those things belongeth, should meet and consult together by themselves where they thought good. We must, with the emperor's speech, weigh the occasion and drift thereof. *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the one a catholic and the other an *Arian*, were emperors together: *Valens*, the governor of the east, and *Valentinian* of the west empire. *Valentinian* therefore taking his journey from the east unto the west parts, and passing for that intent thro' *Thracia*, there the bishops which held the soundness of christian belief, because they knew that *Valens* was their professed enemy, and therefore if the other was once departed out of those quarters, the catholic cause was like to find very small favour, moved presently *Valentinian* about a council to be assembled under the countenance of his authority; who by likelihood considering what inconvenience might grow thereby, inasmuch as it could not be but a means to incense *Valens* the more against them, refused himself to be author of, or present at any such assembly; and of this his denial gave them a colourable reason, to wit, that he was, although an emperor, yet a secular person, and therefore not able in matters of so great obscurity to sit as competent judge: but if they which were bishops and learned men, did think good to consult thereof together, they might. Whereupon, when they could not obtain that which they most desired, yet that which he granted unto them they took and forthwith had a council. *Valentinian* went on towards *Rome*, they remaining in consultation till *Valens* which accompanied him returned back; so that now there was no remedy, but either to incur a manifest contempt, or else at the hands of *Valens* himself to seek approbation of that they had done. To him therefore they became suitors: his answer was short, *Either Arianism, or exile, which they would*; whereupon their banishment ensued. Let reasonable men now therefore be judges, how much this example of *Valentinian* doth make against the authority, which we say that sovereign rulers may lawfully have as concerning synods and meetings ecclesiastical.

Of the authority of making Laws.

There are which wonder that we should account any statute a law, which the high court of *parliament* in *England* hath establish'd about the matters of *church-regiment*; the prince and court of parliament having (as they suppose) no more lawful means to give order to the church and clergy in those things, than they have to make laws for the hierarchies of angels in heaven; that the parliament being a meer temporal court, can neither by the law of nature, nor of God, have competent power to define of such matters: That supremacy in this kind cannot belong unto kings, as kings, because pagan emperors, whose princely power was true sovereignty, never challenged so much over the church; that power, in this kind, cannot be the right of an earthly crown, prince, or state, in that they be christians, so far as if they be christians, they all owe subjection to the pastors of their souls; that the prince therefore not having it himself, cannot communicate it to the parliament, and consequently cannot make laws here, or determine of the church's regiment by himself, parliament, or any other court subjected unto him.

The parliament of *England*, together with the convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm: it consisteth of the king, and of all that within the land are subject unto him. The parliament is a court, not so merely temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool. Those days of queen *Mary* are not yet forgotten, wherein the realm did submit it self unto the legate of pope *Julius*, at which time, had they been persuaded, as this man seemeth now to be, had they thought that there is no more force in laws made by parliament concerning church-affairs, than if men should take upon them to make orders for their hierarchies of angels in heaven, they might have taken all former statutes of that kind as cancelled, and by reason of nullity, abrogated. What need was there that they should bargain with the cardinal, and purchase their pardon by promise made beforehand, that what laws they had made, assented unto, or executed, against the bishop of *Rome's* supremacy, the same they would, in that present parliament, effectually abrogate and repeal? had they power to repeal laws made, and none to make laws concerning the regiment of the church? Again, when they had by suit obtained his confirmation for such foundations of bishopricks, cathedral churches, hospitals, colleges, and schools; for such marriages before made, for such institutions into livings ecclesiastical, and for all such judicial processes, as having been ordered according to the laws before in force, but contrary unto the canons and orders of the church of *Rome*, were in that respect thought defective, although the cardinal in his Letters of dispensation did give validity unto those acts, even *Apostolica firmitatis robor*, the very strength of apostolical solidity; what had all these been without those grave authentic words? *Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that all and singular articles and clauses contained in the said dispensation, shall remain and be reputed and taken to all intents and constructions in the laws of this realm, lawful, good, and effectual, to be alledged and pleaded in all courts ecclesiastical and temporal, for good and sufficient matter either for the plaintiff or defendant, without any allegation or objection to be made against the validity of them, by pretence of any general council, canon, or decree to the contrary.* Somewhat belike they thought there was in this meer temporal court, without which the pope's own mere ecclesiastical legat's dispensation had taken small effect in the church of *England*; neither did they, or the cardinal imagine any thing committed against the law of nature, or of God, because they took order for the church's affairs, and that even in the court of parliament. The most natural and religious course in making laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wisest in those things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to set down a form of prayer, a solemn confession of the articles of the christian faith, and ceremonies meet for the exercise of religion: it were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit, than men of secular trades, and callings: howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do, is done for the devising of laws in the church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counsel of physicians to the sick. Well might they seem as wholsom admonitions and instructions; but laws could they never be, without the consent of the whole church, to be guided by them; whereunto both nature and the practice of the church of God set down in scripture, is found every way so fully consonant, that God himself would
not

An. 1 & 2.
Phil. & Mar.
cap. 8.

not impose his own laws upon his people by the hand of *Moses*, without their free and open consent. Wherefore, to define and determine, even of the church's affairs by way of assent and approbation, as laws are defined in that right of power, which doth give them the force of laws; thus to define of our own church's regiment, the parliament of *England* hath competent authority.

Item quod
principi placu-
it, legis habet
vigorem. Inft.
de J.N.G.&C.

Touching that supremacy of power which our kings have in the case of making laws, it resteth principally in the strength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that, without which they were kings but by a meer title and not in exercise of dominion. Be it in regiment-popular, aristocratical, or regal, principality resteth in that person, or those persons unto whom is given right of excluding any kind of law whatsoever it be before establishment. This doth belong unto kings as kings; pagan emperors, even *Nero* himself had no less; but much more than this in the laws of his own empire. That he challeng'd not any interest of giving voice in the laws of the church, I hope no man will so construe, as if the cause were conscience and fear to encroach upon the apostles right. If then it be demanded, by what right from *Constantine* downward, the christian emperors did so far intermeddle with the church's affairs, either we must herein condemn them, as being over presumptuously bold, or else judge that, by a law, which is term'd *regia*, that is to say, regal; the people having deriv'd unto their emperors their whole power for making of laws, and by that means his edicts being made laws, what matter soever they did concern, as imperial dignity endow'd them with competent authority and power to make laws for religion, so they were thought by christianity to use their power, being christians, unto the benefit of the church of Christ. Was there any christian bishop in the world which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful subjection which christians do owe to the pastors of their souls; to whom, in respect of their sacred order, it is not by us, neither may be denied, that kings and princes are as much as the very meanest that liveth under them, bound in conscience to shew themselves gladly and willingly obedient; receiving the seals of salvation, the blessed sacraments at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all reverence, not disdainingly to be taught and admonish'd by them, nor with-holding from them as much as the least part of their due and decent honour? All which, for any thing that hath been alledged, may stand very well without resignation of supremacy of power in making laws, even laws concerning the most spiritual affairs of the church; which laws being made amongst us, are not by any of us so taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power which the prince doth communicate unto the parliament or unto any other court under him, but from power which the whole body of the realm being naturally possess'd with, hath by free and deliberate assent derived unto him that ruleth over them, so far forth as hath been declared. So that our laws made concerning religion, do take originally their essence from the power of the whole realm and church of *England*, than which, nothing can be more consonant unto the law of nature and the will of our Lord Jesus Christ.

T.C.I. i. p. 92.

To let these go, and return to our own men; *ecclesiastical governors*, they say, *may not meddle with making of civil laws, and of laws for the commonwealth; nor the civil magistrate, high or low, with making of orders for the church.* It seemeth unto me very strange, that these men, which are in no cause more vehement and fierce than where they plead, that ecclesiastical persons may not *meddle*, be lords, should hold that the power of making ecclesiastical laws, which thing of all other is most proper unto dominion, belongeth to none but ecclesiastical persons only. Their over-sight groweth herein for want of exact observation, what it is to make a law. *Tully*, speaking of the law of nature, saith, *That thereof God himself was inventor, disceptrator, lator, the deviser, the discussor, and deliverer:* wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefest parts which then did appertain to his publick action. For when laws were made, the first thing was to have them devised, the second to sift them with as much exactness of judgment as any way might be used; the next by solemn voice of sovereign authority to pass them, and give them the force of laws. It cannot in any reason seem otherwise than most fit, that unto ecclesiastical persons the care of devising ecclesiastical laws be committed, even as the care of civil unto them which are in those affairs most skilful. This taketh not away from ecclesiastical persons all right of giving voice with others, when civil laws are proposed for regiment of the commonwealth, whereof themselves, though now the world would have them annihilated, are notwithstanding as yet a part; much less doth it cut off that part of the power of princes, whereby, as they claim, so we know no reasonable cause wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to almighty God, so much authority in making all manner of laws within their own dominions, that neither civil nor ecclesiastical do pass without their royal assent.

In devising and discussing of laws, wisdom especially is required; but that which establisheth them and maketh them, is power, even power of dominion; the chiefly whereof (amongst us) resteth in the person of the king. Is there any law of Christ's which forbiddeth kings and rulers of the earth to have such sovereign and supream power in the making of laws either civil or ecclesiastical? If there be, our controversy hath an end. Christ, in his church, hath not appointed any such law concerning temporal power, as God did of old unto the commonwealth of *Israel*; but leaving that to be at the world's free choice; his chiefest care is, that the spiritual law of the gospel might be published far and wide. They that received the law of Christ, were, for a long time, people scattered in sundry kingdoms, christianity not exempting them from the laws which they had been subject unto, saving only in such cases as those laws did injoynt that which the religion of Christ did forbid. Hereupon grew their manifold persecutions throughout all places where they lived; as oft as it thus came to pass, there was no possibility that the emperors and kings under whom they lived, should meddle any whit at all with making laws for the church. From Christ, therefore, having received power; who doubteth, but as they did, so they might bind them to such orders as seemed fittest for the maintenance of their religion, without the leave of high or low in the commonwealth; forasmuch as in religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it. But when the mightiest began to like of the christian faith; by their means, whole free states and kingdoms became obedient unto Christ. Now the question is, whether kings, by embracing christianity, do thereby receive any such law as taketh from them the weightiest part of that sovereignty which they had even when they were heathens: whether, being infidels, they might do more in causes of religion, than now they can by the laws of God, being true believers. For, whereas in regal states, the king, or supream head of the commonwealth, had before christianity a supream stroak in making of laws for religion; he must by embracing christian religion utterly deprive himself thereof, and in such causes become subject unto his subjects, having even within his own dominions them whose commandment he must obey; unless his power be placed in the head of some foreign spiritual potentate: so that either a foreign or domestick commander upon earth, he must admit more now, than before he had, and that in the chiefest things whereupon commonwealths do stand. But apparent it is unto all men which are not strangers unto the doctrine of Jesus Christ, that no state of the world receiving christianity, is by any law therein contained bound to resign the power which they lawfully held before: but over what persons, and in what causes soever the same hath been in force, it may so remain and continue still. That which, as kings, they might do in matters of religion, and did in matter of false religion, being idolatrous and superstitious kings, the same they are now even in every respect fully authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the state of true christian religion. And, concerning the supream power of making laws for all persons, in all causes to be guided by, it is not to be let pass, that the head enemies of this headship are constrained to acknowledge the king endued even with this very power, so that he may and ought to exercise the same, taking order for the church and her affairs, of what nature or kind soever, in case of necessity: as when, there is no lawful ministry, which they interpret then to be (and this surely is a point very remarkable,) wherefoever the ministry is wicked. A wicked ministry is no lawful ministry; and in such sort no lawful ministry, that, what doth belong unto them as ministers by right of their calling, the same to be annihilated in respect of their bad qualities; their wickedness in it self a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other society, the members whereof have been before so peremptorily for ever excluded from power of dealing for ever with affairs of the church. They which once have learn'd throughly this lesson, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For the wickedness of the ministry transfers their right unto the king; in case the king be as wicked as they, to whom then shall the right descend? There is no remedy, all must come by devolution at length, even as the family of *Brown* will have it, unto the godly among the people, for confusion unto the wife and the great by the poor and the simple; some *Kniperdoling*, with his retinue, must take this work of the Lord in hand; and the making of church-laws and orders must prove to be their right in the end. If not for love of the truth, yet for shame of gross absurdities, let these contentions and trifling fancies be abandoned. The cause which moved them for a time to hold a wicked ministry no lawful ministry; and in this defect of a lawful ministry, authorized kings to make laws and orders for the affairs of the church, till it were well establish'd, is surely this: first, they see that whereas the continual dealing of the kings of *Israel* in the affairs of the church doth make now very strong against them, the burden whereof they shall in time well enough shake off, if it may be obtained, that it is indeed

indeed lawful for kings to follow these holy examples; howbeit no longer than during the case of necessity, while the wickedness, and in respect thereof, the unlawfulness of the ministry doth continue. Secondly, They perceive right well, that unless they should yield authority unto kings in case of such supposed necessity, the discipline they urge were clean excluded, as long as the clergy of *England* doth thereunto remain opposite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no reason but the tenet must be this: that now, when the ministry of *England* is universally wicked, and in that respect hath lost all authority, and is become no lawful ministry, no such ministry as hath the right, which otherwise should belong unto them, if they were virtuous and godly, as their adversaries are; in this necessity the king may do somewhat for the church: that which we do imply in the name of headship, he may both have and exercise till they be entered which will disburthen and ease him of it: till they come, the king is licensed to hold that power which we call headship. But what afterwards? In a church ordered, that which the supreme magistrate hath to do, is to see that the laws of God, touching his worship, and touching all matters and orders of the church, be executed and duly observed; to see that every ecclesiastical person do that office whereunto he is appointed; to punish those that fail in their office. In a word, that which *Allain* himself acknowledged unto the earthly power which God hath given him it doth belong to defend the laws of the church, to cause them to be executed, and to punish rebels and transgressors of the same; on all sides therefore it is confessed, that to the king belongeth power of maintaining the laws made for church-regiment, and of causing them to be observed; but principality of power in making them, which is the thing we attribute unto kings, this both the one sort and the other do withstand.

T. C. l. i
P. 192.

Apol. i. fol. 40.
P. 2.

Power to com-
mand all per-
sons, and to be
over all judges
in causes eccle-
siastical.

Touching the king's super-eminent authority in commanding, and in judging of causes ecclesiastical; first, to explain therein our meaning, it hath been taken as if we did hold, that kings may prescribe what themselves think good to be done in the service of God: how the word shall be taught, how the sacraments administered; that kings may personally sit in the consistory where the bishops do, hearing and determining what causes soever do appertain unto the church; that kings and queens, in their own proper persons, are by judicial sentence to decide the questions which do arise about matters of faith and christian religion; that kings may excommunicate: finally, that kings may do whatsoever is incident unto the office and duty of an ecclesiastical judge. Which opinion, because we account as absurd as they who have fathered the same upon us, we do them to wit, that this is our meaning, and no otherwise: there is not within this realm an ecclesiastical officer, that may by the authority of his own place, command universally throughout the king's dominions: but they of this people whom one may command, are to another's commandment unsubject. Only the king's royal power is of so large compass, that no man commanded by him according to the order of law, can plead himself to be without the bounds and limits of that authority; I say, according to order of law, because with us the highest have thereunto so tied themselves, that otherwise than so, they take not upon them to command any. And, that kings should be in such sort supreme commanders over all men, we hold it requisite, as well for the ordering of spiritual as civil affairs; inasmuch as without universal authority in this kind, they should

2 Chron. 24.
5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Chap. 6.
6.

Josh. i. 18.

not be able when need is, to do as virtuous kings have done. *Josiah*, purposing to renew the house of the Lord, assembled the priests and Levites; and when they were together, gave them their charge, saying: Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of Israel money to repair the house of the Lord from year to year, and haste the things: but the Levites hastened not. Therefore the king commanded *Jehoiada*, the chief priest, and said unto him; why hast thou not required of the Levites, to bring in out of Judah and Jerusalem, the tax of Moses, the servant of the Lord, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tabernacle of the testimony? For wicked *Athaliah*, and her children, brake up the house of the Lord God, and all the things that were dedicated for the house of the Lord, did they bestow upon Balaam. Therefore the king commanded, and they made a chest, and set it at the gate of the house of the Lord without, and they made a proclamation through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring unto the Lord, the tax of Moses the servant of the Lord, laid upon Israel in the wilderness. Could either he have done this, or after him *Ezekias* the like concerning the celebration of the passover, but that all sorts of men in all things did owe unto these their sovereign rulers the same obedience which sometimes *Joshua* had them by vow and promise bound unto? *Whosoever shall rebel against thy commandments, and will not obey thy words in all thou commandest him, let him be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage.* Furthermore, judgment ecclesiastical we say is necessary for decision of controversies rising between man and man, and for correction of faults committed in the affairs of God:

unto the due execution whercof there are three things necessary, laws, judges, and supream governors of judgments. What courts there shall be, and what causes shall belong unto each court, and what judges shall determine of every cause, and what order in all judgments shall be kept: of these things the laws have sufficiently disposed, so that his duty who sitteth in any such court, is to judge, not of, but after the same law. *Imprimis illud observare debet iudex, ne aliter judicet quam legibus, constitutionibus, aut moribus proditum est, ut imperator Justinianus*; which laws (for we mean the positive laws of our realm concerning ecclesiastical affairs) if they otherwise dispose of any such thing, than according to the law of reason, and of God, we must both acknowledge them to be amiss, and endeavour to have them reform'd: but touching that point, what may be objected shall after appear. Our judges in causes ecclesiastical, are either ordinary, or commissiōnary: ordinary, those whom we term ordinaries; and such, by the laws of this land, are none but prelates only, whose power to do that which they do, is in themselves, and belonging to the nature of their ecclesiastical calling. In spiritual causes, a lay-person may be no ordinary; a commissiōnary judge there is no let but that he may be; and that our laws do evermore refer the ordinary judgment of spiritual causes unto spiritual persons, such as are termed ordinaries, no man which knoweth any thing of the practice of this realm can easily be ignorant. Now, besides them which are authorized to judge in several territories, there is required an universal power which reacheth over all, imparting supream authority of government over all courts, all judges, all causes; the operation of which power is as well to strengthen, maintain, and uphold particular jurisdictions, which happily might else be of small effect; as also to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redress that wherein they at any time do otherwise than they ought to do. This power being sometime in the bishop of *Rome*, who by sinister practices had drawn it into his hands, was for just considerations by publick consent annexed unto the king's royal seat and crown; from thence the authors of reformation would translate it into their national assemblies or synods; which synods are the only helps which they think lawful to use against such evils in the church, as particular jurisdictions are not sufficient to redress. In which cause, our laws have provided, that the king's supereminent authority and power shall serve: As namely, when the whole ecclesiastical state, or the principal persons therein, do need visitation and reformation; when in any part of the church errors, schisms, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities, are grown; which men in their several jurisdictions either do not, or cannot help. Whatsoever any spiritual authority and power (such as legates from the see of *Rome* did sometimes exercise) hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedies of those evils in lawful sort, (that is to say, without the violation of the laws of God or nature in the deed done) as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the king for ever may do, not only by setting ecclesiastical synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the king their motioner unto it, for so much perhaps the masters of the reformation will grant; but by commissiōns few or many, who having the king's letters patents, may in the vertue thereof execute the premises as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his supereminent power. When men are wronged by inferior judges, or have any just cause to take exception against them; their way for redress is to make their appeal; an appeal is a present delivery of him which maketh it out of the hands of their power and jurisdiction from whence it is made. Pope *Alexander* having sometimes the king of *England* at advantage, caused him, amongst other things, to agree, that as many of his subjects as would, might have appeal to the court of *Rome*, And thus (saith one) *that whereunto a mean person at this day would scorn to submit himself, so great a king was content to be subject to. Notwithstanding, even when the pope (saith he) had so great authority amongst princes which were far off, the Romans he could not frame to obedience, nor was able to obtain that himself might abide at Rome, though promising not to meddle with other than ecclesiastical affairs.* So much are things that terrify more feared by such as behold them aloof off than at hand. Reformers I doubt not in some causes will admit appeals, but appeals made to their synods; even as the church of *Rome* doth allow of them so they be made to the bishop of *Rome*. As for that kind of appeal which the *English* laws do approve from the judge of any certain particular court unto the king, as the only supream governor on earth, who by his delegates may give a final definitive sentence, from which no farther appeal can be made; will their platform allow of this? Surely, forasmuch as in that estate which they all dream of, the whole church must be divided into parishes, in which none can have greater or less authority and power than another; again, the king himself must be a common member in the body of his own parish, and the causes of that only parish, must be by the officers thereof determinable; in case the king had so much favour or preferment, as to be made one of those officers (for other

Iust. de offic. jud.

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

Machiavel. hist. Florent. lib. 1.

Hen. 8. c. 19.

T. C. l. 3.
P. 154.
2 Chr. 19. 5.
Heb. 5. 1.

Heb. 5. 1.

wife by their positions he were not to meddle any more than the meanest amongst his subjects with the judgment of any ecclesiastical cause) how is it possible they should allow of appeals to be made from any other abroad to the king? To receive appeals from all other judges, belongeth to the highest in power of all, and to be in power over all (as touching judgment in ecclesiastical causes) this, as they think, belongeth only to synods. Whereas therefore, with us kings do exercise over all things, persons, and causes, supreme power, both of voluntary and litigious jurisdictions; so that according to the one they incite, reform, and command; according to the other, they judge universally, doing both in far other sort than such as have ordinary spiritual power; oppugned we are herein by some colourable shew of argument, as if to grant thus much to any secular person it were unreasonable: *For sith it is* (say they) *apparent out of the chronicles, that judgment in church-matters pertaineth to God; seeing likewise it is evident out of the apostles, that the high-priest is set over those matters in God's behalf; it must needs follow, that the principality or direction of the judgment of them is, by God's ordinance, appertaining to the high-priest, and consequently to the ministry of the church; and if it be by God's ordinance appertaining unto them, how can it be translated from them to the civil magistrate?* Which argument, briefly drawn into form, lieth thus: that which belongeth unto God, may not be translated unto any other but whom he hath appointed to have it in his behalf; but principality of judgment in church-matters appertaineth unto God, which hath appointed the high-priest, and consequently the ministry of the church alone to have it in his behalf; *ergo*, it may not from them be translated to the civil magistrate. The first of which propositions we grant, as also in the second branch which ascribeth unto God principality in church-matters. But, that either he did appoint none but only the high-priest to exercise the said principality for him; or that the ministry of the church may in reason from thence be concluded to have alone the same principality by his appointment, these two points we deny utterly. For, concerning the high priest, there is, first, no such ordinance of God to be found; *Every high-priest* (saith the apostle) *is taken from amongst men, and is ordained for men in things pertaining to God*; whereupon it may well be gathered, that the priest was indeed ordained of God to have power in things appertaining unto God. For the apostle doth there mention the power of offering gifts and sacrifices for sin; which kind of power, was not only given of God unto priests, but restrained unto priests only. The power of jurisdiction and ruling authority, this also God gave them, but not them alone. For it is held, as all men know, that others of the laity were herein joined by the law with them. But, concerning principality in church-affairs, (for of this our question is, and of no other) the priest neither had it alone, nor at all, but in spiritual or church-affairs, (as hath been already shewed) it was the royal prerogative of kings only. Again, though it were so, that God had appointed the high-priest to have the said principality of government in those matters; yet how can they who alledge this, enforce thereby, that consequently the ministry of the church, and no other, ought to have the same, when they are so far off from allowing so much to the ministry of the gospel, as the priesthood of the law had by God's appointment: that we by collecting thereout a difference in authority and jurisdiction amongst the clergy, to be for the polity of the church not inconvenient; they forthwith think to close up our mouths by answering, *That the jewish high-priest had authority above the rest, only in that they prefigured the sovereignty of Jesus Christ; as for the ministers of the gospel, it is altogether unlawful to give them as much as the least title, any syllable whereof may sound to principality.* And of the regency which may be granted, they hold others even of the laity no less capable than the pastors themselves. How shall these things cleave together? The truth is, that they have some reason to think it not at all of the fittest for kings to sit as ordinary judges in matters of faith and religion. An ordinary judge must be of the quality which in a supreme judge is not necessary: because the person of the one is charged with that which the other authority dischargeth, without employing personally himself therein. It is an error to think, that the king's authority can have no force nor power in the doing of that which himself may not personally do. For first, impossible it is that at one and the same time, the king in person should order so many, and so different affairs, as by his own power every where present, are wont to be ordered both in peace and war, at home and abroad. Again, the king in regard of his nonage or minority, may be unable to perform that thing wherein years of discretion are requisite for personal action; and yet his authority even then be of force. For which cause we say, that the king's authority dieth nor, but is, and worketh always alike. Sundry considerations there may be effectual to withhold the king's person from being a doer of that which notwithstanding his power must give force unto, even in

in civil affairs; where nothing doth more either concern the duty, or better beseeem the majesty of kings, than personally to administer justice to their people (as most famous princes have done); yet if it be in case of felony or treason, the learned in the law of this realm do affirm, that well may the king commit his authority to another to judge between him and the offender; but the king being himself there a party, he cannot personally fit to give judgment.

As therefore the person of the king may, for just considerations, even where the cause ^{stranf. pleas} is civil, be notwithstanding withdrawn from occupying the seat of judgment, and others ^{of the crown} under his authority be fit, he unfit himself to judge; so the considerations for which it were haply not convenient for kings to sit and give sentence in spiritual courts, where causes ecclesiastical are usually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacy which their sovereign power hath over those very consistories, and for which we hold, without any exception, that all courts are the king's: All men are not for all things sufficient, and therefore publick affairs being divided, such persons must be authorized judges in each kind, as common reason may presume to be most fit: which cannot of kings and princes ordinarily be presumed in causes merely ecclesiastical; so that even common sense doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other men. We see it hereby a thing necessary, to put a difference, as well between that ordinary jurisdiction which belongeth unto the clergy alone, and that commissiionary wherein others are for just considerations appointed to join with them, as also between both these jurisdictions; and a third, whereby the king hath transcendent authority, and that in all causes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him there is no reason. A time there was when kings were not capable of any such power, as namely, when they professed themselves open enemies unto Christ and christianity. A time there followed, when they, being capable, took sometimes more, sometimes less to themselves, as seemed best in their own eyes, because no certainty, touching their right, was as yet determined. The bishops, who alone were before accustomed to have the ordering of such affairs, saw very just cause of grief, when the highest, favouring heresy, withstood, by the strength of sovereign authority, religious proceedings. Whereupon they oftentimes, against this unresistible power, pleaded the use and custom which had been to the contrary; namely, that the affairs of the church should be dealt in by the clergy, and by no other; unto which purpose the sentences that then were uttered in defence of unabolished orders and laws, against such as did of their own heads contrary thereunto, are now altogether impertinently brought in opposition against them, who use but that power which laws have given them, unless men can shew that there is in those laws some manifest iniquity or injustice. Whereas therefore against the force judicial and imperial, which supream au- ^{T.C. 1. 5. p. 155.} thority hath, it is alledged, how *Constantine* termeth *church officers, overseers within the church*; himself, *of those without the church*: how *Augustine* witnesseth, that the emperor not daring to judge of the bishop's cause, committed it to the bishops; and was to ^{Euseb. de vita} crave pardon of the bishops, for that by the *Donatists* importunity, which made no end ^{Constant. l. 4. ep. 162, 166.} of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give sentence in a matter of theirs; how *Hilary* beseecheth the emperor *Constance* to provide that the governors of his provinces should not presume to take upon them the judgment of ecclesiastical causes, to whom only commonwealth matters belonged; how *Ambrose* affirmeth, that ^{Lib. 5. ep. 33.} *palaces* belong unto the emperor; *churches to the ministry*; that the emperor hath the authority over the common walls of the city, and not in holy things; for which cause he never would yield to have the causes of the church debated in the prince's consistories, but excused himself to the emperor *Valentinian*, for that being convented to answer concerning church matters in a civil court, he came not. We may by these testimonies drawn from antiquity, if we list to consider them, discern how requisite it is that authority should always follow received laws in the manner of proceeding. For, inasmuch as there was at the first no certain law determining what force the principal civil magistrate's authority should be of, how far it should reach, and what order it should observe; but christian emperors from time to time did what themselves thought most reasonable in those affairs; by this means it cometh to pass that they in their practice vary, and are not uniform. Virtuous emperors, such as *Constantine* the great was, made conscience to swerve unnecessarily from the custom which had been used in the church, even when it lived under infidels; *Constantine*, of reverence to bishops and their spiritual authority, rather abstained from that which himself might lawfully do, than was willing to claim a power not fit or decent for him to exercise. The order which hath been before he ratifieth, exhorting the bishops to look to the church, and promising that he would do the office of a bishop over the commonwealth; which very *Constantine* notwithstanding, did not thereby so renounce all authority in judging of special causes, but that sometime

he took, as St. *Augustine* witnesseth, even personal cognition of them; howbeit, whether as purposing to give them judicially any sentence, I stand in doubt. For if the other of whom St. *Augustine* elsewhere speaketh, did in such sort judge, surely there was cause why he should excuse it as a thing not usually done. Otherwise there is no let, but that any such great person may hear those causes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which side himself doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of sentence bindeth no side to stand thereunto; it is a sentence of private perswasion, and not of solemn jurisdiction, albeit a king, or an emperor pronounce it. Again, on the contrary part, when governors infected with heresy were possessed of the highest power, they thought they might use it as pleased themselves to further by all means that opinion which they desired should prevail; they not respecting at all what was meet, presumed to command and judge all men, in all causes, without either care of orderly proceeding, or regard to such laws and customs as the church had been wont to observe. So that the one sort feared to do even that which they might; and that which the other ought not, they boldly presumed upon; the one sort, of modestly excused themselves where they scarce needed; the other, though doing that which is inexcusable, bear it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds was between them whom before we mentioned, and such as the younger *Valentinian*, by whom St. *Ambrose* being commanded to yield up one of the churches under him unto the *Arians*, whereas they which were sent on his message alledged, that the emperor did but use his own right, forasmuch as all things were in his power; the answer which the holy bishop gave them was, *That the church is the house of God, and that those things that are God's are not to be yielded up, and disposed of at the emperor's will and pleasure; his palaces he might grant to whomsoever he pleaseth, but God's own habitation not so.* A cause why many times emperors do more by their absolute authority than could very well stand with reason, was the over-great importunity of wicked hereticks, who being enemies to peace and quietness, cannot otherwise than by violent means be supported.

In this respect therefore we must needs think the state of our own church much better settled than theirs was; because our laws have with far more certainty prescribed bounds unto each kind of power. All decision of things doubtful, and correction of things amiss are proceeded in by order of law, what person soever he be unto whom the administration of judgment belongeth. It is neither permitted unto prelates nor prince to judge and determine at their own discretion, but law hath prescribed what both shall do. What power the king hath, he hath it by law, the bounds and limits of it are known; the intire community giveth general order by law, how all things publicly are to be done, and the king, as the head thereof, the highest in authority over all, causeth, according to the same law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politick maketh laws, which laws gave power unto the king; and the king having bound himself to use according unto law that power, it so falleth out, that the execution of the one is accomplished by the other in most religious and peaceable sort. There is no cause given unto any to make supplication, as *Hilary* did, that civil governors, to whom commonwealth matters only belong, may not presume to take upon them the judgment of ecclesiastical causes. If the cause be spiritual, secular courts do not meddle with it, we need not excuse our selves with *Ambrose*, but boldly and lawfully we may refuse to answer before any civil judge in a matter which is not civil, so that we do not mistake either the nature of the cause or of the court, as we easily may do both, without some better direction than can be by the rules of this new-found discipline. But of this most certain we are, that our laws do neither suffer a * spiritual court to entertain in those causes which by the law are civil; nor yet, if the matter be indeed spiritual, a meer civil court to give judgment of it. Touching supreme power therefore to command all men, and in all manner of causes of judgment to be highest, let thus much suffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

* See the statute of Ed. 1. and Ed. 2. and Nat. Brev. touching prohibition. See also in *Bracton* de sentent. l. 5. c. 2. Est jurisdictio

ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad sacerdotium, & forum ecclesiasticum, sicut in causis spiritualibus & spiritualitati annexis. Est etiam alia jurisdictio ordinaria vel delegata quæ pertinet ad coronam, & dignitatem regis, & ad regnum in causis & placitis rerum temporalium in foro seculari. *Again*, Cum diversæ sint hinc inde jurisditiones, & diversi judices, & diversæ causæ, debet quilibet ipsum impiois estimare, an sua sit jurisdictio, ne faciem videatur ponere in messem alienam. *Again*, Non pertinet ad regem injungere poenitentias, nec ad judicem secularem, nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoscere de iis quæ sunt spiritualibus annexa, sicut de decimis & altis ecclesiæ provisionibus. *Again*, Non est laicus conveniendus coram iudice ecclesiastico de aliquo quod in foro seculari terminari possit & debeat.

The cause is not like when such assemblies are gathered together by supreme authority concerning other affairs of the church, and when they meet about the making of ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical laws or statutes. For in the one they are only to advise, in the other to decree. The persons which are of the one, the king doth voluntarily assemble, as being in respect of quality fit to consult withal; them which are of the other, he calleth by prescript of law, as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themselves, and their sentence hath but the weight of their own judgment; the other represent the whole clergy, and their voices are as much as if all did give personal verdict. Now the question is, whether the clergy alone so assembled, ought to have the whole power of making ecclesiastical laws, or else consent of the laity may thereunto be made necessary, and the king's assent so necessary, that his sole denial may be of force to stay them from being laws.

If they with whom we dispute were uniform, strong and constant in that which they say, we should not need to trouble our selves about their persons, to whom the power of making laws for the church belongs. For they are sometime very vehement in contentions, on, that from the greatest thing unto the least about the church, all must needs be immediately from God. And to this they apply the pattern of the ancient tabernacle which God delivered unto *Moses*, and was therein so exact, that there was not left as much as the least pin for the wit of man to devise in the framing of it. To this they also apply that freight and severe charge which God so often gave concerning his own law, *Whatsoever I command you, take heed ye do it; thou shalt put nothing thereto, thou shalt take nothing from it*; nothing, whether it be great or small. Yet sometimes being thinking themselves better, they speak as acknowledging that it doth suffice to have received in such sort the principal things from God, and that for other matters the church had sufficient authority to make laws. Whereupon they now have made it a question, what persons they are whose right it is to take order for the church's affairs, when the institution of any new thing therein is requisite. Law may be requisite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or else touching that which is to be done by the church of God. The law of nature, and the law of God, are sufficient for declaration in both what belongeth unto each man separately, as his soul is the spouse of Christ; yea, so sufficient, that they plainly and fully shew whatsoever God doth require by way of necessary introduction unto the state of everlasting bliss. But as a man liveth joined with others in common society, and belongeth to the outward politick body of the church, albeit the same law of nature and scripture have in this respect also made manifest the things that are of greatest necessity; nevertheless, by reason of new occasions still arising, which the church, having care of souls, must take order for as need requireth; hereby it cometh to pass, that there is, and ever will be, so great use even of human laws and ordinances, deduced by way of discourse as a conclusion from the former divine and natural, serving as principals thereunto. No man doubteth, but that for matters of action and practice in the affairs of God, for manner in divine service, for order in ecclesiastical proceedings about the regiment of the church, there may be oftentimes cause very urgent to have laws made: but the reason is not so plain, wherefore human laws should appoint men what to believe. Wherefore in this we must note two things: 1. That in matters of opinion, the law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matter of action it causeth that to be a duty which was not before; but manifesteth only and giveth men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. 2. That opinions do cleave to the understanding, and are in heart assented unto, it is not in the power of any human law to command them, because to prescribe what men shall think belongeth only unto God: *Corde creditur, ore fit confessio*, saith the apostle. As opinions are either fit or inconvenient to be profess'd, so man's laws hath to determine of them. It may for publick unity's sake require mens profess'd assent, or prohibit their contradiction to special articles, wherein, as there haply hath been controversy what is true, so the same were like to continue still, not without grievous detriment unto a number of souls, except law, to remedy that evil, should set down a certainty which no man afterwards is to gainsay. Wherefore, as in regard of divine laws, which the church receiveth from God, we may unto every man apply those words of wisdom in *Solomon*, *My son, keep thou thy father's precepts; Conserva, fili mi, precepta patris tui*: even so concerning the statutes and ordinances which the church it self makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow, *Et ne dimittas legem matris tue, And forsake thou not thy mother's law*.

It is a thing even undoubtedly natural, that all free and independent societies should themselves make their own laws, and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politick body, tho' haply some one part may have greater sway in that action than the rest; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making

of all laws, we see no cause why to think otherwise in laws concerning the service of God, which in all well-ordered states and commonwealths is the ^a first thing that law hath care to provide for. When we speak of the right which naturally belongeth to a commonwealth, we speak of that which must needs belong to the church of God. For if the commonwealth be christian, if the people which are of it do publicly embrace the true religion, this very thing doth make it the church, as hath been shewed. So that unless the verity and purity of religion do take from them which embrace it that power wherewith otherwise they are possessed; look what authority, as touching laws for religion, a commonwealth hath simply, it must of necessity retain the same, being of the christian religion.

Archit. de leg. 2. That is; it becometh the law first to establish or settle those things which belong to the gods, and divine powers, and to our parents, and universally those things which be vertuous and honourable. In the second place, those things that be convenient and profitable; for it is fit that matters of the less weight should come after the greater.

It will be therefore perhaps alledged, that a part of the verity of christian religion is to hold the power of making ecclesiastical laws a thing appropriated unto the clergy in their synods; and whatsoever is by their only voices agreed upon, it needeth no further approbation to give unto it the strength of a law, as may plainly appear by the canons of that first most venerable assembly: where those things the apostles and *James* had concluded, were afterwards published and imposed upon the churches of the Gentiles abroad as laws, the records thereof remaining still in the book of God for a testimony, that the power of making ecclesiastical laws belongeth to the successors of the apostles, the bishops and prelates of the church of God.

Acts 15. 7,
13, 23.

To this we answer, that the council of *Jerusalem* is no argument for the power of the clergy to make laws. For first, there has not been sithence any council of like authority to that in *Jerusalem*. Secondly, The cause why that was of such authority, came by a special accident. Thirdly, the reason why other councils being not like unto that in nature, the clergy in them should have no power to make laws by themselves alone, is in truth so forcible, that except some commandment of God to the contrary can be shewed, it ought notwithstanding the aforesaid example to prevail.

4.

The decrees of the council of *Jerusalem* were not as the canons of other ecclesiastical assemblies, human, but very divine ordinances: for which cause the churches were far and wide commanded every where to see them kept, no otherwise than if Christ himself had personally on earth been the author of them. The cause why that council was of so great authority and credit above all others which have been sithence is expres'd in those words of principal observation, *Unto the holy Ghost, and to us it hath seemed good*: which form of speech, tho' other councils have likewise used, yet neither could they themselves mean, nor may we so understand them, as if both were in equal sort assisted with the power of the holy Ghost; but the latter had the favour of that general assistance and presence which Christ doth promise unto all his, according to the quality of their several estates and callings; the former, the grace of special, miraculous, rare and extraordinary illumination, in relation whereunto the apostle comparing the old testament and the new together, termeth the one a testament of the letter, for that God delivered it written in stone; the other a testament of the Spirit, because God imprinted it in the hearts, and declared it by the tongues of his chosen apostles, thro' the power of the holy Ghost, feigning both their conceits and speeches in most divine and incomprehensible manner. Wherefore, inasmuch as the council of *Jerusalem* did chance to consist of men so enlightened, it had authority greater than were meet for any other council besides to challenge, wherein such kind of persons are, as now the state of the church doth stand; kings being not then that which now they are, and the clergy not now that which then they were. Till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant with equity and reason, that no ecclesiastical laws be made in a christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, but least of all without consent of the highest power.

Math. 16.
Chap. ult.

2 Cor. 3.

Cap. delict. de
excels. prela-
tor L. per fun-
dum rusticor.
pred. & sect.
religiosum de
rerum divis.
Gloss. dict. 96.
c. ubinam.

For of this thing no man doubteth, namely, that in all societies, companies, and corporations, what severally each shall be bound unto, it must be with all their assents ratified. Against all equity it were, that a man should suffer detriment at the hands of men, for not observing that which he never did, either by himself or by others, mediately or immediately, agree unto. Much more then a king should constrain all others to the strict observation of any such human ordinance as passeth without his own approbation, in this case therefore especially, that vulgar axiom is of force, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet*. Whereupon pope *Nicholas*, altho' otherwise

not admitting lay-persons, nor not emperors themselves, to be present at synods, doth notwithstanding seem to allow of their presence, when matters of faith are determined whereunto all men must stand bound: *Ubinam legistis imperatores antecessores vestros, synodalibus conventibus interfuisse; nisi forsitan in quibus de fide tractatum est, quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos & omnes pertinet christianos?* A law, be it civil or ecclesiastical, is a publick obligation, wherein, seeing that the whole standeth charged, no reason it should pass without his privy and will, whom principally the whole doth depend upon. *Sicut laici jurisdictionem clericorum perturbare, ita clerici jurisdictionem laicorum non debent minuire*, saith Innocentius, *Extra de judic. novit.* As the laity should not hinder the clergy's jurisdiction, so neither is it reason that the laity's right should be abridged by the clergy, saith pope Innocent. But were it so that the clergy alone might give laws unto all the rest, so far as every estate doth desire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, is it not easy to see how injurious this might prove to men of other conditions? Peace and justice are maintained by preserving unto every order their right, and by keeping all estates, as it were in an even balance. Which thing is no way better done, than if the king, their common parent, whose care is presumed to extend most indifferently over all, do bear the chiefeft sway in making laws which all must be ordered by. Wherefore of them which in this point attribute most to the clergy, I would demand, what evidence there is whereby it may clearly be shew'd that in ancient kingdoms christian, any canon devised by the clergy alone in their synods, whether provincial, national, or general, hath, by mere force of their agreement, taken place as a law, making all men constrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the king, before or afterwards required in that behalf. But what speak we of ancient kingdoms, when at this day, even the papacy it self, the very *Tridentinal* council hath not every where as yet obtained to have in all points the strength of ecclesiastical laws; did not *Philip* king of *Spain*, publishing that council in the low countries, add thereunto an expresse clause of special provision, that the same should in no wise prejudice, hurt, or diminish any kind of privilege which the king or his vassals afore-time had enjoyed, touching either possessory judgments of ecclesiastical livings, or concerning nominations thereunto, or belonging to whatsoever right they had else in such affairs? If therefore the king's exception, taken against some part of the canons contained in that council, were a sufficient bar to make them of none effect within his territories; it follows that the like exception against any other part had been also of like efficacy; and so consequently that no part thereof had obtained the strength of a law, if he which excepted against a part, had so done against the whole. As, what reason was there, but that the same authority which limited, might quite and clean have refused that council? Whoso alloweth the said act of the catholick king's for good and lawful, must grant that the canons, even of general councils, have but the face of wise mens opinions concerning that whereof they treat, till they be publickly assented unto, where they are to take place as laws; and that, in giving such publick assent as maketh a christian kingdom subject unto those laws, the king's authority is the chiefeft. That which an university of men, a company, a corporation, doth without consent of their rector is as nothing. Except therefore we make the king's authority over the clergy less in the greatest things, than the power of the meanest governor is in all things over the college, or society which is under him; how should we think it a matter decent, that the clergy should impose laws, the supreme governor's assent not asked?

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 Christ; in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the constraint of men, 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 thralldom* unto men. Their judgment is therefore, that the church of Christ should admit of no law-makers but the evangelists, no courts but presbyters, no punishments but ecclesiastical censures. Against this sort, we are to maintain the use of human laws, and the continual necessity of making them from time to time, as long as this present world doth last; so likewise the authority of laws so made doth need much more by us to be strengthened against another sort; who, although they do utterly condemn the making of laws in the church, yet make they a deal less account of them than they should do. There are which think simply of human laws, that they

Boet. Epod.
heroic. quest.
l. i. sect. 28,

can in no sort touch the conscience. That to break and transgress them, cannot make men in the sight of God culpable, as sin doth; only when we violate such laws, we do thereby make our selves obnoxious unto external punishment in this world, so that the magistrate may, in regard of such offence committed, justly correct the offender, and cause him, without injury, to endure such pains as law doth appoint, but further it reacheth not. For first, the conscience is the proper court of God, the guiltiness thereof is sin, and the punishment eternal death; men are not able to make any law that shall command the heart, it is not in them to make inward conceit a crime, or to appoint for any crime other punishment than corporal; their laws therefore can have no power over the soul, neither can the heart of man be polluted by transgressing them. St. *Austin* rightly defineth sin to be that which is spoken, done, or desired, not against any laws, but against the law of the living God. The law of God is proposed unto man, as a glass wherein to behold the stains and the spots of their sinful souls. By it they are to judge themselves, and when they feel themselves to have transgressed against it, then to bewail their offences with *David*, *Against thee only, O Lord, have I sinned, and done wickedly in thy sight*; that so our present tears may extinguish the flames, which otherwise we are to feel, and which God in that day shall condemn the wicked unto, when they shall render account of the evil which they have done, not by violating statute-laws and canons, but by disobedience unto his law and his word.

Verum ac
proprium ci-
vis à peregrino
discrimen est,
quod alter im-
perio ac pote-
state civili ob-
ligatur, alter
iustis principis
alieni respicere
potest. Illum
principes ab-
hollunt æque
ac civium in-
juria tueri ne-
cessatur, hunc
non item nisi
rogatus & hu-
manitatis offi-
cis impulsus,
sicut *Bodinus*, de
rep. l. i. c. 6. non
multum à sine
p. 61. edit.
Lugd. B. in
fol. 1586,

For our better instruction therefore concerning this point, first we must note, that the law of God it self doth require at our hands, subjection. *Be ye subject*, saith St. *Peter*; and St. *Paul*, *Let every soul be subject; subject all unto such powers as are set over us*. For if such as are not set over us require our subjection, we by denying it are not disobedient to the law of God, or undutiful unto higher powers; because, though they be such in regard of them over whom they have lawful dominion, yet having not so over us, unto us they are not such. Subjection therefore we owe, and that by the law of God; we are in conscience bound to yield it even unto every of them that hold the seats of authority and power in relation unto us. Howbeit, not all kinds of subjection unto every such kind of power. Concerning *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, our Saviour's precept was, *Whatsoever they shall tell ye, do it*: Was it his meaning, that if they should at any time enjoin the people to levy any army, or to sell their lands and goods for the furtherance of so great an enterprize; and, in a word, that simply whatsoever it were which they did command, they ought, without any exception, forthwith to be obeyed? No, but whatsoever they shall tell you, must be understood *in pertinentibus ad cathedram*, it must be construed with limitation, and restrained unto things of that kind which did belong to their place and power. For they had not power general, absolutely given them to command all things. The reason why we are bound in conscience to be subject unto all such power, is, because *all powers are of God*.

They are of God either instituting or permitting them. Power is then of divine institution, when either God himself doth deliver, or men by light of nature find out the kind thereof. So that the power of parents over children, and of husbands over their wives, the power of all sorts of superiors, made by consent of commonwealths within themselves, or grown from agreement amongst nations, such power is of God's own institution in respect of the kind thereof. Again, if respect be had unto those particular persons to whom the same is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as *Moses* and *Aaron* did; or from nature, as parents do; or from men by a natural and orderly course, as every governor appointed in any commonwealth, by the order thereof, doth; then is not the kind of their power only of God's instituting, but the derivation thereof also, into their persons is from him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his ministers; subjection therefore is due unto all such powers, inasmuch as they are of God's own institution, even then when they are of man's creation, *Omni humane creature*: which things the heathens themselves do acknowledge.

Hom. il. l. 2.
A scepter
swaying king,
to whom even
Super him self
hath given ho-
nour and com-
mandment.

Σκπτρὸν Χρ. Βασιλεὺς ἄντε Ζεὺς κύδ' ἐδωκεν.

As for them that exercise power altogether against order, although the kind of power which they have may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by *permission*, as all injustice is.

Touching such acts as are done by that power which is according to his institution, that God in like sort doth authorize them, and account them to be his; though it were not confessed, it might be proved undeniably. For if that be accounted our deed, which others do, whom we have appointed to be our agents, how should God but approve those deeds, even as his own, which are done by virtue of that commission and power which

he hath given. *Take heed* (saith *Jehosaphat* unto his judges) *be careful and circumspect what ye do, ye do not execute the judgments of man, but of the Lord*, 2 Chron. 19. 6. The authority of *Cæsar* over the *Jews*, from whence was it? Had it any other ground than the law of nations, which maketh kingdoms, subdued by just war, to be subject unto their conquerors? By this power *Cæsar* exacting tribute, our Saviour confesseth it to be his right, a right which could not be with-held without injury, yea disobedience herein unto him, and even rebellion against God. Usurpers of power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aspired unto places of highest authority, but them that use more authority than they did ever receive in form and manner beforementioned; (for so they may do, whose title to the rooms of authority which they possess, no man can deny to be just and lawful: even as contrariwise some mens proceedings in government have been very orderly, who notwithstanding did not attain to be made governors without great violence and disorder) such usurpers thereof, as in the exercise of their power do more than they have been authorized to do, cannot in conscience bind any man unto obedience.

That subjection which we owe unto lawful powers, doth not only import that we should be under them by order of our state, but that we shew all submission towards them both by honour and obedience. He that resisteth them, resisteth God: and resisted they be, if either the authority it self which they exercise be denied, as by anabaptists all secular jurisdictions; or if resistance be made but only so far forth as doth touch their persons which are invested with power; (for they which said, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, did not utterly exclude regiment; nor did they wish all kind of government clearly removed, which would not at the first have *David* to govern) or if that which they do by virtue of their power, namely, their laws, edicts, services, or other acts of jurisdiction, be not suffered to take effect, contrary to the blessed apostle's most holy rule, *Obeys them who have the oversight of you*, Heb. 13. 17. or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby satisfied neither, as long as that which we do is contemptuously, or repiningly done, because we can do no otherwise. In such sort the *Israelites* in the desert obeyed *Moses*, and were notwithstanding deservedly plagued for disobedience. The apostle's precept therefore is, *Be subject even for God's cause; be subject, not for fear, but of meer conscience, knowing, that he which resisteth them, purchaseth to himself condemnation*. Disobedience therefore unto laws which are made by them, is not a thing of so small account as some would make it.

Howbeit too rigorous it were, that the breach of every human law should be held a deadly sin: a mean there is between these extremities, if so be we can find it out.

T O T H E R E A D E R.

THE pleasures of thy spacious walks in Mr. Hooker's temple garden (not unfitly so called, both for the temple whereof he was master, and the subject, Ecclesiastical Polity) do promise acceptance to these flowers, planted and watered by the same hand, and, for thy sake composed into this posy. Sufficiently are they commended by their fragrant smell, in the dogmatical truth; by their beautiful colours, in the accurate style; by their medicinable virtue, against some diseases in our neighbour churches, now proving epidemical, and threatening farther infection; by their straight feature and spreading nature, growing from the root of faith (which, as here is proved, can never be rooted up) and extending the branches of charity to the covering of Noah's nakedness; opening the windows of hope to men's misty conceits of their bemisted fore-fathers. Thus, and more than thus, do the works commend themselves; the workman needs a better workman to commend him; (Alexander's picture requires Apelles his pencil) nay, he needs it not, His own works commend him in the gates; and, being dead he yet speaketh; the syllables of that memorable name Mr. Richard Hooker, proclaiming more, than if I should here stile him, a painful student, a profound scholar, a judicious writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receive then this postume orphan for his own, yea, for thine own sake; and if the printer hath with overmuch haste, like Mephibosheth's nurse, lamed the child with slips and falls, yet be thou of David's mind, shew kindness to him for his father Jonathan's sake. God grant, that the rest of his brethren be not more than lamed, and that as Saul's three sons died the same day with him, so those three promised to perfect his Polity, with other issues of that learned brain, be not buried in the grave with their renowned father. Farewel.

W. S.

The Contents of the Treatises following.

- I. **A** Supplication made to the council by master Walter Travers.
- II. **A** Master Hooker's answer to the supplication that master Travers made to the council.
- III. *A learned discourse of justification, works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown.*
- IV. *A learned sermon of the nature of pride.*
- V. *A remedy against sorrow and fear, delivered in a funeral sermon.*
- VI. *Of the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the elect; especially the prophet Habakkuk's faith.*
- VII. *Two sermons upon part of St. Jude's epistle.*

A

S U P P L I C A T I O N

Made to the

C O U N C I L

B Y

Master Walter Travers.

Right Honourable,

THE manifold benefits which all the subjects within this dominion do at this present, and have many years enjoyed, under her majesty's most happy and prosperous reign, by your godly wisdom and careful watching over this estate night and day, I truly and unfeignedly acknowledge from the bottom of my heart, ought worthily to bind us all to pray continually to almighty God for the continuance and increase of the life and good estate of your honours, and to be ready, with all good duties, to satisfy and serve the same to our power. Besides publick benefits common unto all, I must needs, and do willingly confess my self to stand bound by most special obligation, to serve and honour you more than any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleased you to vouchsafe both oftentimes heretofore, and also now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than my earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my service in the ministering of the gospel of Jesus Christ. For which cause, as I have been always careful so to carry my self as I might by no means give occasion to be thought unworthy of so great a benefit, so do I still, next unto her majesty's gracious countenance, hold nothing more dear and precious to me, than that I may always remain in your honours favour, which hath oftentimes been helpful and comfortable unto me in my ministry, and to all such as reaped any fruit of my simple and faithful labour. In which dutiful regard I humbly beseech your honours to vouchsafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwise than according to the duty wherein I ought to live, by any information against me, before your honours have heard my answer, and been thoroughly informed of the matter. Which, altho' it be a thing that your wisdoms, not in favour, but in justice, yield to all men, yet the state of the calling into the ministry, whereunto it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me, though unworthiest of all, is so subject to misinformation, as, except we may find

this favour with your honours, we cannot look for any other, but that our unindifferent parties may easily procure us to be hardly esteemed of; and that we shall be made like the poor fisher-boats in the sea, which every swelling wave and billow raketh and runneth over. Wherein my estate is yet harder than any others of my rank and calling, who are indeed to fight against flesh and blood in what part soever of the Lord's host and field they shall stand marshalled to serve, yet many of them deal with it naked, and unfurnished of weapons: but my service was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with skill and with authority, whereof as I have always thus deserved, and therefore have been careful by all good means to entertain still your honours favourable respect of me, so have I special cause at this present, wherein misinformation to the lord archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other of the high commission hath been able so far to prevail against me, that by their letter they have inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of ministry, in the *Temple* or elsewhere, having never once called me before them, to understand by mine answer the truth of such things as had been informed against me. We have a story in our books, wherein the *Pharisees* proceeding against our Saviour Christ, without having heard him, are reproved by an honourable councillor (as the evangelist doth term him) saying, *Doth our law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he hath done?* Which I do not mention, to the end that by an indirect and covert speech I might so compare those who have, without ever hearing me, pronounced a heavy sentence against me; for notwithstanding such proceedings, I purpose by God's grace to carry my self towards them in all seeming duty, agreeable to their places: much less do I presume to liken my cause to our Saviour Christ's, who hold it my chiefest honour and happiness to serve him, tho' it be but among the hinds and hired servants, that serve him in the basest corners of his house: but my purpose in mentioning it is, to shew by the judgment of a prince and great man in *Israel*, that such proceeding standeth not with the law of God, and in a princely pattern to shew it to be a noble part of an honourable councillor, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow and affect such a course in justice as is agreeable to the law of God. We have also a plain rule in the word of God, not to proceed any otherwise against any elder of the church; much less against one that laboureth in the word, and in teaching. Which rule is delivered with this most earnest charge and obtestation, *I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou keep those [rules] without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partiality, or inclining to either part*; which apostolical and most earnest charge, I refer to your honours wisdom how it hath been regarded in so heavy a judgment against me, without ever hearing my cause; and whether, as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jesus, by whom all former judgments shall be tried again; and, as in the presence of the elect angels, witnesses and observers of the regiment of the church, they have proceeded thus to such a sentence. They alledge indeed two reasons in their letters, whereupon they restrain my ministry; which, if they were as strong against me as they are supposed, yet I refer to your honours wisdoms, whether the quality of such an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiscretion, deserve so grievous a punishment both to the church and me, in taking away my ministry, and that poor little commodity which it yieldeth for the necessary maintenance of my life; if so unequal a balancing of faults and punishments should have place in the commonwealth, surely we should shortly have no actions upon the case, nor of trespass, but all should be pleas of the crown, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for every light offence put to his ransom. I have credibly heard, that some of the ministry have been committed for grievous transgressions of the laws of God and men, being of no ability to do other service in the church than to read, yet hath it been thought charitable, and standing with christian moderation and temperance, not to deprive such of ministry and beneficence, but to inflict some more tolerable punishment. Which I write, not because such, as I think, were to be favoured, but to shew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodness of God not to be roused with any such blame; and one, who, according to the measure of the gift of God, have laboured now some years painfully, in regard of the weak estate of my body, in preaching the gospel, and, as I hope, not altogether unprofitably, in respect of the church. But I beseech your honours to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reasons of their letter, and what answer I have to make to it.

The first is, that, as they say, *I am not lawfully called to the function of the ministry, nor allowed to preach, according to the laws of the church of England.*

For answer to this, I had need to divide the points. And first to make answer to the former; wherein leaving to shew what by the holy scriptures is required in a lawful calling, and that all this is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your weighty affairs, I rest.

I thus answer. My calling to the ministry was such as, in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be used by the orders agreed upon in the national synods of the Low-countries, for the direction and guidance of their churches; which orders are the same with those whereby the *French* and *Scotish* churches are governed; whereof I have shewed such sufficient testimonial to my lord the archbishop of *Canterbury*, as is requisite in such a matter: whereby it must needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the ministry in those churches, then is my calling, being the same with theirs, also lawful. But I suppose, notwithstanding they use this general speech, they mean only, my calling is not sufficient to deal in the ministry within this land, because I was not made minister according to that order, which in this case is ordained by our laws. Whereunto I beseech your honours to consider thoroughly of mine answer, because exception now again is taken to my ministry, whereas having been heretofore called in question for it, I so answered the matter, as I continued in my ministry, and, for any thing I discerned, looked to hear that no more would be objected unto me. The communion of saints (which every christian man professeth to believe) is such, as that the acts which are done in any true church of Christ's according to his word, are held as lawful, being done in one church as in another. Which, as it holdeth in other acts of ministry, as baptism, marriage, and such like, so doth it in the calling to the ministry; by reason whereof, all churches do acknowledge and receive him for a minister of the word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any church of the same profession. A doctor created in any university of Christendom, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The church of *Rome* it self, and the canon-law holdeth it, that being ordered in *Spain*, they may execute that belongeth to their order in *Italy*, or in any other place. And the churches of the gospel never made any question of it; which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and deny such to be lawfully called to the ministry, as are called by another order than our own; then may it well be looked for, that other churches will do the like: and if a minister called in the Low-countries be not lawfully called in *England*, then may they say to our preachers which are there, that being made of another order than theirs, they cannot suffer them to execute any act of ministry amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schism, and dangerous divisions in the churches. Further, I have heard of those that are learned in the laws of this land, that by expresse statute to that purpose, *Anno 13.* upon subscription to the articles agreed upon, *Anno 62.* that they who pretend to have been ordered by another order than that which is now established, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of ministry within the land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by law in this established. Which comprehending manifestly all, even such as were made priests according to the order of the church of *Rome*, it must needs be, that the law of a christian land, professing the gospel, should be as favourable for a minister of the word, as for a popish priest; which also was so found in Mr. *Whittingham's* case, who notwithstanding such replies against him, enjoyed still the benefit he had by his ministry, and might have done until this day, if God had spared him life so long; which, if it be understood so, and practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right which the law giveth to all others?

The place of ministry whereunto I was called, was not presentative: and if it had been so, surely they would never have presented any man whom they never knew; and the order of this church is agreeable herein to the word of God, and the ancient and best canons, that no man should be made a minister *sine titulo*: therefore having none, I could not by the orders of this church have entred into the ministry, before I had a charge to tend upon. When I was at *Antwerp*, and to take a place of ministry among the people of that nation, I see no cause why I should have returned again over the seas for orders here; nor how I could have done it, without disallowing the orders of the churches provided in the country where I was to live. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the ministry is lawful, and maketh me, by our law, of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity, that any other, by reason of his ministry, may enjoy. But my cause is yet more easy, who reaped no benefit of my ministry by law, receiving only a benevolence and voluntary contribution; and the ministry I dealt with, being preaching only, which every deacon here may do, being licensed, and certain that are neither ministers nor deacons. Thus I answer the former of these two points, whereof, if there be yet any doubt, I humbly desire, for a final end thereof, that some competent

competent judges in law may determine of it; whereunto I refer and submit my self with all reverence and duty.

The second is, *That I preached without license*. Whereunto, this is my answer; I have not presumed, upon the calling I had to the ministry abroad, to preach or deal with any part of the ministry within this church, without the consent and allowance of such as were to allow me unto it. My allowance was from the bishop of *London*, testified by his two several letters to the *Inner Temple*, who without such testimony would by no means rest satisfied in it: which letters being by me produced, I refer it to your honours wisdom, whether I have taken upon me to preach, without being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the realm. Thus having answered the second point also, I have done with the objection, *Of dealing without calling or license*.

The other reason they alledge, is, concerning a late action, wherein I had to deal with Mr. *Hooker*, master of the *Temple*. In the handling of which cause, they charge me with an indiscretion, and want of duty, *in that I inveighed* (as they say) *against certain points of doctrine taught by him, as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them*. My answer hereunto standeth, in declaring to your honours the whole course and carriage of that cause, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witness, as near as my best memory, and notes of remembrance, may serve me thereunto. After that I have taken away that which seemed to have moved them to think me not charitably minded to Mr. *Hooker*; which is, because he was brought into Mr. *Alvey's* place, wherein this church desired that I might have succeeded: which place, if I would have made suit to have obtained, or if I had ambitiously affected and sought, I would not have refused to have satisfied, by subscription, such as the matter then seemed to depend upon: whereas contrariwise, notwithstanding I would not hinder the church to do that they thought to be most for their edification and comfort, yet did I, neither by speech nor letter, make suit to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that resolution, which I judge to be most agreeable to the word and will of God; that is, that labouring and suing for places and charges in the church is not lawful. Further, whereas at the suit of the church, some of your honours entertained the cause, and brought it to a near issue, that there seemed nothing to remain, but the commendation of my Lord the archbishop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be satisfied, but by my subscribing to his late articles; and that my answer agreeing to subscribe according to any law, and to the statute provided in that case, but praying to be respired for subscribing to any other, which I could not in conscience do, either for the *Temple* (which otherwise he said he would not commend me to) nor for any other place in the church, did so little please my lord archbishop as he resolved that otherwise I should not be commended to it. I had utterly here no cause of offence against Mr. *Hooker*, whom I did in no sort esteem to have prevented or undermined me, but that God disposed of me as it pleased him, by such means and occasions as I have declared.

Moreover, as I have taken no cause of offence at Mr. *Hooker* for being preferred, so there were many witnesses, that I was glad that the place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and goodwill which hath been between us, and for some kind of affinity in the marriage of his nearest kindred and mine. Since his coming, I have so carefully endeavoured to entertain all good correspondence and agreement with him, as I think he himself will bear me witness of many earnest disputations and conferences with him about the matter; the rather, because that, contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but smally thereunto, but joined rather with such as had always opposed themselves to any good order in this charge, and made themselves to be brought indisposed to his present state and proceedings. For, both knowing that God's commandment charged me with such duty, and discerning how much our peace might further the good service of God and his church, and the mutual comfort of us both, I had resolved constantly to seek for peace; and though it should fly from me (as I saw it did by means of some, who little desired to see the good of our church) yet according to the rule of God's word, to follow after it. Which being so (as hercof I take God to witness, who searcheth the heart and reins, and who by his Son will judge the world, both quick and dead) I hope no charitable judgment can suppose me to have stood evil-affected towards him for his place, or desirous to fall into any controversy with him.

Which my resolution I pursued, that, whereas I discovered sundry unsound matters in his doctrine (as many of his sermons tasted some four leaven or other) yet thus I carried

carried my self towards him. Matters of smaller weight, and so covertly discovered, that no great offence to the church was to be feared in them, I wholly passed by, as one that discerned nothing of them, or had been unfurnished of replies; for others of great moment, and so openly delivered, as there was just cause of fear lest the truth and church of God should be prejudiced and perilled by it, and such as the conscience of my duty and calling would not suffer me altogether to pass over, this was my course, to deliver, when I should have just cause by my text, the truth of such doctrine as he had otherwise taught, in general speeches, without touch of his person in any sort; and further at convenient opportunity to confer with him in such points.

According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning predestination otherwise than the word of God doth, as it is understood by all churches professing the gospel, and not unlike that wherewith *Coranus* sometimes troubled his church, I both delivered the truth of such points in a general doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also privately upon such articles. In which conference, I remember, when I urged the consent of all churches and good writers against him that I knew; and desired, if it were otherwise, what authors he had seen of such doctrine: he answered me, that his best author was his own reason; which I wished him to take heed of, as a matter standing with christian modesty and wisdom in a doctrine not received by the church, not to trust to his own judgment so far as to publish it before he had conferred with others of his profession labouring by daily prayer and study to know the will of God, as he did, to see how they understood such doctrine. Notwithstanding, he, with wavering, replied, that he would some other time deal more largely in the matter. I wished him, and prayed him not so to do, for the peace of the church, which, by such means, might be hazarded; seeing he could not but think, that men, who make any conscience of their ministry, will judge it a necessary duty in them, to teach the truth, and to convince the contrary.

Another time, upon like occasion of this doctrine of his, *That the assurance of that we believe by the word, is not so certain, as of that we perceive by sense*; I both taught the doctrine otherwise, namely, the assurance of faith to be greater, which assured both of things above, and contrary to all sense and human understanding, and dealt with him also privately upon that point: according to which course of late, when as he had taught, *That the church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a sanctified church by profession of that truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, tho' not a pure and perfect church*; and further, *That he doubted not, but that thousands of the fathers, which lived and died in the superstitions of that church, were saved, because of their ignorance, which excuseth them*; misallegging to that end a text of scripture to prove it: the mat.¹ Tim. 1. 13: ter being of set purpose openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment, that might prejudice the faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to suffer themselves easily to be seduced to the destruction of their souls; I thought it my most bounden duty to God and to his church, whilst I might have opportunity to speak with him, to teach the truth in a general speech in such points of doctrine.

At which time I taught, *That such as dye, or have died at any time in the church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that faith which is taught in it, and namely, justification in part by works, could not be saved by the scriptures to be saved*. In which matter, foreseeing that if I waded not warily in it, I should be in danger to be reported, (as hath fallen out since notwithstanding) to condemn all the fathers, I said directly and plainly to all mens understanding, *That it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the fathers were saved; but the means* (said I) *was not their ignorance, which excuseth no man with God, but their knowledge and faith of the truth, which it appeareth God vouchsafed them, by many notable monuments and records extant in all ages*. Which being the last point in all my sermon, rising so naturally from the text I then propounded, as would have occasion'd me to have deliver'd such matter, notwithstanding the former doctrine had been sound; and being dealt in by a general speech, without touch of his particular; I looked not that a matter of controversy would have been made of it, no more than had been of my like dealing in former time. But, far otherwise than I looked for, Mr. *Hooker* shewing no grief of offence taken at my speech all the week long, the next sabbath, leaving to proceed upon his ordinary text, professed to preach again that he had done the day before, for some question that his doctrine was drawn into, which he desired might be examined with all severity.

So proceeding, he bestowed his whole time in that discourse, concerning his former doctrine, and answering the places of scripture which I had alledged to prove that a man dying in the church of *Rome* is not to be judged by the scriptures to be saved. In

In which long speech, and utterly impertinent to his text, under colour of answering for himself, he impugned directly and openly to all mens understanding, the true doctrine which I had delivered; and, adding to his former points some other like (as willingly one error follows another) that is, *That the Galatians joining with faith in Christ's circumcision, as necessary to salvation, might not be saved: and that they of the church of Rome, may be saved by such a faith of Christ as they had, with a general repentance of all their errors, notwithstanding their opinion of justification in part by their works and merits:* I was necessarily, though not willingly, drawn to say something to the points he objected against sound doctrine; which I did in a short speech in the end of my sermon, with protestation of so doing not of any sinister affection to any man, but to bear witness to the truth according to my calling; and wished, if the matter should needs farther be dealt in, some other more convenient way might be taken for it. Wherein, I hope, my dealing was manifest to the consciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to have been according to peace, and without any uncharitableness, being duly considered.

For that I conferred with him the first day, I have shewed that the cause requiring of me the duty, at the least not to be altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, that the time also being short wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small upon experience of former conferences, my expectation being that the church should be no further troubled with it, upon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing: I suppose my deferring to speak with him till some fit opportunity, cannot in charity be judged uncharitable.

The second day, his unlookt for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessity some publick answer; which being so temperate as I have shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as uncharitable, and punished so grievously as it is, what should have been my punishment, (if without all such cautions and respects as qualified my speech) I had before all, and in the understanding of all, so reproved him offending openly, that others might have feared to do the like? Which yet, if I had done, might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the apostle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the rest may also fear;* and by his example, who, when *Peter* in this very case which is now between us, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of conversation, not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the gospel, conferred not privately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproved him openly before all, that others might hear, and fear, and not dare to do the like. All which reasons together weighed, I hope, will shew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable, and warrantable in every sort.

The next sabbath day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he had entered into before, and bestowed his whole hour and more only upon the questions he had moved and maintained; wherein he so set forth the agreement of the church of *Rome* with us, and their disagreement from us, as if we had consented in the greatest and weightiest points, and differed only in certain smaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not such as he would have made men believe. The one, in that he said, *They acknowledge all men sinners, even the blessed virgin,* though some freed her from sin, for the council of *Trent* holdeth, that she was free from sin. Another, in that he said, *They teach Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from us only in the applying of it:* for *Thomas Aquinas* their chief schoolman, and archbishop *Catherinus* teach, *That Christ took away only original sin, and that the rest are to be taken away by our selves;* yea, the council of *Trent* teacheth, *That righteousness whereby we are righteous in God's sight, is an inherent righteousness;* which must needs be of our own works, and cannot be understood of the righteousness inherent only in Christ's person, and accounted unto us. Moreover he taught the same time, *That neither the Galatians, nor the church of Rome, did directly overthrow the foundation of justification by Christ alone, but only by consequent, and therefore might well be saved; or else neither the churches of the Lutherans, nor any which hold any manner of error could be saved; because* (saith he) *every error by consequent overthroweth the foundation.* In which discourses, and such like, he bestowed his whole time and more; which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace of the church, he would truly not have done.

Whose example could not draw me to leave the scripture I took in hand, but standing about an hour to deliver the doctrine of it, in the end, upon just occasion of the text, leaving sundry other his unsound speeches, and keeping me still to the principal, I confirmed the believing the doctrine of justification by Christ only, to be necessary

to the justification of all that should be saved, and that the church of *Rome* directly denieth, that a man is saved by Christ, or by faith alone, without the works of the law. Which my answer, as it was most necessary for the service of God, and the church, so was it without any immodest or reproachful speech to Mr. *Hooker*; whose unsound and wilful dealings in a cause of so great importance to the faith of Christ, and salvation of the church, notwithstanding I knew well what speech it deserved, and what some zealous earnest man of the spirit of *John* and *James*, surnamed *Boaner*.^{Mark 3. 17.} ges, sons of thunder, would have said in such a case; yet I chose rather to content my self in exhorting him to re-viſit his doctrine, as *Nathan* the prophet did the device,^{2 Sam. 7. 2, 3.} which, without consulting with God, he had of himself given to *David*, concerning⁺ the building of the temple; and with *Peter* the apostle, to endure to be withstood in Gal. 2. 11, 14. such a case, not unlike unto this. This in effect, was that which passed between us concerning this matter, and the invectives I made against him, wherewith I am charged. which rehearſal, I hope, may clear me (with all that shall indifferently consider it) of the blames laid upon me for want of duty to Mr. *Hooker* in not conferring with him, whereof I have spoken sufficiently already; and to the high commission, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to answer. My answer is, that I protest, no contempt nor wilful neglect of any lawful authority, stayed me from complaining unto them, but these reasons following:

First, I was in some hope, that Mr. *Hooker*, notwithstanding he had been over carried with a shew of charity to prejudice the truth, yet when it should be sufficiently proved would have acknowledged it, or at the least induced with peace, that it might be offered without any offence to him, or to such as would receive it; either of which would have taken away any cause of just complaint. When neither of these fell out according to my expectation and desire, but that he replied to the truth, and objected against it, I thought he might have some doubts and scruples in himself; which yet, if they were cleared, he would either embrace sound doctrine, or at least suffer it to have its course: which hope of him I nourished so long, as the matter was not bitterly and immodestly handled between us.

Another reason was the cause it self, which, according to the parable of the tares (which are said to be sown among the wheat) sprung up first in his graft: therefore, as the servants in that place, are not said to have come to complain to the Lord, till the tares came to shew their fruits in their kind; so, I thinking it yet but a time of discovering of what it was, desired not their sickle to cut it down.

For further answer, It is to be considered, that the conscience of my duty to God, and to his church, did bind me at the first, to deliver sound doctrine in such points as had been otherwise uttered in that place, where I had now some years taught the truth; otherwise the rebuke of the prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach, ^{Ezek. 22. 30.} and standing in it, and the peril for answering the blood of the city, in whose watch-^{Chap. 33. 6.} tower I sat; if it had been surprized by my default. Moreover, my publick protestation, in being unwilling, that if any were not yet satisfied, some other more convenient way might be taken for it. And lastly, that I had resolved (which I uttered before to some, dealing with me about the matter) to have protested the next sabbath day, that I would no more answer in that place, any objections to the doctrine taught by any means, but some other way satisfy such as should require it.

These, I trust, may make it appear, that I failed not in duty to authority, notwithstanding I did not complain, nor give over so soon dealing in the case. If I did, how is he clear, which can alledge none of all these for himself; who leaving the expounding of the scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily discoursed upon school-points and questions, neither of edification, nor of truth? Who after all this, as promising to himself, and to untruth, a victory by my silence, added yet in the next sabbath day, to the maintenance of his former opinions, these which follow:

That no additament takeh away the foundation, except it be a privitive; of which sort neither the works added to Christ by the church of Rome, nor circumcision by the Galatians were: as one denieth him not to be a man, that saith, he is a righteous man, but he that saith he is a dead man: whereby it might seem, that a man might, without hurt, add works to Christ, and pray also that God and St. Peter would save them.

That the Galatians case is harder than the case of the church of Rome, because the Galatians joynd circumcision with Christ, which God had forbidden and abolish'd; but that which the church of Rome joynd with Christ, were good works which God hath commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault, one, in expounding all the questions of the Galatians, and

consequently of the *Romans*, and other epistles, of circumcision only, and the ceremonies of the law (as they do, who answer for the church of *Rome* in their writings) contrary to the clear meaning of the apostle, as may appear by many strong and sufficient reasons: the other, in that he said, *the addition of the church of Rome was of works commanded of God*. Whereas the least part of the works whereby they looked to merit, was of such works; and most were works of supererogation, and works which God never commanded, but was highly displeased with, as of masses, pilgrimages, pardons, pains of purgatory, and such like: *That no one sequel urged by the apostle against the Galatians for joyning circumcision with Christ, but might be as well enforced against the Lutherans; that is, that for their ubiquity it may be as well said to them, if ye hold the body of Christ to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are under the curse of the law, saying, Cursed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this book, with such like*. He added yet farther, *That to a bishop of the church of Rome, to a cardinal, yea, to the pope himself acknowledging Christ to be the Saviour of the world, denying other errors, and being comforted for want of works whereby he might be justified, he would not doubt, but use this speech; thou holdest the foundation of christian faith, though it be but by a slender thread; thou holdest Christ, though but by the hem of his garment; why shouldst thou not hope that virtue may pass from Christ to save thee? That which thou holdest of justification by thy works, overthroweth indeed by consequent the foundation of christian faith; but be of good cheer, thou hast not to do with a captious sophister, but with a merciful God, who will justify thee for that thou holdest, and not take the advantage of doubtful construction to condemn thee*. And if this, said he, be an error, I hold it willingly; for it is the greatest comfort I have in the world, without which I would not wish either to speak or live. Thus far, being not to be answered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the absurdity of which speech I need not to stand upon. I think the like to this, and other such in this sermon, and the rest of this matter, hath not been heard in publick places within this land since queen *Mary's* days. What consequence this doctrine may be of, if he be not by authority ordered to revoke it, I beseech your H. H. as the truth of God and his gospel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly wisdom to consider.

I have been bold to offer to your H. H. a long and tedious discourse of these matters; but speech being like to tapistry, which if it be folded up, sheweth but part of that which is wrought; and being unlapt and laid open, sheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it; I thought it necessary to unfold this tapistry, and to hang up the whole chamber of it in your most honourable senate, that so you may the more easily discern of all the pieces, and the sundry works and matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your H. H. may see I have not deserved so great a punishment as is laid upon the church for my sake, and also upon my self, in taking from me the exercise of my ministry. Which punishment, how heavy it may seem to the church, or fall out indeed to be, I refer it to them to judge, and spare to write what I fear, but to my self it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the exercise of my calling. Which I do not say is dear unto me, as the means of that little benefit whereby I live (although this be a lawful consideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the authority under whose protection I most willingly live, even by God's commandment both unto them, and unto me:) which ought to be more precious unto me than my life, for the love which I should bear to the glory and honour of almighty God, and to the edification and salvation of his church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like service to God, nor of such use and profit to men by any means. For which cause, as I discern how dear my ministry ought to be unto me, so it is my hearty desire, and most humble request unto God, to your H. H. and to all the authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may spend my life according to his example, who in a word of like sound, of fuller sense, comparing by it the bestowing of his life to the offering poured out upon the sacrifice of the faith of God's people, and especially of this church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the same calling, from which I stand now restrained. And if your H. H. shall find it so, that I have not deserved so great a punishment, but rather performed the duty which a good and faithful servant ought, in such case, to do to his Lord and the people he putteth them in trust withal carefully to keep; I am a most humble suitor by these presents to your H. H. that, by your godly wisdom, some good course may be taken for the restoring of me to my ministry and place again. Which so great a favour, shall bind me yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already so great, as it seemed nothing could be added unto it to make

it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and encrease of your good estate, and to be ready with all the poor means God hath given me, to do your H. H. that faithful service I may possibly perform. But if, notwithstanding my cause be never so good, your H. H. can by no means pacify such as are offended, nor restore me again, then am I to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend to your H. H. protection, under her majesty's, my private life, while it shall be led in duty; and the church to him, who hath redeemed to himself a people with his precious blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the quick and dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evil; to the wicked and unbelievers, justice unto death; but to the faithful, and such as love his truth, mercy and grace to life everlasting.

Your Honour's most bounden,

and most humble Supplicant,

Walter Travers,

Minister of the Gospel.

Mr. H O O K E R's

ANSWER

TO THE

SUPPLICATION

THAT

Mr. T R A V E R S

Made to the

COUNCIL.

To my Lord of CANTERBURY his Grace.

MY duty in my most humble wise remembered. May it please your grace to understand, that whereas there hath been a late controversy raised in the *Temple*, and pursued by Mr. *Travers*, upon conceit taken at some words by me uttered, with a most simple and harmless meaning. In the heat of which pursuit, after three publick invectives, silence being enjoined him by authority, he hath hereupon, for defence of his proceedings, both presented the right honourable lords, and others of her majesty's privy council with a writing; and also caused or suffered the same to be copied out, and spread thro' the hands of so many, that well nigh all sorts of men have it in their bosoms. The matters wherewith I am therein charged, being of such quality as they are, and my self being better known to your grace than to any other of their honours besides, I have chosen to offer to your grace's hand a plain declaration of my innocence in all those things wherewith I am so hardly, and so heavily charged; lest, if I still remain silent, that which I do for quietness sake, be taken as an argument, that I lack what to speak truly and justly in mine own defence.

2. First, because Mr. *Travers* thinketh it an expedient to breed an opinion in mens minds, that the root of all inconvenient events which are now sprung out, is the furlly and unpeaceable disposition of the man with whom he hath to do; therefore the first in the rank of accusations laid against me, is, *my inconformity, which have so little inclined to so many, and so earnest exhortations and conferences, as my self*, he saith, *can witness, to have been spent upon me, for my better fashioning unto good correspondence and agreement.*

3. Indeed, when at the first, by means of special well-willers, without any suit of mine, as they very well know (although I do not think it had been a mortal sin, in a reasonable sort, to have shewed a moderate desire that way) yet when by their endeavour without instigation of mine, some reverend and honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her majesty's grant of the place; at the very point of my entering thereinto, the evening before I was first to preach, he came, and two other gentlemen join'd with him: the effect of his conference then was, *That he thought it his duty to advise me, not to enter with a strong hand, but to change my purpose of preaching there the next day, and to stay till he had given notice of me to the congregation, that so their allowance might seal my calling.* The effect of my answer was, *That, as in a place where such order is, I would not break; so here, where it never was, I might not, of my own head, take upon me to begin it:* but liking very well the motion of the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requested him not to mislike my answer, tho' it were not correspondent to his mind.

4. When this had so displeased some, that whatsoever was afterwards done or spoken by me, it offended their taste, angry insinuations were daily sent our, intelligence given far and wide, what a dangerous enemy was crept in; the worst that jealousy could imagine was spoken and written to so many, that at the length some knowing me well, and perceiving how injurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my discredit, wrought means to bring Mr. Travers and me to a second conference. Wherein, when a common friend unto us both, had quietly requested him to utter those things, wherewith he found himself any way griev'd: he first renew'd the memory of my entering into this charge, by virtue only of an human creature (for so the want of that formality of popular allowance was then censured) and unto this was annexed a catalogue, partly of causeless surmises, as, *That I had conspired against him, and that I sought superiority over him;* and partly of faults, which to note, I should have thought it a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them faults, and had heard them so curiously observed in any other than my self, they are such silly things, as, *praying in the entrance of my sermon only, and not in the end, naming bishops in my prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receive the communion,* with such like, which I would be as loth to recite, as I was sorry to hear them objected, if the rehearsal thereof were not by him thus wrested from me. These are the conferences wherewith I have been wooed to entertain peace and good agreement.

5. As for the vehement exhortations he speaketh of, I would gladly know some reason wherefore he thought them needful to be us'd. Was there any thing found in my speeches or dealings that gave them occasion, who are studious of peace, to think that I disposed my self with some unquiet kind of proceedings? Surely, the special providence of God I do now see it was, that the first words I spake in this place, should make the first thing whereof I am accus'd, to appear not only untrue, but improbable, to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears; and do, I doubt not, in their consciences clear me of this suspicion. Howbeit, I grant this were nothing, if it might be shewed, that my deeds following were not suitable to my words. If I had spoken of peace at the first, and afterwards sought to molest and grieve him, by crossing him in his function, by storming, if my pleasure were not asked, and my will obeyed in the least occurrences, by carping needlessly sometimes at the manner of his teaching, sometimes at this, sometimes at that point of his doctrine: I might then with some likelihood have been blamed, as one disdainful a peaceable hand when it had been offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prove that my self hath now a full year together, born the continuance of such dealings, not only without any manner of resistance, but also without any such complaint, as might let or hinder him in his course, I see no cause in the world why of this I should be accused, unless it be, left I should accuse, which I meant not. If therefore I have given him occasion to use conferences and exhortations to peace, if when they were bestowed upon me I have despised them, it will not be hard to shew some one word or deed wherewith I have gone about to work disturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only, I require if any thing be shewed, it may be proved, and not objected only as this is, *That I have joined to such as have always opposed to any good order in his church, and made themselves to be thought indisposed to the present estate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it seemeth, unto some such things as being attempted before my coming to the Temple, went not so effectually (perhaps) forward, as he that devised them would have wished. An order, as I learn, there was tendred, that communicants should neither kneel, as in most places of the realm; nor sit, as in this place the custom is; but walk to the one side of the table, and there standing till they had received, pass afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a sudden begun to be practised in the church, some fate wondering

dering what it should mean, others deliberating what to do : till such time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requested that they might do as they had been accustomed, which was granted ; and as Mr. *Travers* had ministered this way to the rest, so a curate was sent to minister to them after their way. Which unprosperous beginning of a thing (saving only for the inconvenience of needless alterations otherwise harmless) did so disgrace that order, in their conceit who had to allow or disallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themselves to think it good, and it so much offended Mr. *Travers*, who supposed it to be the best, that he since that time, although contented to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they should ever receive out of his, which would not admit that order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath been always present not to minister, but only to be ministered unto.

6. Another order there was likewise devised, but an order of much more weight and importance. This foil in respect of certain immunities and other specialties belonging unto it, seemed likely to bear that which in other places of the realm of *England* doth not take. For which cause, request was made to her majesty's privy council, that whereas it is provided by a statute there should be collectors and siders in churches, which thing, or somewhat correspondent unto it, this place did greatly want ; it would please their honours to motion such a matter to the antients of the *Temple*. And according to their honourable manner of helping forward all motions so grounded, they wrote their letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon, although these houses never had use of such collectors and side men as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a box and received mens devotions for the poor, appointing the treasurer of both houses to take care for bestowing it where need was ; and granting farther, that if any could be entreated (as in the end somewhere) to undertake the labour of observing men's slackness in divine duties, they should be allowed their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. *Alvey's* private admonition did not serve, then by some other means to be redressed ; but according to the old received orders of both houses. Whereby the substance of their honours letters were indeed fully satisfied. Yet because Mr. *Travers* intended not this, but as it seemed, another thing ; therefore, notwithstanding the orders which have been taken, and for any thing I know, do stand still in as much force in this church now as at any time heretofore, he complaineth much of the good orders which he doth mean have been withstood. Now it were hard, if as many as did any ways oppose unto these and the like orders, in his persuasion good, do thereby make themselves dislikers of the present state and proceeding. If they, whom he aimeth at, have any other ways made themselves to be thought such, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, disclose wherein it appertaineth, both the persons whom he thinketh, and the causes why he thinketh them so ill affected. But whatsoever the men be, do their faults make me faulty ? They do, if I joyn my self with them. I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I have joined with them. Other joining than this with any man here, I cannot imagine : it may be I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably used the duties of common humanity with some such as he is hardly persuaded of. For I know no law of God or man, by force whereof they should be as heathens and publicans unto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cause, or if with cause, yet such cause as he is privy unto, and not I. Could he, or any reasonable man think it as a charitable course in me, to observe them that shew by external courtesies a favourable inclination toward him, and if I spy out any one amongst them of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw such an accusation as this against him, and to offer it where he hath given up his against me : which notwithstanding I will acknowledge to be just and reasonable, if he or any man living shall shew that I use as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath ever given me cause to suspect or conjecture him such as here they are termed with whom complaint is made that I joyn my self. This being spoken therefore, and written without all possibility of proof, doth not Mr. *Travers* give me over-great cause to stand in some fear lest he make too little conscience how he useth his tongue or pen ? These things are not laid against me for nothing ; they are to some purpose if they take place. For in a mind persuaded that I am, as he deciphereth me, one which refuses to be at peace with such as embrace the truth, and side my self with men sinistfully affected thereunto, any thing that shall be spoken concerning the unsoundness of my doctrine cannot chuse but be favourably entertained. This presupposed, it will have likelihood enough which afterwards followeth, *that many of my sermons have tasted of some four leaven or other, that in them he hath discover'd many unsound matters.* A thing much to be lamented, that such a place as this, which might have been

been so well provided for, hath fallen into the hands of one no better instructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found, that he judgeth my words, as they do colours which look upon them with green spectacles, and think that which they see is green, when indeed that is green whereby they see?

7. Touching the first point of this discovery, which is about the matter of predestination, to set down that I spake (for I have it written) to declare and confirm the several branches thereof would be tedious now in this writing, where I have so many things to touch, that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein so needful for me to justify my speech, when the very place and presence where I spake, doth it self speak sufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind alley, or uttered where none was to hear it that had skill with authority to controul; or covertly insinuated by some gliding sentence.

8. That which I taught was at *Paul's crosses*; it was not hudled in amongst other matters, in such sort that it could pass without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was some reasonable time stood upon. I see not which way my lord of *London*, who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault, as patiently, without rebuke or controulment afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwise than the *word of God* doth; nor as it is understood by the private interpretation of some one or two men, or by a special construction received in some few books; but, as it is understood by *all churches professing the gospel*; by them all, and therefore even by our own also amongst others. A man that did mean to prove that he speaketh, would surely take the measure of his words shorter.

9. The next thing discovered, is an opinion about the assurance of men's persuasions in matters of faith. I have taught, he saith, *That the assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense.* And, is it as certain? yea, I taught as he himself, I trust will not deny, that the things which God doth promise in his word are surer unto us than any thing which 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 unto us, as he doth by argument taken from our sensible experience? We must be surer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwise it is no proof. How is it, that if ten men do all look upon the moon, every one of them knoweth it is as certainly to be the moon as another; but many believing one and the same promise, all have not one and the same fulness of persuasion? How falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; whereas the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour and strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things, may grow, increase, and be augmented?

10. The sermon wherein I have spoken somewhat largely of this point was, long before this late controversy rose between him and me, upon request of some of my friends, seen and read by many, and amongst many, some who are thought able to discern: and I never heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing unsound matter. My case were very hard, if as oft as any thing I speak displeasing one man's taste, my doctrine upon his only word should be taken for four leaven.

11. The rest of this discovery is all about the matter now in question; wherein he hath two faults predominant would tire out any that should answer unto every point severally: unapt speaking of school-controversies, and of my words so untoward a reciting, that he which should promise to draw a man's countenance, and did indeed express the parts, at leastwise most of them, truly, but perversly place them, could not represent a more offensive visage, than unto me my own speech seemeth in some places, as he hath ordered it. For answer whereunto, that writing is sufficient, wherein I have set down both my words and meaning in such sort, that where this accusation doth deprave the one, and either misinterpret, or without just cause, mislike the other, it will appear so plainly, that I may spare very well to take upon me a new needless labour here.

12. Only at one thing which is there to be found, because Mr. *Travers* doth here seem to take such a special advantage, as if the matter were unanswerable, he constraineth me either to detect his oversight, or to confess mine own in it. In setting the question between the church of *Rome* and us, about grace and justification, lest I should give them an occasion to say, as commonly they do, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propose to our selves such instead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the best and most perspicuous way of teaching, to declare first, how far we do agree, and then to shew our disagreement: not generally

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* His words be (as Mr. *Travers* his words would carry it, for the easier fastning that upon me where^d thefe; Then next fabbarth-day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he entered into before, and bestowed his whole hour and more, only upon the questions he had moved and maintained. Wherein he so set the agreement of the church of *Rome* with us, and their disagreement from us, as if we had confented in the greatest and weightiest points, and differed only in certain smaller matters. Which agreement noted by him, in two chief points, is not such as he would have men believe: the one, in that he said they acknowledged all men sinners, even the blessed virgin, though some of them freed her from sin: for the council of *Trent* holdeth, that she was free from sin. Another, in that he said, They reach Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from us only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas*, their chief schoolman, and archbishop *Calixtinus*, teach, That Christ took away only original sin, and that the rest are to be taken away by our selves: yea, the council of *Trent* teacheth, That the righteousness whereby we are righteous in God's sight, is inherent righteousness, which must needs be of our own works, and cannot be understood of the righteousness inherent only in Christ's person, and accounted unto us.

13. Yea, but our agreement is not such in two of the chiefest points, as I would have men believe it is. And what are they? The one is, I said, *They acknowledge all men sinners, even the blessed virgin, though some of them free her from sin.* Put the case I had affirmed, that only some of them free her from sin, and had delivered it as the most current opinion amongst them, that she was conceived in sin: doth not *Bona-venture* say plainly, *omnes fere*, in a manner all men do hold this? doth he not bring many reasons wherefore all men should hold it; were their voices since that time ever counted, and their number found smaller which hold it, than theirs that hold the contrary? Let the question then be, whether I might say, the most of them *acknowledged all men sinners, even the blessed virgin her self.* To shew, that their general received opinion is the contrary, the *Tridentine* council is alledged, peradventure not altogether so considerately. For if that council have by resolute determination freed her, if it hold, as Mr. *Travers* saith it doth, that she was free from sin; then must the church of *Rome* needs condemn them that hold the contrary. For what that council holdeth, the same they all do and must hold. But in the church of *Rome*, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other? So that, by this argument, the council of *Trent* holdeth the virgin free from sin; *ergo*, it is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue, that most of them do acknowledge her a sinner, were forcible to overthrow my supposed assertion, if it were true that the council did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appear, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what many do conceive of the canon that concerneth this matter. The fathers of *Trent* perceived, that if they should define of this matter, it would be dangerous howsoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her original sin, the reasons against them are unanswerable, which *Bonaventure* and others do alledge, but especially *Thomas*, whose line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did resolve the other way, they should controul themselves in another thing, which in no case might be altered. For they profess to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing;

* This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her conception stained with the natural blemish inherent in mortal seed. And therefore he purgeth it off with two answers; the one, that the church of *Rome* doth not allow, but tolerate the feast; which answer now will not serve. The other, that being sure she was sanctify'd before birth, but unsure how long a while after her conception, therefore under the name of her conception-day, they honour the time of her sanctification. So that besides this, they have now no soder to make the certain allowance of their feast, and their uncertain sentence concerning her sin, to cleave together. *Tom. 3. part quest. 27. art. 2. ad 2. & 3.*

Annot. in *Rom. 5. sect. 9.*

and the virgin's conception they honour with a feast, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a constitution of *Xystus Quartus*. And, that which is worse, the world might perhaps suspect, that if the church of *Rome* did amiss before in this, it is not impossible for her to fail in other things. In the end, they did wisely quote out their canon by a middle thread, establishing the Feast of the virgin's conception, and leaving the other question doubtful as they found it; giving only a caveat, that no man should take the decree which pronounceth all mankind originally sinful, for a definitive sentence concerning the blessed virgin. This in my sight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hac ipsa sancta synodus, &c.* wherefore our countrymen at *Rheims*, mentioning this point, are marvelous wary how they speak; they touch it as tho' it were a hot coal: *Many godly devout men judge that our blessed lady was neither born nor conceived in sin.* Is it their wont to speak nicely of things definitively set down in that council?

In like sort, we find that the rest, which have since the time of the *tridentine* synod written of original sin, are in this point, for the most part, either silent, or very sparing in speech: and, when they speak, either doubtful what to think, or whatsoever they think themselves, fearful to set down any certain determination. If I be thought to take the canon of that council otherwise than they themselves do, let him expound it whose sentence was neither last asked, nor his pen least occupied in setting it down; I mean *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confess, that it is a matter which neither express evidence of scripture, nor the tradition of the fathers, nor the sentence of the church hath determined; that they are too surly and self-willed, which defending their opinion, are displeased with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the fathers of *Trent* have not set down any certainty about this question, but left it doubtful and indifferent. Lib. 5. defens. fidei.

Now whereas my words, which I had set down in writing, before I uttered them, were indeed these, *Although they imagine, that the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, were, for his honour, and by his special protection, preserved clean from all sin: yet concerning the rest, they teach as we do, that all have sinned.* Against my words they might, with more pretence, take exception, because so many of them think she had sin: which exception notwithstanding, the proposition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, because they grant, that many whom they account grave and devout amongst them think, that she was clear from all sin. But, whether Mr. *Travers* did note my words himself, or take them upon the credit of some other man's noting, the tables were faulty wherein it was noted: *All men sinners, even the blessed virgin.* When my second speech was rather, *All men except the blessed virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth, that I said, *They teach Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from us only in the applying of it.* I did say so, and, *They teach as we do, that altho' Christ be the only meritorious cause of our justice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied: so, by the merits of Christ, there can be no life nor justification, without the application of his merits: but about the manner of applying Christ, about the number and power of means whereby he is applied, we dissent from them.* This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to be such as I pretend. Let their own words therefore and mine concerning them be compared, doth not *Andradius* plainly confess; *Orthod. lib. 3: Our sins do shut, and only the merits of Christ open the entering unto blessedness? And Soto, In sent. dist. 1. It is put for a good ground, that all, since the fall of Adam, obtained salvation only by the passion of Christ: howbeit, as no cause can be effectual without applying, so neither can any may be saved to whom the suffering of Christ is not applied.* In a word, who not? When the council of *Trent*, reckoning up the causes of our first justification, doth name no end but God's glory, and our felicity; no efficient but his mercy; no instrumental but baptism; no meritorious but Christ; whom to have merited the taking away of no sin but original, is not their opinion: which himself will find, when he hath well examined his witnesses, *Catherinus* and *Thomas*. Their jesuites are marvellous angry with the men out of whose gleanings Mr. *Travers* seemeth to have taken this; they openly disclaim it; they say plainly, *O all the catholicks there is not one that did ever so teach; they make solemn protestation, We believe and profess, that Christ upon the cross hath altogether satisfied for all sins, as well original as actual.* Indeed they teach, that the merit of Christ doth not take away actual sin in such sort as it doth original; wherein, if their doctrine had been understood, I for my speech had never been accused. As for the council of *Trent*, concerning inherent righteousness, what doth it here? No man doubteth, but they make another formal cause of justification than we do. In respect whereof, I have shewed you already, that we disagree about the very essence of that which cureth our spiritual disease. Most true it is which the grand philosopher hath, *Every man judgeth well of that which he knoweth; and therefore till we know the things thoroughly whereof we judge, it is a point of judgment to stay our judgment.* Bellarm. judic. de lib. concor. mendac. 18. Nemo catholicorum unquam sic docuit; sed creditur & profitetur, Christum in cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis satisfecisse, tam originalibus quam actualibus.

15. Thus much labour being spent in discovering the unsoundness of my doctrine, some pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that, *I bestowed my whole hour and more, my time and more than my time, in discourses utterly impertinent to my text.* Which, if I had done, it might have past without complaining of to the privy council.

16. But I did worse, as he saith, *I left the expounding of the scriptures, and my ordinary calling, and discoursed upon school-points and questions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no lecture in the law, or in physick. And except the bounds of ordinary calling may be drawn like a purse, how are they so much wider unto him than to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinary calling, should reprove that in me, which he under-

Calv. inst. l. 1.
c. 6. sect. 9.

stood not; and I labouring that both he and others might understand, could not do this without forsaking my calling? The matter whereof I spake was such, as being at first by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and solemnly taken upon him to disprove. If therefore it were a school-question, and unfit to be discoursed of there, that which was in me but a proposition only at the first, wherefore made he a problem of it? Why took he first upon him to maintain the negative of that which I had affirmatively spoken only to shew mine own opinion, little thinking that ever it would have been a question? Of what nature soever the question were, I could do no less than there explain my self to them, unto whom I was accused of unsound doctrine; wherein if to shew what had been through ambiguity mistaken in my words, or misapplied by him in this cause against me, I used the distinction and helps of schools, I trust that herein I have committed no unlawful thing. These school implements are acknowledged by grave and wise men not unprofitable to have been invented. The most approved for learning and judgment do use them without blame; the use of them hath been well liked in some that have taught even in this very place before me: the quality of my hearers is such, that I could not but think them of capacity very sufficient, for the most part to conceive harder than I used any; the cause I had in hand did in my judgment, necessarily require them which were then used: when my words spoken generally without distinctions had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by distinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all men whether they were consonant to truth or no? And, although Mr. Travers be so injured with the city, that he thinketh it unmeet to use any speech which favoureth of the school, yet his opinion is no canon; though unto him, his mind being troubled, my speech did seem like fetters and manacles, yet there might be some more calmly affected which thought otherwise; his private judgment will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I spake *were neither of edification nor truth*. They might edify some other, for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proof to cry *absurdities; the like whereunto have not been heard in publick places within this land since queen Mary's days!* If this came in earnest from him, I am sorry to see him so much offended without cause; more sorry, that his fit should be so extream, to make him speak he knoweth not what. That I neither affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the church; *mihi pro minimo est*, it doth not much move me, when Mr. Travers doth say that, which I trust a greater than Mr. Travers will gainsay.

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath said be granted him, let it be as he would have it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much disallowed by all mens judgments as by his, what is all this to his purpose? He alledgeth this to be the cause why he bringeth it in; the high commissioners *charge him with an indiscretion and want of duty in that he inveigleth against certain points of doctrine, taught by me as erroneous, not conferring first with me, nor complaining of it to them*. Which faults, a sea of such matter as he hath hitherto waded in, will never be able to scour from him. For the avoiding of schism and disturbance in the church, which must needs grow if all men might think what they list, and speak openly what they think; therefore by a * decree agreed upon by the bishops, and confirmed by her majesty's authority, it was ordered that erroneous doctrine, if it were taught publicly, should not be publicly refuted; but that notice thereof should be given unto such as are by her highness appointed to hear and to determine such causes. For breach of which order, when he is charged with lack of duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon me will make but a weak defence for him. As surely his defence is not much stronger, when he alledges for himself, *That he was in some hope that his*

* In the advertisements published in the seventh year of her majesty's reign: If any preacher, or parson, vicar, or curate so licensed, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissention, or to derogation of the religion and doctrine received, that the hearers denounce the same to the ordinary, or to the next bishop of the same place, but not openly to contrary, or to impugn the same speech so disorderly uttered, whereby may grow offence, and disquiet of the people, but shall be convinced and reproved by the ordinary, after such agreeable order as shall be seen to him, according to the gravity of the offence: and that it be presented within one month after the words spoken.

speech in proving the truth, and clearing those scruples which I had in my self, might cause me either to embrace sound doctrine, or suffer it to be embraced of others; which, if I did, he should not need to complain: that it was meet he should discover first what I had sown, and make it manifest to be tares, and then desire their scythe to cut it down: that, conscience did bind him to do otherwise, than the foresaid order requireth; that, he was unwilling to deal in that publick manner, and wished a more convenient way were taken for it: that, he had resolved to have protested the next sabbath day, that he would some other way satisfy such as should require it, and not deal more in that place. Be it imagined, [let me not be taken as if I did compare the offenders, when I do not, but their answers only]

only] that a libeller did make this apology for himself, I am not ignorant that if I have just matter against any man the law is open, there are judges to hear it, and courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another course against such or such a man, yet without breach of duty; forasmuch as I am able to yield a reason of my doing, I conceive some hope that a little discredit amongst men would make him ashamed of himself, and that his shame would work his amendment; which if it did, other accusation there should not need; could his answer be thought sufficient, could it in the judgment of discreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope Mr. Travers conceiv'd to reclaim me by publick speech, justify his fault against the establish'd order of the church.

18. His thinking it meet, *he should first openly discover to the people the tares that had been sown amongst them, and then require the hand of authority to mow them down*; doth only make it a question, whether his opinion that this was meet, may be a privilege or protection against the lawful constitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet. Which question I leave for them to discuss whom it most concerneth. If the order be such, that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing so precious as a good conscience, the peril whereof could be no greater to him, than it needs must be to all others whom it toucheth in like causes; then this is evident, it will be an effectual motive, not only for *England*, but also for other reform'd churches, even *Geneva* it self [for they have the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be observed. In the mean while the breach of it may, in such consideration, be pardon'd [which truly I wish howsoever it be] yet hardly defended as long as it standeth in force uncanceled.

19. Now, whereas he confesseth another *way had been more convenient*, and that he found in himself secret unwillingness to do that which he did, doth he not say plainly, in effect, that the light of his own understanding proved the way that he took perverse and crooked? Reason was so plain and pregnant against it, that his mind was alienated, his will averted to another course; yet somewhat there was that so far over-ruled, that it must needs be done even against the very stream, what doth it bewray? Finally, his purposed protestation, whereby he meant openly to make it known, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would satisfy men otherwise, *and deal no more in this place*, sheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to stay himself from further offending; but it serveth not his turn. He is blamed because the thing he hath done was amiss, and his answer is, that which I would have done afterwards had been well, if so be I had done it.

20. But as in this he standeth persuaded, that he hath done nothing besides duty, so he taketh it hardly, that the high commissioners should charge him with indiscretion. Wherefore, as if he could so wash his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himself; how he waded in *matters of smaller weight*, and how in things of *greater moment* how warily he dealt; how *naturally he took his things rising from the text*; how *closely he kept himself to the scriptures he took in hand*; how *much pains he took to confirm the necessity of believing justification by Christ only*, and to shew how the church of Rome denieth that a man is *saved by faith alone, without works of the law*; what the *sons of thunder would have done*, if they had been in his case; that his answer was very temperate, *without immodest or reproachful speech*; that when he might before all have *reproved me*, he did not, but *contented himself with exhorting me* before all, to follow Nathan's example, *and revisit my doctrine*; when he might have followed St. Paul's example in *reproving Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter, to endure to be withstood*. This testimony of his discreet carrying himself in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably fram'd and given him by another than by himself, might make somewhat for the praise of his person; but for defence of his action, unto them by whom he is thought indiscreet for not conferring privately before he spake, will it serve to answer, that when he spake, he did it considerately? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons, such as they are; as namely, how he purposed at the first to take another course, and that was this, *publickly to deliver the truth of such doctrine as I had otherwise taught, and at convenient opportunity to confer with me upon such points*. Is this the rule of Christ? If thy brother offend openly in his speech, controul it first with contrary speech openly, and confer with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunity serveth? Is there any law of God or man, whereupon to ground such a resolution? Any church extant in the world, where teachers are allow'd thus to do, or to be done unto? He cannot but see how weak an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following discourse, first in one matter, and so afterwards in another, to approve himself now following it again. For if the purpose of doing of a thing so uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The weight of the cause, which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The weightier it was, the more it required considerate advice and consultation, the more it

flood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were rashly done or spoken in it. But he meaneth weighty, in regard of the wonderful danger, except he had presently withstood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cause being of such moment that might prejudice the faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith, to suffer themselves to be seduced, to the destruction of their souls, he thought it his bounden duty to speak before he talked with me.* A man that should read this, and not know what I had spoken, might imagine that I had at the least denied the divinity of Christ. But they which were present at my speech, and can testify that nothing passed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom, for soundness of doctrine, learning and judgment, Mr. Travers himself doth, I dare say, not only allow, but honour; they which heard, and do know, that the doctrine here signified in so fearful manner, the doctrine that was so dangerous to the faith of Christ, that was so likely to *encourage ill-affected men to continue still in their damnable ways*; that gave so great cause to tremble for fear of the present *destruction of souls*, was only this, *I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers, living heretofore in the popish superstition, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly*; and this spoken in a sermon, the greatest part whereof was against popery, they will hardly be able to discern how *CHRISTIANITY* should herewith be so grievously shaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuse is also taken from him. For what doth it boot him to say, *The time was short wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, surely might have been either very well omitted, or at least more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their judgments that cast the most favourable aspect towards these his hasty proceedings. The poison which men had taken at my hands, was not so quick and strong in operation, as in eight days to make them past cure; by eight days delay, there was no likelihood that the force and power of his speech could die, longer meditation might bring better and stronger proofs to mind than extemporal dexterity could furnish him with. And who doth know whether *time*, the only mother of sound judgment and discreet dealing, might have given that action of his some better ripeness, which, by so great festination hath, as a thing born out of time, brought small joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better, that neither my speech had seemed in his eyes as an arrow sticking in a thigh of flesh; nor his own as a child whereof he must needs be delivered by an hour? His last way of disburthening himself is, by casting his load upon my back, as if I had brought him by former conferences, out of hope, that any fruit should ever come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip up those conferences, whereof he maketh but a slippery and loose relation. In one of them, the question between us was, whether the persuasion of faith concerning remission of sins, eternal life, and whatsoever God doth promise unto man, be as free from doubting, as the persuasion which we have by sense concerning things tasted, felt, and seen? For the negative, I mentioned their example, whose faith in scripture is most commended, and the experience which all faithful men have continually had of themselves. For proof of the affirmative, which he held, I desiring to have some reason, heard nothing but *all good writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, upon request to see some one of them, *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaves were turned down, at a place sounding to this effect, *That the gospel doth make christians more virtuous than moral philosophy doth make beasts*: which came not near the question by many miles.

22. In the other conference he questioned about the matter of reprobation, misliking first, that I had termed God a permissive, and no positive cause of the evil which the schoolmen do call *malum culpæ*. Secondly, that to their objection, who say, *If I be elected, do what I will, I shall be saved*; I had answered, that the will of God in this thing is not absolute, but conditional, to save his elect believing, fearing, and obediently serving him. Thirdly, that to stop the mouths of such as grudge and repine against God for rejecting cast-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpose and counsel of God, without a foreseen worthiness of rejection going, tho' not in time, yet in order, before. For, if God's electing do in order (as needs it must) presuppose the foresight of their being that are elected, tho' they be elected before they be; nor only the positive foresight of their being, but also the permissive of their being miserable, because election is through mercy, and mercy doth always presuppose misery: it followeth, that the very chosen of God acknowledge, to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free compassion, that when he in his secret determination set it down, *Those shall live, and not die*, they lay as ugly spectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their fathers loins, miserable, worthy to be had in detestation; and shall any forsaken creature be able to say unto God, thou didst plunge

plunge me into the depth, and assign me unto endless torments, only to satisfy thine own will, finding nothing in me for which I could seem in thy sight so well worthy to feel everlasting flames?

23. When I saw that Mr. *Travers* carped at these things, only because they lay not open, I promised at some convenient time to make them clear as light, both to him and all others. Which, if they that reprove me will not grant me leave to do, they must think that they are for some cause or other more desirous to have me reputed an unsound man, than willing that my sincere meaning should appear and be approved. When I was further asked what my grounds were? I answered, that St. *Paul's* words concerning this cause were my grounds. His next demand, what author I did follow in expounding St. *Paul*, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, against the judgment (he saith) of *all churches and all good writers*. I was well assured, that to controul this over-reaching speech, the sentences which I might have cited out of church-confessions, together with the best learned monuments of former times, and not the meanest of our own, were more in number, than perhaps he would willingly have heard of: but what had this bootied me? For, altho' he himself in generality do much use those formal speeches, *all churches*, and *all good writers*, yet as he holdeth it, in pulpit, lawful to say in general, the *Paynims* think this, or the *Heathens* that, but utterly unlawful to cite any sentence of theirs that say it; so he gave me at that time great cause to think, that my particular alledging of other mens words, to shew their agreement with mine, would as much have displeased his mind, as the thing it self for which it had been alledged; for he knoweth how often he hath in publick place bitten me for this, altho' I did never in any sermon use many of the sentences of other writers, and do make most without any; having always thought it meetest, neither to affect nor condemn the use of them.

24. He is not ignorant, that in the very entrance to the talk which we had privately at that time, to prove it unlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwise, to cite any thing but mere canonical scripture, he brought in, *The scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c.* urging much the vigour of these two clauses, *The man of God*, and *every good work*. If therefore the work were good which he required at my hands, if privately to shew why I thought the doctrine I had delivered to be according to St. *Paul's* meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alledged for a law, condemning every man of God, who in doing the work of preaching any other way useth human authority, like it in me, if in the work of strengthening that which I had preached, I should bring forth the testimonies and the sayings of mortal men? I alledged therefore that which might under no pretence in the world be disallowed, namely reasons; not meaning thereby mine own reason, as now it is reported, but true, sound, divine reason; reason whereby those conclusions might be out of St. *Paul* demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of only; reason, proper to that science whereby the things of God are known; theological reason, without principles in scripture that are plain, soundly deduced more doubtful inferences, in such sort that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant unto them received, but whatsoever was before otherwise by miscollecting gathered out of dark places, is thereby forced to yield it self, and the true consonant meaning of sentences not understood is brought to light. This is the reason which I intended. If it were possible for me to escape the ferula in any thing I do or speak, I had undoubtedly escaped in this. In this I did that which by some is enjoined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the most sure and safe way, whereby to resolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to faith and christian religion. So that Mr. *Travers* had here small cause given him to be weary of conferring, unless it was in other respects, than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to say, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25. Yet behold his first reason of not complaining to the high-commission is, *That sith I offended only thro' an over-charitable inclination, he conceived good hope, when I should see the truth cleared, and some scruples which were in my mind removed by his diligence, I would yield.* But what experience soever he had of former conferences, how small soever his hope was that fruit would come of it, if he should have conferred, will any man judge this a cause sufficient, why to open his mouth in publick, without any one word privately spoken? He might have considered that men do sometimes reap, where they sow but with small hope; he might have consider'd, that altho' unto me (whereof he was not certain neither) but if to me his labour should be as water spilt or poured into a torn dish, yet to him it could not be fruitless to do that which order in christian churches, that which charity amongst christian men, that which at many mens hands, even common humanity it self, at his, many other things besides, did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in so great haste, with so small advice, but such as must

needs be unpleasant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that in this there was no oversight, must beware, lest by such defences he leave an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more stiff to maintain what he hath done, than careful to do nothing but that which may justly be maintained.

26. Thus have I, as near as I could, seriously answered things of weight: with smaller I have dealt, as I thought their quality did require. I take no joy in striving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Christ they which have at this present enforced me hercunto, had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might never have been constrained to strike so much as in mine own defence. Wherefore to prosecute this long and tedious contention no further, I shall wish that your grace, and their honours (unto whose intelligence the dutiful regard, which I have of their judgments, maketh me desirous, that as accusations have been brought against me, so that this my answer thereunto may likewise come) did both with one and the other, as *Constantine* with books containing querulous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wished or no, I cannot tell: but sith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waik of the parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the ashes of them both, I do wish heartily that the grave advice which *Constantine* gave for re-uniting of his clergy so many times, upon some small occasions, in so lamentable sort divided; or rather the strict commandment of Christ unto his, that they should not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his blessed will, prevail so far, at least in this corner of the christian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of small moment never disjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one faith, one spirit, one baptism, bands of so great force have linked; that a respective eye towards things wherewith we should not be disquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very patriarchs themselves sometimes were, full gorged, unable to speak peaceably to their own brother. Finally, that no strife may ever be heard of again, but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and unity with swiftest paces.

T O T H E

Christian Reader.

WHEREAS many desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned discourse, were earnest to have it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath been thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not only they might be satisfied, but the whole church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the author from the suspicion of some errors, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have answered with Cremutius in Tacitus, Verba mea arguuntur, adeò factorum innocens sum. Certainly the event of Lib. 4. Ann. that time wherein he lived, shewed that to be true, which the same author spake of a worse, Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus, and that there is not minus periculum Lib. 1. Hist. ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. But he hath so quit himself, that all may see how, as it was said of Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam In vita Agri- præceps agebatur. Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my author said colæ of the same man, Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. But as of all other his writings, so of this I will add that which Velleius spake in com-Lib. 2. mendation of Piso, Nemo fuit, qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, sine ulla ostentatione agendi. So not doubting, good christian reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy favourable acceptance of this work, (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned labours,) I take my leave, from Corpus Christi College in Oxford, the sixth of July, 1612.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

Henry Jackson.

A LEARNED DISCOURSE

O F

Justification, Works,

And how the

Foundation of FAITH is Overthrown.

HABAK. I. 4.

The wicked doth compass about the righteous: therefore perverse judgment doth proceed.

1.
2.
3.
1 Cor. 5. 13.
2 Cor. 6. 7.

FOR the better manifestation of the prophet's meaning in this place, we are, first, to consider *the wicked*, of whom he saith, that *they compass about the righteous*: secondly, *the righteous* that are compassed about by them: and, thirdly, that which is infer'd; *therefore perverse judgment proceedeth*. Touching the first, there are two kinds of wicked men, of whom in the fifth of the former to the *Corinthians*, the blessed apostle speaketh thus: *Do ye not judge them that are within; but God judgeth them that are without*. There are wicked therefore whom the church may judge, and there are wicked whom God only judgeth: wicked *within*, and wicked *without* the walls of the church. If within the church, particular persons be apparently such, as cannot otherwise be reformed; the rule of the apostolical judgment is this, *Separate them from among you*: if whole assemblies, this, *Separate your selves from among them: for what society hath light with darkness?* But the wicked, whom the prophet meaneth, were *Babylonians*, and therefore without. For which cause we have heard at large heretofore in what sort he urgeth God to judge them.

2. Now concerning the righteous, there neither is, nor ever was any mere natural man absolutely righteous in himself, that is to say, void of all unrighteousness, of all sin. We dare not except, no not the blessed virgin her self, of whom altho' we say with St. *Augustine*, for the honour sake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Christ, we are not willing in this cause, to move any question of his mother; yet forasmuch as the schools of

Rome have made it a question; we may answer with ^a *Eusebius Emisenus*, who speaketh of her, and to her, in this effect: *Thou dost by special prerogative nine months together entertain within the closet of thy flesh, the hope of all the ends of the earth, the honour of the world, the common joy of men. He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he took the blood which was to be shed for the life of the world; of thee he took that which even for thee he paid.* *A peccati enim veteris nexu, per se non est immunis ipsa genitrix redemptoris:* the mother of the Redeemer himself, is not otherwise loosed from the bond of ancient sin, than by redemption. If Christ have paid a ransom for all, even for her, it followeth, that all, without exception, were captives. If one have died for all, then all were dead in sin; all sinful therefore, none absolutely righteous in themselves; but we are absolutely righteous in Christ. The world then must shew a righteous man, otherwise it is not able to shew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Christ is made to us wisdom, justice, sanctification, and redemption: wisdom*, because he hath revealed his Father's will. *justice*, because he hath offered up himself a sacrifice for sin: *sanctification*, because he hath given us his Spirit; *redemption*, because he hath appointed a day to vindicate his children out of the bands of corruption into liberty which is glorious. How Christ is made *wisdom*, and how *redemption*, it may be declared, when occasion serveth; but how Christ is made the *righteousness* of men, we are now to declare.

3. There is a glorifying righteousness of men in the world to come: as there is a justifying and sanctifying righteousness here. The righteousness, wherewith we shall be clothed in the world to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are justified is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are sanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the understanding of that grand question, which hangeth yet in controversy between us and the church of *Rome*, about the matter of justifying righteousness.

4. First, although they imagine that the mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, were for his honour, and by his special protection, preserved clean from all sin, yet touching the rest, they teach as we do, that infants, that never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, destitute of justice, averted from God; that in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God. They teach as we do, that unto justice no man ever attained, but by the merits of Jesus Christ. They teach as we do, that altho' Christ as God, be the efficient; as man, the meritorious cause of our justice; yet in us also there is something required. God is the cause of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickeneth not the body without the soul in the body. Christ hath merited to make us just: but, as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; so, by the merits of Christ there can be no justification, without the application of his merit. Thus far we join hands with the church of *Rome*.

5. Wherein then do we disagree? We disagree about the nature and essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our soul's comfort. When they are required to shew what the righteousness is, whereby a christian man is justified: they answer,

that it is a divine spiritual quality; which quality received into the soul, doth first make it to be one of them who are born of God: and secondly, endue it with power to bring forth such works, as they do that are born of him; even as the soul of man being joined to his body, doth first make him to be of the number of reasonable creatures; and secondly, enable him to perform the natural functions which are proper to his kind; that it maketh the soul amiable and gracious in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and washeth out all the stains and pollutions of sins; that by it, thro' the merit of Christ we are deliver'd as from sin, so from eternal death and condemnation, the reward of sin. This grace they will have to be applied by infusion; to the end, that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, so the soul might be righteous by inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increase; as the body may be more and more warm, so the soul more and more justified, according as grace should be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the first receipt of grace in their divinity is the first justification; the increase thereof, the second justification. As grace may be increased by the merit of good works; so it may be diminished by the demerit of sins venial; it may be lost by mortal sin. Inasmuch therefore

^a *Theo. Aquin.* 1. 2. quest. 100. Gratia gratum faciens, id est, justificans est in anima quiddam reale & positivum, qualitas quædam (art. 2. concl.) supernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infusa, ut magister; sed aliquid (art. 3.) præter virtutes infusas, fidem, spem, caritatem; habitudo, quædam (art. 3. ad 3.) quæ præsupponitur in virtutibus istis sicut earum principium & radix, essentiam animæ tanquam subiectum occupat, non potentias, sed ab ipsa (art. 4. ad 1.) effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentie moventur ad actus, plur. vid. quest. 113. de justificatione.

as it is needful in the one case to repair, in the other to recover the loss which is made: the infusion of grace hath her fundry after meals; for the which cause, they make many ways to apply the infusion of grace. It is applied to infants thro' baptism, without either faith or works, and in them really it taketh away original sin, and the punishment due unto it; it is applied to infidels and wicked men in the first justification, thro' baptism without works, yet not without faith; and it taketh away both sins actual and original together, with all whatsoever punishment, eternal or temporal, thereby deserved. Unto such as have attained the first justification, that is to say, the first receipt of grace, it is applied farther by good works to the increase of former grace, which is the second justification. If they work more and more, grace doth more increase, and they are more and more justified. To such as diminish it by venial sins, it is applied by holy-water, *Ave Mary's*, crossings, papal salutations, and such like, which serve for reparations of grace decayed. To such as have lost it thro' mortal sin, it is applied by the sacrament (as they term it) of penance: which sacrament hath force to confer grace anew, yet in such sort, that being so conferred, it hath not altogether so much power as at the first. For it only cleanseth out the stain or guilt of sin committed, and changerh the punishment eternal into a temporal satisfactory punishment here, if time do serve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightened by masses, works of charity, pilgrimages, fasts, and such like; or else shortned by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed and taken away. This is the mystery of the man of sin. This mazes the church of *Rome* doth cause her followers to tread, when they ask her the way to justification. I cannot stand now to unrip this building, and sift it piece by piece; only I will pass it by in few words, that that may befall *Babylon*, in the presence of that which God hath builded, as hapned unto *Dagon* before the ark.

Phil. 2. 3.

6. Doubtless, saith the apostle, *I have counted all things loss, and judge them to be dung, that I may win Christ; and to be found in him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God through faith.* Whether they speak of the first or second justification, they make the essence of a divine quality inherent, they make it righteousness which is in us. If it be in us, then is it ours, as our souls are ours, tho' we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaseth him; for if he withdraw the breath of our nostrils, we fall to dust: but the righteousness wherein we must be found, if we will be justified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful; for by faith we are incorporated into Christ. Then, altho' in our selves we be altogether sinful and unrighteous, yet even the man which is impious in himself, full of iniquity, full of sin; him being found in Christ thro' faith, and having his sin remitted thro' repentance, him God upholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his sin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the punishment due thereunto, by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jesus Christ, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the law: shall I say more perfectly righteous than if himself had

2 Cor. 5. 21.

fulfilled the whole law? I must take heed what I say: but the apostle saith, *God made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* Such we are in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himself. Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury, whatsoever; it is our comfort, and our wisdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the son of man, and that men are made the righteousness of God. You see therefore, that the church of *Rome*, in teaching justification by inherent grace, doth pervert the truth of Christ; and that by the hands of the apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth. Now concerning the righteousness of sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that unless we work, we have it not: only we distinguish it as a thing different in nature from the righteousness of justification: we are righteous the one way, by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except we do the works of *Abraham*, we are not righteous. Of the one, St. *Paul*, *To him that worketh not, but believeth, faith is counted for righteousness.* Of the other, St. *John*, *Qui facit justitiam, justus est*: he is righteous which worketh righteousness. Of the one, St. *Paul* doth prove by *Abraham's* example, that we have it of faith without works. Of the other, St. *James* by *Abraham's* example, that by works we have it, and not only by faith. St. *Paul* doth plainly sever these two parts of christian righteousness one from the other.

Rom. 4. 6.

For in the sixth to the *Romans*, thus he writeth, *Being freed from sin, and made servants to God, ye have your fruit in holiness, and the end everlasting life. Ye are made free from sin, and made servants unto God; this is the righteousness of justification; Ye have your fruit in holiness; this is the righteousness of sanctification.* By the one we are interested in the right

Chap. 6.

right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual possession of eternal bliss, and so the end of both is everlasting life.

7. The prophet *Habakkuk* doth here term the Jews *righteous men*, not only because being justified by faith they were free from sin; but also because they had their measure of fruits in holiness. According to whose example of charitable judgment, which leaveth it to God to discern what we are, and speaketh of them according to that which they do profess themselves to be, although they be not holy men whom men do think, but whom God doth know indeed to be such: yet let every christian man know, that in christian equity, he standeth bound for to think and speak of his brethren, as of men that have a measure in the fruit of holiness, and a right unto the titles wherewith God, in token of special favour and mercy, vouchsafeth to honour his chosen servants. So we see the apostles of our Saviour Christ, do use every where the name of *saints*; so the prophet the name of *righteous*. But let us all be such as we desire to be termed: *Reatus impij est pium nomen*, saith *Salvianus*; godly names do not justify godless men. We are but upbraided, when we are honoured with names and titles wherunto our lives and manners are not suitable. If indeed we have our fruit in holiness, notwithstanding we must note, that the more we abound therein, the more need we have to crave that we may be strengthened and supported. Our very virtues may be snares unto us. The enemy that waiteth for all occasions to work our ruin, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble sinner, than a proud saint. There is no man's case so dangerous, as his whom Satan hath persuaded that his own righteousness shall present him pure and blameless in the sight of God. If we could say, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our consciences (we know our selves far from this innocency; we cannot say, we know nothing by our selves; but if we could) should we therefore plead not guilty before the presence of our judge, that sees further into our hearts than we our selves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our brethren, a bloody thought doth prove us murderers before him: if we had never opened our mouth to utter any scandalous, offensive, or hurtful word, the cry of our secret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the sins which daily and hourly, either in deed, word, or thoughts we do commit; yet in the good things which we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, respecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all those things wherein we have regarded our own glory, those things which men do to please men, and to satisfy our own liking, those things which we do for any by-respect, not sincerely and purely for the love of God, and a small score will serve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holiest and best things which we do be considered. We are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times distracted! how little reverence do we shew unto the grand majesty of God, unto whom we speak! how little remorse of our own miseries! how little taste of the sweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as unwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end, as if in saying, *Call upon me*, he had set us a very burdensome task? It may seem somewhat extream, which I will speak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart shall tell him, and no otherwise; I will but only make a demand: If God should yield unto us, not as unto *Abraham*, if fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good persons could be found in a city, for their sakes this city should not be destroyed: but, and if he should make us an offer thus large; search all the generations of men, since the fall of our father *Adam*, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath past from him pure, without any stain or blemish at all; and for that one man's only action, neither man nor angel shall feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ransom, to deliver men and angels, could be found to be among the sons of men? The best things which we do, have somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life, to as many as sincerely keep his law, tho' they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful necessity of doing well, but the meritorious dignity of doing well we utterly renounce. We see how far we are from the perfect righteousness of the law; the little fruit which we have in holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-books: our continual suit to him, is, and must be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the people of whom the prophet speaketh, were they all, or were the most part of them such as had care to walk uprightly? Did they thirst after righteousness? did they wish? did they long with the righteous prophet? *O that our ways were so direct that we might keep thy statutes!* Did they lament with the righteous apostle? *O miserable*

ble men, the good which we wish and purpose, and strive to do, we cannot? No, the words of the other prophet concerning this people, do shew the contrary. How grievously hath *Esay* mourned over them! *O sinful nation, laden with iniquity, wicked seed, corrupt children!* All which notwithstanding, so wide are the bowels of his compassion enlarged, that he denieth us not, no, not when we were laden with iniquity, leave to commune familiarly with him, liberty to crave, and intreat that what plagues soever we have deserved, we may not be in worse case than unbelievers, that we may not be hemmed in by pagans and infidels. *Jerusalem* is a sinful polluted city: but *Jerusalem* compared with *Babylon*, is righteous. And shall the righteous be over-born? shall they be compassed about by the wicked? But the prophet doth not only complain, Lord, how cometh it to pass, that thou handlest us so hardly, of whom thy name is called, and bearest with the heathen nations that despise thee? no, he breaketh out thro' extremity of grief, and inferreth violently, this *proceeding is perverse*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore perverse judgment doth proceed.*

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much for you to hear, and me to speak, if necessity did not draw me to another task. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requested to preach the same things again which once they had preached, thought it their duty to satisfy the godly desires of men sincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it seem burdensome for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occasion unto theirs being offered me. When we had last the epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews* in hand, and of that epistle these words, *In these last days he has spoken to us by his Son*; after we had thence collected the nature of the visible church of *Christ*, and

* By sanctification, I mean a separation from others not professing as they do: for true holiness consisteth not in professing, but in obeying the truth of *Christ*.

had defined it to be a community of men ^asanctified through the profession of the truth which *God* hath taught the world by his Son; and had declared, that the scope of christian doctrine is the comfort of them whose hearts are over-charged with the burden of sin; and had proved that the doctrine professed in the church of *Rome*, doth bereave men of comfort, both in their lives, and in their deaths; the conclusion in the end, whereunto we came, was this, the church of *Rome*, being in faith so corrupted as she is, and refusing to be reformed as she doth, we are to sever our selves from her; the example of our fathers may not retain us in communion with that church, under hope that we so continuing, may be saved as well as they. *God*, I doubt not, was merciful to save thousands of them, though they lived in popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this last sentence; namely, these words, *I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living in popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly.* This sentence, I beseech you to mark, and to sift it with the severity of austere judgment, that if it be found to be gold, it may be suitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid; for I protest, that if it be hay or stubble, my own hand shall set fire on it. Two questions have risen by this speech before alledged: the one, *Whether our fathers, infected with popish errors and superstitions, may be saved?* the other, *Whether their ignorance be a reasonable inducement to make us think they might?* We are then to examine, first, what possibility; then, what probability there is, that *God* might be merciful unto so many of our fathers.

10. So many of our fathers living in popish superstitions, yet by the mercy of *God* be saved? No; this could not be: *God* hath spoken by his angel from heaven, unto his people concerning *Babylon*, (by *Babylon*, we understand the church of *Rome*.) *Go out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her plagues.* For answer whereunto, first, I do not take the words to be meant only of temporal plagues, of the corporal death, sorrow, famine and fire, whereunto *God* in his wrath had condemned *Babylon*; and that to save his chosen people from these plagues, he saith, *Go out*, with like intent, as in the gospel, speaking of *Jerusalem's* desolations, he saith, *Let them that are in Judea, fly unto the mountains, and them that are in the midst thereof depart out:* or as in the former times to *Lot*, *Arise, take thy wife and thy daughters which are there, lest thou be destroyed in the punishment of the city:* but forasmuch as here it is said, *Go out of Babylon*; we doubt, their everlasting destruction, which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or necessarily implied in this sentence. How then was it possible for so many of our fathers to be saved, since they were so far from departing out of *Babylon*, that they took her for their mother, and in her bosom yielded up the ghost?

11. First, for the plagues being threatned unto them that are partakers in the sins of *Babylon*, we can define nothing concerning our fathers out of this sentence: unless we shew what the sins of *Babylon* be, and what they be which are such partakers of them that their everlasting plagues are inevitable. The sins which may be common both to them of the church of *Rome*, and to others departed thence, must be severed from this question. He which saith, *Depart out of Babylon, lest ye be partakers of her sins;* sheweth

sheweth plainly, that he meaneth such sins, as except we separate our selves, we have no power in the world to avoid; such impieties, as by their law they have established, and whereunto all that are among them, either do indeed assent, or else are, by powerful means, forced in shew and appearance to subject themselves. As for example, in the church of *Rome* it is maintained, that the same credit and reverence that we give to the scriptures of God, ought also to be given to unwritten verities; that the pope is supreme head ministerial over the universal church militant; that the bread in the eucharist is transubstantiated into Christ; that it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God, as a sacrifice propitiatory for quick and dead; that images are to be worshipped, saints to be called upon as intercessors, and such like. Now, because some heresies do concern things only believed, as the transubstantiation of the sacramental elements in the eucharist; some concern things which are practised and put in ure, as the adoration of the elements transubstantiated: we must note, that *erroneously* the practice of that is sometime received, whereof the doctrine that teacheth it is not *heretically* maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of heresies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, altho' not knowing them to be heresies; as also they, and that most dangerously of all others, who knowing heresy to be heresy, do notwithstanding in worldly respects, make semblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn: but heresy is heretically maintained, by such as obstinately hold it after wholesome admonition. Of the last sort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation, without an actual repentance, is inevitable. Left any man therefore should think, that in speaking of our fathers, I should speak indifferently of them all: let my words, I beseech you, be well marked, *I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers*: which thing, I will now, by God's assistance, set more plainly before your eyes.

12. Many are partakers of the error, which are not of the heresy of the church of *Rome*. The people, following the conduct of their guides, and observing as they did, exactly that which was prescribed, thought they did God good service, when indeed they did dishonour him. This was their error. But the heresy of the church of *Rome*, their dogmatical position opposite unto christian truth, what one man among ten thousand did ever understand? Of them which understand *Roman* heresies, and allow them, all are not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the first founders and establishers of them: which crime toucheth none but their popes and councils: the people are clear and free from this. Of them which maintain popish heresies, not as authors, but receivers of them from others, all maintain them not as masters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the predicant and schoolmen. Of them which have been partakers in this sin of teaching popish heresy, there is also a difference; for they have not all been teachers of all popish heresy. *Put a difference*, saith St *Jude*, *have compassion upon some*. Shall we lap up all in one condition? Shall we cast them all headlong? Shall we plunge them all into that infernal and everlasting flaming lake? Them that have been partakers of the errors of *Babylon*, together with them which are in the heresy? them which have been the authors of heresy, with them that by terror and violence have been forced to receive it? them who have taught it, with them whose simplicity hath by slights and conveyances of false teachers been seduced to believe it? them which have been partakers in one, with them which have been partakers in many? them which in many, with them which in all?

13. Notwithstanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable than of these: yet from the man that laboureth at the plough, to him that sitteth in the vatican; to all partakers in the sins of *Babylon*; to our fathers, though they did but erroneously practise that which the guide heretically taught; to all without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindness. But wo worth the hour wherein we were born, except we might promise our selves better things; things which accompany man's salvation, even where we know that worse, and such as accompany condemnation are due. Then must we shew some way how possibly they might escape. What way is there that sinners can find to escape the judgment of God, but only by appealing to the fear of his saving mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we do not extend to devils and damned spirits. God hath mercy upon thousands, but there be thousands also which he hardneth. Christ hath therefore set the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his saving mercy within the compass of these terms: *God sent not his own Son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved*. In the third of St. *John's* gospel, mercy is restrained to believers: *He that believeth shall not be condemned; he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not in the Son of God*. In the second of the *Revelation*, mercy is restrained to the penitent. For of *Jezabel* and her sectaries, thus he speaketh: *I gave her space to repent, and she repented* Rev. 2. 21.

pented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her children with death. Our hope therefore of the fathers is, if they were not altogether faithless and impenitent, that they are saved.

14. They are not all faithless that are weak in assenting to the truth, or stiff in maintaining things opposite to the truth of christian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, tho' they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a slender thread, altho' they frame many base and unsuitable things upon it, things that cannot abide the trial of the fire; yet shall they pass the fiery trial and be saved, which indeed have builded themselves upon the rock, which is the foundation of the church. If then our fathers did not hold the foundation of faith, there is no doubt but they were faithless. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment but many of them might be sav'd. Then let us see what the foundation of faith is, and whether we may think that thousands of our fathers being in popish superstitions, did notwithstanding hold the foundation.

15. If the foundation of faith do import the general ground whereupon we rest when we do believe, the writings of the evangelists and the apostles are the foundation of the christian faith: *Credimus quia legimus*, faith St. *Jerome*. O that the church of *Rome* did

* They misinterpret, not only by making false and corrupt glosses upon the scripture, but also by forcing the old vulgar translation, as the only authentical. Howbeit, they refuse no book which is canonical, tho' they admit sundry which are not.

doth willingly hold and embrace them!

16. But if the name of *foundation* do note the principal thing which is believed: then 1 Tim. 3. 16. is that the foundation of our faith which St. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: *God manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit*, &c. that of *Nathaniel*, *Thou art the Son of the living God: thou art the King of Israel*: that of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, *This is Christ the Saviour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth utterly raze the foundation of our faith. I have prov'd heretofore, that altho' the church of *Rome* hath plaid the harlot worse than ever did *Israel*, yet are they not, as now the synagogue of the *Jews* which plainly deny Christ Jesus, quite and clean excluded from the new covenant. But as *Samaria* compared with *Jerusalem*, is termed *Abolath*, a church or tabernacle of her own; contrariwise *Jerusalem* *Abolibath*, the resting place of the Lord: so, whatsoever we term the church of *Rome* when we compare her with reformed churches, still we put a difference, as then between *Babylon* and *Samaria*, so now between *Rome* and the heathenish assemblies: which opinion I must and will recal; I must grant and will, that the church of *Rome*, together with all her children, is clean excluded. There is no difference in the world between our fathers and *Saracens*, *Turks* and *Painims*, if they did directly deny Christ crucified for the salvation of the world.

17. But how many millions of them were known so to have ended their lives, that the drawing of their breath hath ceased with the uttering of this faith, *Christ my Saviour, my Redeemer Jesus*? Answer is made, that this they might unfeign'dly confels, and yet be far enough from salvation. For behold, faith the apostle, *I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing*. Christ, in the work of man's salvation, is alone: the *Galatians* were cast away by joining circumcision and the other rites of the law with Christ: the church of *Rome* doth teach her children to join other things likewise with him; therefore their faith, their belief doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true, that they do indeed join other things with Christ: but how? No: in the work of redemption it self, which they grant that Christ alone hath performed sufficiently for the salvation of the whole world; but in the application of this inestimable treasure, that it may be effectual to their salvation: how demurely soever they confels that they seek remission of sins no otherwise than by the blood of Christ, using humbly the means appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy blood; they teach indeed so many things pernicious in christian faith, in setting down the means whereof they speak, that the very foundation of faith which they hold is thereby plainly overthrow'n, and the force of the blood of Jesus Christ extinguish'd. We may therefore, disputing with them, urge 'em even with as dangerous sequels, as the apostle doth the *Galatians*. But I demand, if some of those *Galatians*, heartily embracing the gospel of Christ, sincere and sound in faith (this one only error excepted) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how pernicious an opinion they held; shall we think that the danger of this error did so overweigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not save them? I grant they overthrow the foundation of faith by consequent; doth not that so likewise which the *Lutherans* which in light

is plain, in that which they teach concerning the natures of Christ, they held the same with *Nestorius* fully, the same with *Eutyches* about the properties of his nature. The opinion of the *Lutherans*, tho' it be no direct denial of the foundation, may notwithstanding be damnable unto some; and I do not think but that in many respects it is less damnable, as at this day some maintain it, than it was in them which held it at first; as *Luther* and others, whom I had an eye unto in this speech. The question is not, whether an error with such and such circumstances; but simply, whether an error overthrowing the foundation, do exclude all possibility of salvation, if it be not recanted, and expressly repented of.

theran churches do at this day so stiffly and so firmly maintain? For mine own part, I dare not here deny the possibility of their salvation, which have been the chiefest instruments of ours, albeit they carried to their graves a persuasion so greatly repugnant to the truth. Forasmuch therefore, as it may be said of the church of *Rome*, she hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundation of christianity: I may, I trust, without offence, persuade my self that thousands of our fathers, in former times, living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What altho' they repented not of their errors? God forbid that I should open my mouth to gainsay that which Christ himself hath spoken: *Except ye repent, ye shall all perish*. And if they did not repent, they perished. But withal note, that we have the benefit of a double repentance: the least sin which we commit, in deed, thought or word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things do escape in every of these, which we do not know? How many, which we do not observe to be sins? And without knowledge, without the observation of sin, there is no actual repentance. It cannot then be chosen, but that for as many as hold the foundation, and have holden all sins and errors in hatred, the blessing of repentance for unknown sins and errors is obtained at the hands of God, thro' the gracious meditation of Jesus Christ, for such suiters as cry with the prophet *David*, *Purge me, O Lord, from my secret sins*.

19. But we wash a wall of lome, we labour in vain, all this is nothing; it doth not prove; it cannot justify that which we go about to maintain. Infidels and heathen men are not so godless, but that they may, no doubt, cry God mercy, and desire in general to have their sins forgiven. To such as deny the foundation of faith, there can be no salvation (according to the ordinary course which God doth use in saving men) without a particular repentance of that error. The *Galatians* thinking that unless they were circumcised they could not be saved, overthrew the foundation of faith directly: therefore if any of them did die so persuaded, whether before or after they were told of their errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the apostle speaketh nothing of men departed, but faith generally of all, *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Ye are abolished from Christ, whosoever are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace*. Gal. 5. Of them in the church of *Rome*, the reason is the same. For whom antichrist hath seduced, concerning them did not St. *Paul* speak long before, they received not the word of truth, that they might not be saved? Therefore God would *send them strong delusions to believe lies, that all they might be damned which believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness*. And St. *John*, *All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life*. Apoc. 13. Indeed many in former times, as their books and writings do yet shew, held the foundation, to wit, salvation by Christ alone, and therefore might be saved. God hath always had a church amongst them, which firmly kept his saving truth. As for such as hold with the church of *Rome*, that we cannot be saved by Christ alone without works; they do not only by a circle of consequents, but directly deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no, not so much as by a thread.

20. This, to my remembrance, being all that hath been opposed with any countenance or shew of reason, I hope, if this be answered, the cause in question is at an end. Concerning general repentance therefore: What? a murderer, a blasphemer, an unclean person, a Turk, a Jew, any sinner to escape the wrath of God by a general repentance, *God forgive me*? Truly, it never came within my heart, that a general repentance doth serve for all sins: it serveth only for the common over-sights of our sinful life, and for the faults which either we do not mark, or do not know that they are faults. Our fathers were actually penitent for sins, wherein they knew they displeased God: or else they fall not within the compass of my first speech. Again, that otherwise they could not be saved, than holding the foundation of christian faith, we have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confessed, that thousands of our fathers which lived in popish superstitions, might yet, by the mercy of God, be saved? First, if they had directly denied the very foundations of christianity, without repenting them particularly of that sin, he which faith, there could be no salvation for them, according to the ordinary course which God doth use in saving men, granteth plainly, or at the least, closely insinuateth, that an extraordinary privilege of mercy might deliver their souls from hell; which is more than I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of some heresy which the church of *Rome* maintaineth. But how many were there amongst our fathers, who being seduced by the common error of that church, never knew the meaning of her heresies? So that altho' all popish hereticks did perish; thousands of them which lived in popish superstitions might be saved. Thirdly, seeing all that held popish heresies did not hold all the heresies of the pope; why might not thousands which were infected

fectcd with other leaven, die unfowred with this, and so be saved? Fourthly, if they all held this heresy, many there were that held it, no doubt, but only in a general form of words which a favourable interpretation might expound in a sense differing far enough from the poisoned conceit of heresy. As for example; did they hold that we cannot be saved by Christ without good works? We our selves do, I think, all say as much, with this construction, salvation being taken as in that sentence, *Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore fit confessio ad salutem*, except infants and men, cut off upon the point of their conversion; of the rest none shall see God, but such as seek peace and holiness, though not as a cause of their salvation, yet as a way which they must walk which will be saved. Did they hold, that without works we are not justified? Take justification so as it may also imply sanctification, and St. *James* doth say as much. For except there be an ambiguity in the same term, St. *Paul* and St. *James* do contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of faith, or of works, being meant by them both in one and the same sense. Finding therefore, that justification is spoken of by St. *Paul* without implying sanctification, when he proveth that a man is justified by faith without works; finding likewise that justification doth sometime imply sanctification also with it: I suppose nothing to be more sound, than so to interpret St. *James* speaking not in that sense, but in this.

12. We have already shewed, that there be two kinds of christian righteousness: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other christian virtues: and St. *James* doth prove that *Abraham* had not only the one, because the thing believed was imputed unto him for righteousness; but also the other, because he offered up his son. God giveth us both the one justice and the other; the one for accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by working christian righteousness in us. The proper and most immediate efficient cause in us of this latter, is, the spirit of adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it consisteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are those infused virtues proper and peculiar unto saints; which the Spirit in the very moment when first it is given of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are such actions as the apostle doth call the fruits of works, the operations of the Spirit: the difference of the which operation from the root whereof they spring, maketh it needful to put two kinds likewise of sanctifying righteousness, *habitual*, and *actual*. *Habitual*, that holiness, wherewith our souls are inwardly indued, the same instant when first we begin to be the temples of the holy Ghost. *Actual*, that holiness, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life, the holiness for which *Enoch*, *Job*, *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, and other saints, are in the scriptures so highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of these we do first receive? I answer, that the Spirit, the virtue of the Spirit, the habitual justice, which is ingrafted, the external justice of Jesus Christ, which is imputed; these we receive all at one and the same time; whensoever we have any of these, we have all; they go together: yet sith no man is justified except he believe, and no man believeth except he has faith, and no man except he hath received the spirit of adoption, hath faith: soasmuch as they do necessarily infer justification, and justification doth of necessity presuppose them: we must needs hold that imputed righteousness, in dignity being the chiefest, is notwithstanding in order to the last of all these: but *actual righteousness*, which is the righteousness of good works, succeedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, sheweth plainly how the faith of true believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of sanctification, and yet unto justification necessary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith: finally, how our fathers might hold, that we are justified by faith alone, and yet hold truly that without works we are not justified. Did they think that men do merit rewards in heaven by the works they perform on earth? The ancients use *meriting for obtaining*, and in that sense they of *Wittenberg* have in their confession; *We teach that good works commanded of God, are necessarily to be done, and by the free kindness of God they merit their certain rewards*. Therefore speaking as our fathers did, and we taking their speech, in a sound meaning, as we may take our fathers, and might, soasmuch as their meaning is doubtful, and charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably; what should induce us to think that rather the damage of the worst construction did light upon them all, than that the blessing of the better was granted unto thousands? Fifthly, if in the worst construction that may be made, they had generally all embraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? howsoever men when they sit at ease, do vainly tickle their hearts with the vain conceit of I know not what proportionable correspondence between their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high speculations they dream that God hath measured, weighed, and laid up, as it were, in bundle for them: notwithstanding we

see by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the hour of death approacheth, when they secretly hear themselves summoned forthwith to appear, and stand at the bar of that judge, whose brightness cautereth the eyes of the angels themselves to daze, all these idle imaginations do then begin to hide their faces; to name merits then, is to lay their souls upon the rack, the memory of their own deeds is loathsome unto them, they forsake all things wherein they have put any trust or confidence; no staff to lean upon, no ease, no rest, no comfort then, but only in Jesus Christ.

22. Wherefore if this proposition were true: *to hold in such wise, as the church of Rome doth, that we cannot be saved by Christ alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of faith*; I say, that if this proposition were true: nevertheless so many ways I have shewed, whereby we may hope that thousands of our fathers which lived in popish superstition might be saved. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the *Galatians*, concerning circumcision; nor this of the church of *Rome* by works be any direct denial of the foundation as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade so far as to discuss this controversy, the matter which was first brought into question being so clear, as I hope it is. Howbeit, because I desire that the truth even in that also should receive light, I will do mine endeavour to set down somewhat more plainly first, the foundation of faith, what it is: secondly, what is directly to deny the foundation: thirdly, whether they whom God hath chosen to be heirs of life, may fall so far as directly to deny it: fourthly, whether the *Galatians* did so by admitting the error about *circumcision* and the *law*; last of all, whether the church of *Rome* for this one opinion of works, may be thought to do the like, and thereupon to be no more a christian church, than are the assemblies of *Turks* and *Jews*.

23. This word foundation being figuratively used, hath always reference to somewhat which resembleth a material building, as both that doctrine of *laws* and the community of christians do. By the masters of civil policy nothing is so much inculcated, as that *commonwealths are founded upon laws*; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwise than by a common acception of laws, whereby they are to be kept in order. The ground of all civil laws is this: *No man ought to be hurt or injured by another*; take away this persuasion, and ye take away all the laws; take away laws, and what shall become of commonweals? So it is in our spiritual christian community: I do not mean that body mystical, whereof Christ is only the head, that building undiscernable by mortal eyes, wherein Christ is the chief corner stone: but I speak of the visible church; the foundation whereof is the doctrine which the prophets and the apostles profess. The mark wherunto their doctrine tendereth, is pointed at in these words of Peter unto Christ, *Thou hast the words of eternal life*: in those words of Paul to Timothy, *The holy scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation*. It is the demand of nature it self, *What shall we do to have eternal life*? The desire of immortality and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is so natural unto all men, that even they who are not persuaded that they shall, do notwithstanding wish that they might know a way how to see no end of life. And because natural means are not able still to resist the force of death, there is no people in the earth so savage which hath not devised some supernatural help or other to fly for aid and succour in extremities against the enemies of the laws. A longing therefore to be sav'd, without understanding the true way how, hath been the cause of all the superstitions in the world. O that the miserable state of others, which wander in darkness and wot not whither they go, could give us understanding hearts, worthily to esteem the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whose eyes the doors of the kingdom of heaven are set wide open! should we offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather strength to withstand it. But I am besides my purpose when I fall to bewail the cold affection which we bear towards that whereby we should be saved; my purpose being only to set down what the ground of salvation is. The doctrine of the gospel proposeth salvation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attaining thereunto? Yet the damsel possesseth with a spirit of divination spake the truth: *These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation: a new and living way which Christ hath prepared for us, thro' the veil, that is, his flesh*; salvation purchased by the death of Christ. By this foundation the children of God, before the written law were distinguished from the sons of men, the reverend patriarchs both possess it living, and spake expressly of it at the hour of their death. It comforted Job in the midst of grief; as it was afterwards the anchor-hold of all the righteous in Israel, from the writing of the law, to the time of grace. Every prophet making mention of it. It was famously spoken of, about the time, when the coming of Christ to accomplish the promises, which were made long before it drew near, that the sound thereof was heard even amongst the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was

Acts 4. 12. their salvation; he, that long expected hope of *Israel*; he, that seed, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed. So that now he is a name of ruin, a name of death and condemnation, unto such as dream of a new *Messias*, to as many as look for salvation by any other but by him. For amongst men there is given no other name under heaven whereby we must be saved. Thus much St. Mark doth intimate by that which he doth put in the front of this book, making his entrance with these words: *The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.* His doctrine he termeth the gospel, because he teacheth salvation; the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God, because it teacheth salvation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the gospel is erected; that very Jesus whom the Virgin conceived of the holy Ghost, whom Simeon embraced in his arms, whom Pilate condemned, whom the Jews crucified, whom the apostles preached, he is Christ, the Lord, the only Saviour of the world: Other foundation can no man lay. Thus I have briefly opened that principle in christianity, which we call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now that I declare unto you, what is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we understand, what it is to hold the foundation of faith.

Luke 2. 28.
1 Cor. 3.

24. There are which defend, that many of the *Gentiles*, who never heard the name of Christ, held the foundation of christianity, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the providence of God, his infinite wisdom, strength, power; his goodness, and his mercy towards the children of men; that God hath judgment in store for the wicked, but for the righteous which serve him rewards, &c. In this which they confessed, that lyeth covered which we believe; in the rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our faith concerning Christ, lyeth secretly wrapt up, and is virtually contained: therefore they held the foundation of faith, tho' they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of reason defend, that every plowman hath all the sciences, wherein philosophers have excelled? For no man is ignorant of their first principles, which do virtually contain whatsoever by natural means is or can be known. Yea, might we not with as great reason affirm, that a man might put three mighty oaks wheresoever three acorns may be put? For virtually an acorn is an oak. To avoid such paradoxes, we teach plainly, that to hold the foundation, is, in exprefs terms, to acknowledge it.

25. Now, because the foundation is an affirmative position, they all overthrow it; who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by consequent, or indirectly, which hold any one assertion whatsoever, whereupon the direct denial thereof may be necessarily concluded. What is the question between the *Gentiles* and us, but this, *Whether salvation be by Christ?* What between the *Jews* and us, but this, *Whether by this Jesus, whom we call Christ, yea or no?* This is to be the main point whereupon christianity standeth, it is clear by that one sentence of *Festus* concerning *Paul's* accusers: *They brought no crime of such things as I supposed, but had certain questions against him of their superstitions, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.* Where we see that Jesus, dead and raised for the salvation of the world, is by *Jews* denied, despised by a *Gentile*, by a christian apostle maintained. The fathers therefore in the primitive church when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the book which he called *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Felix*, the book which he entitleth *Octavius*; *Arnobius*, the seven books against the *Gentiles*; *Chrysostom*, his orations against the *Jews*; *Eusebius*, his ten books of *evangelical demonstration*: they stand in defence of christianity against them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the fathers against *Novatians*, *Pelagians*, and other hereticks of the like note, refel positions, whereby the foundation of christian faith was overthrown by consequent only. In the former sort of writings the foundation is proved; in the latter, it is alledged as a proof, which to men that had been known directly to deny, must needs have seemed a very beggarly kind of disputing. All infidels therefore deny the foundation of faith directly; by consequent, many a christian man, yea whole christian churches denied it, and do deny it at this present day. Christian churches, the foundation of christianity? not directly, for then they cease to be christian churches; but by consequent, in respect whereof we condemn them as erroneous, altho', for holding the foundation, we do and must hold them christians.

26. We see what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by consequent to deny it. The next thing which followeth is, whether they whom God hath chosen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, may, once effectually called, and thro' faith justified truly, afterwards fall so far, as directly to deny the foundation which their hearts have before embraced with joy and comfort in the holy Ghost; for such is the faith, which indeed doth justify. Devils know the same things which we believe, and the minds of

of the most ungodly may be fully persuaded of the truth; which knowledge in the one and in the other, is sometimes termed faith, but equivocally, being indeed no such faith as that whereby a christian man is justified. It is the spirit of adoption which worketh faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe, are by us apprehended, not only as true, but also as good, and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the christian man the more he increaseth in faith, the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more sure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one sort have a different disposition from the other. *Non ignoro plerosque conscientia meritorum, nihil se esse per mortem magis optare quam credere; malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad supplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant faith *Assuetus*, that there be many, who being conscious what they are to look for, do rather wish that they might, than think that they shall cease, when they cease to live; because they hold it better that death should consume them unto nothing, than God revive them unto punishment. So it is in other articles of faith, whereof wicked men think, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrary side, to the other, there is no grief or torment greater, than to feel their persuasion weak in things, whereof when they are persuaded, they reap such comfort and joy of spirit: such is the faith whereby we are justified; such, I mean, in respect of the quality. For touching the principal object of faith, longer than it holdeth the foundation whereof we have spoken, it neither justifieth, nor is, but ceaseth to be faith; when it ceaseth to believe, that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour of the world. The cause of life spiritual in us, is Christ, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the soul of man, as a thing which (when the mind apprehendeth it) is said to inhabit or possess the mind. The mind conceiveth Christ by hearing the doctrine of christianity, as the light of nature doth the mind to apprehend those truths which are merely rational, so that saving truth, which is far above the reach of human reason, cannot otherwise, than by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived. All these are implied, wheresoever any of them is mentioned as the cause of the spiritual life: wherefore if we have read, that *a the Spirit is our life*; or, *b the word our life*; or, *c Christ our life*: we are in every of these to understand, that our life is Christ, by the hearing of the gospel apprehended as a Saviour, and assented unto through the power of the holy Ghost. The first intellectual conceit and comprehension of Christ so embraced, St. Peter calleth *the seed whereof we be new born*: our first embracing of Christ, is our first reviving from the state of death and condemnation. *He that hath the Son hath life*, saith St. John, *and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life*. If therefore he which once hath the Son, may cease to have the Son, though it be for a moment, he ceaseth for that moment to have life. But the life of them which have the Son of God, is everlasting *in the world to come*. But because as Christ being raised from the dead died no more, death hath no more power over him: so justified man, being allied to God in Jesus Christ our Lord doth as necessarily from that time forward always live, as Christ, by whom he hath life, liveth always. I might, if I had not elsewhere largely done it already, shew by many and sundry manifest and clear proofs, how the motions and operations of life are sometime so indiscernable, and so secret, that they seem stone-dead, who notwithstanding are still alive unto God in Christ.

For as long as that abideth in us, which animateth, quickneth, and giveth life, so long we live, and we know that the cause of our faith abideth in us for ever. If Christ, the fountain of life may flit, and leave the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what shall become of his promise, *I am with you to the world's end*? If the seed of God, which containeth Christ, may be first conceived and then cast out: how doth St. Peter term it *immortal*? How doth St. John affirm *it abideth*? If the Spirit, which is given to cherish and preserve the seed of life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earnest of our inheritance until redemption; how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once just by faith, shall live by faith, and live for ever, it followeth, that he which once doth believe the foundation, must needs believe the foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly deny it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, so long as faith continueth, is excluded.

Object. But you will say, *That as he that is to day holy, may to morrow forsake his holiness, and become impure, as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither; so faith may dye in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, grace may be extinguished, they which believe may be quite turned away from the truth.*

Sol. The case is clear, long experience hath made this manifest, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forsake God; but is God as ready to forsake us? Our minds are changeable; is his so likewise? Whom God hath justified hath not Christ

Col. 1. 23.

1 Tim. 2. 15.
John 10.

1 John 3. 9.

^b However men be changed (for ch. 11. 21.) they may tians which they had been in former time, for that through error they wandered, al- though they were his sheep. I do not deny, but that I should deny that they were his men) if they sheep, if I should grant, that through error they perished. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perilous even in them that held it only as an error, because it overthrow- eth the foundation by consequent. But in them which obstinately maintain it, I cannot think it less than a damnable heresy. We must therefore put a difference between them which err of ignorance, retaining nevertheless a mind desirous to be instructed in truth, and them, which after the truth is laid open, persist in the stubborn defence of their blind- nesses. Heretical defenders, froward and stiff-necked teachers of circumcision, the bles-

^c *circumcision*, such as faith, hope, and charity are, which God doth never take away from him to whom they are given, as if it report- ed him to have given them; if such might be so far changed by error, as that the very root of faith should be quite extinguished in them, and so their salvation utterly lost, it would shake the hearts of the strongest, and stoutest of us all. See the contrary in *Bern* his ob- servations upon the harmony of confessions.

assured, that it is *his Father's will to give them a kingdom*? Notwithstanding, it shall not be otherwise given them, than if they continue grounded and established in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel; *if they abide in love and holiness*. Our Saviour therefore, when he spake of the sheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, *I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands*; in promising to save them, he promised no doubt to preserve them in that, without which there can be no salvation, as also from that whereby it is ir- recoverably lost. Every error in things appertaining unto God, is repugnant unto faith; every fearful cogitation, unto hope; unto love, every stragling inordinate desire; unto holiness, every blemish wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the out- ward actions of our lives are stained. But heresy, such as that of *Ebion, Cerinthus*, and others, against whom the apostles were forced to bend themselves, both by word, and also by writing; that repining discouragement of heart which tempteth God, whereof we have *Isaiah* in the desert for a pattern; coldness, such as that in the angels of *Ephesus*; foul sins, known to be expressly against the first, or second table of the law, such as *Noah, Manasses, David, Solomon*, and *Peter* committed: these are each in their kind so oppo- site to the former virtues, that they leave no place for salvation without an actual repen- tance. But infidelity, extreme despair, hatred of God and all goodness, obduration in sin cannot stand where there is but the least spark of faith, hope, love, and sanctity: even as cold in the lowest degree cannot be, where heat in the highest degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the first kind, no man liveth which sinneth not; and in the second, as perfect as any do live, may sin: yet such the man which is born of God, hath a promise, that in him *the seed of God shall abide*; which seed is a sure preservative against the sins that are of the third suit: greater and clearer assurance we cannot have of any thing, than of this, that from such sins God shall preserve the righteous, as the apple of his eye for ever. Directly to deny the foundation of faith, is plain infidelity; where faith is entered, there infidelity is for ever excluded: therefore by him which hath once sincerely believed in Christ, the foundation of christian faith can never be directly denied. Did not *Peter*? Did not *Marcellinus*? Did not others both directly deny Christ, after that they had believed; and again believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they confess in words, whose condemnation is nevertheless their not believing: (for example we have *Judas*;) so likewise, they may believe in heart, whose condemnation, without repentance, is their not confessing. Although therefore, *Peter* and the rest, for whose faith Christ hath prayed that it might not fail, did not by denial, sin the sin of infi- delity, which is an inward abnegation of Christ; (for if they had done this, their faith had clearly failed;) yet, because they sinned notoriously and grievously, committing that which they knew to be expressly forbidden by the law, which faith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; necessary it was, that he which purpo- sed to save their souls should, as he did, touch their hearts with true unfeigned repentance, that his mercy might restore them again to life, whom sin had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may safely set down, that if the justified err, as he may, and never come to understand his error, God doth save him through general repentance: but if he fall into heresy, he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance; but from infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, he preserveth him by special providence for ever. Whereby we may easily know, what to think of those *Galatians* whose hearts were so possess'd with the love of the truth, that, if it had been possible, they would have pluckt out their eyes to bestow upon their teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed both in persuasion and af-

fed apostle calls dogs. Silly men, who were seduced to think they taught the truth, he pitieth, he taketh up in his arms, he lovingly embraceth, he kisserh, and with more than fatherly tenderness doth so temper, qualify, and correct the speech he useth towards them, that a man cannot easily discern whether did most abound, the love which he bare to their godly affection, or the grief which the danger of their opinion bred him. Their opinion was dangerous; was not theirs also, who thought the kingdom of Christ should be earthly? Was not theirs, which thought the gospel only should be preached to the *Jews*: what more opposite to propheticall doctrine, concerning the coming of Christ, than the one? concerning the catholick church, than the other? Yet they which had these fancies, even when they had them, were not the worst men in the world. The heresy of *free-will* was a mill-stone about the *Pelagians* neck, shall we therefore give sentence of death inevitably against all those fathers in the *Greek* church, which being misper-suaded, died in the error of *free-will*? Of these *Galatians* therefore, which first were justified, and then deceived, as I can see no cause why as many as died before admonition might not by mercy be received, even in error; so I make no doubt, but as many as lived till they were admonished, found the mercy of God effectual in converting them from their ^a error, left any one that is Christ's should perish. Of this I take it, there is no controversy: only against the salvation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in error, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plain direct denial of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had been so persuaded, they would haply have used the terms otherwise, speaking of the masters themselves who did first set that error abroad, ^b certain of the sect of the pharisees which believed. What difference was there between these pharisees and other pharisees, from whom by a special description they are distinguished, but this? These which came to *Antioch*, teaching the necessity of circumcision were christians; the other, enemies of christianity. Why then should these be termed so distinctly believers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our same belief; besides which, there was no other thing, that made the rest to be no believers? We need go no further than *St. Paul's* very reasoning against them for proof of this matter: seeing you know God, or rather are known of God; how turn you again to impotent rudiments? The ^c law engendereth servants, her children are in bondage: ^d they which are begotten by the gospel, are free. Brethren, we are not children of the servant but of the free woman, and will ye yet be under the law? That they thought it unto salvation necessary, for the church of Christ to ^e observe days, and months, and times, and years, to keep the ceremonies and sacraments of the law, this was their error. Yet he which condemneth their error, confesseth that, notwithstanding, they knew God, and were known of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed sons, begotten of the immortal seed of the gospel. Let the heaviest words which he useth be weighed; consider the drift of those dreadful conclusions: *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: as many as are justified by the law, are fallen from grace.* It had been to no purpose in the world so to urge them, had not the apostle been persuaded, that at the hearing of such sequels, *No benefit by Christ, a defection from Christ*, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? Because that they knew, that in Christ, and in grace, their salvation lay, which is a plain direct acknowledgment of the foundation. Left I should herein seem to hold that which no one learned or godly hath done, let these words be considered, which import as much as I affirm. Surely those brethren, which in saint *Paul's* time, thought that God did lay a necessity upon them to make choice of days and meats, spake as they believed, and could not but in words condemn the liberty, which they supposed to be brought in against the authority of divine scripture. Otherwise it had been needless for *St. Paul* to admonish them, not to condemn such as eat without scrupulosity, whatsoever was set before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of it self, did at once overthrow all scriptures, whereby we are taught salvation by faith in Christ, all that ever the prophets did foretell, all that ever the apostles did preach of Christ, it drew with it the denial of Christ utterly: inasmuch, that *St. Paul* complaineth, that his labour was lost upon the *Galatians*, unto whom this error is obtruded, affirming that Christ, if so be they were circumcised, should not profit them any thing at all. Yet so far was *St. Paul* from striking their names out of Christ's book, that he commandeth others to entertain them, to accept with singular humanity, to use them like brethren; he knew man's imbecility, he had a feeling of our blindness, which are mortal men, how great it is, and being sure that they are the sons of God, whosoever be endued with his fear, would not have them counted enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themselves to be friends, but did, ever upon a very religious affection to the truth, willingly reject the truth. They acknowledged Christ to be their only and perfect Saviour, but saw not how repugnant their believing the necessity of *Mosaicall* ceremonies

was to their faith in Jesus Christ. Hereupon a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might have been saved; but saved they could not be, therefore their opinion was, not only by consequent, but directly a denial of the foundation. When the question was about the possibility of their salvation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prove that they could not be saved: now, that the question is about their denial of the foundation, the impossibility of their salvation is alledged to prove they denied the foundation. Is there nothing which excludeth men from salvation, but only the foundation of faith denied? I should have thought, that besides this, many other things are death to as many as understanding that to cleave thereunto was to fall from Christ, did notwithstanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the last question, *Whether that the doctrine of the church of Rome, concerning the necessity of works unto salvation, be a direct denial of our faith.*

27. I seek not to obtrude unto you any private opinion of my own. The best learned in our profession are of this judgment, that all the corruptions of the church of Rome do not prove her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they should grant her simply to be no christian church. *But, I suppose, saith one, that in the papacy some church remaineth, a church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, misshapen, yet some church: his reason is this, antichrist must sit in the temple of God.* Let any man should think such sentences as these to be true only in regard of them whom that church is supposed to have kept by the special providence of God, as it were, in the secret corners of his bosom, free from infection, and sound in the faith; as we trust, by his mercy, we our selves are; I permit it to your wise considerations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzy, tho' it take away the use of reason, doth notwithstanding prove them reasonable creatures which have it, because none can be frantick but they; so antichristianity being the bane and overthrow of christianity, may nevertheless argue the church where antichrist sitteth to be christian. Neither have I hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant that God doth otherwise, than so as in the two next questions before hath been declared, bind himself to keep his elect from worshipping the beast and from receiving his mark in their foreheads: but he hath preserved, and will preserve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the man of sin, whose deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but only unto such as never loved the truth, such as took pleasure in unrighteousness. They in all ages, whose hearts have delighted in the principal truth, and whose souls have thirsted after righteousness, if they received the mark of error; the mercy of God, even erring, and dangerously erring, might save them; if they received the mark of heresy, the same mercy, did, I doubt not, convert them. How far *Romish* heresies may prevail over God's elect, how many God hath kept from falling into them, how many have been converted from them, is not the question now in hand. For if heaven had not received any one of that coat for these thousand years, it may still be true, that the doctrine which this day they do profess doth not directly deny the foundation, and so prove them simply to be no christian church. One I have alledged, whose words, in my ears, sound that way. Shall I add another, whose speech is plain? *I deny her not the name of a church, saith another, no more than to a man the name of a man, as long as he liveth, what sickness soever he hath.* His reason is this, *salvation in Jesus Christ, which is the mark which joineth the head with the body, Jesus Christ with the church, is so cut off by many merits, by the merits of saints, by the pope's pardons, and such other wickedness that the life of the church holdeth by a very thread, yet still the life of the church holdeth.* A third hath these words, *I acknowledge the church of Rome, even at this present day, for a church of Christ, such a church as Israel did Jeroboam, yet a church.* His reason is this, *every man seeth, except he willingly hood-wink himself, that as always, so now, the church of Rome holdeth firmly and stedfastly the doctrine of truth concerning Christ; and baptizeth in the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost; confesseth and avoucheth Christ to be the only Redeemer of the world, and the judge that shall sit upon quick and dead, receiving true believers into endless joy, faithless and godless men being cast with satan and his angels into flames unquenchable.*

28. I may, and will rein the question shorter than they do. Let the pope take down his top, and captivate no more men's souls by his papal jurisdictions; let him no longer count himself *lord paramount* over the princes of the world, no longer hold kings as his servants *paravails*; let his stately senate submit their necks to the yoke of Christ, and cease to dye their garments, like *Edom*, in blood; let them from the highest to the lowest hate and forsake their idolatry, abjure all their errors and heresies, where-with they have any way perverted the truth; let them strip their church, till they leave no polluted rag, but only this one about her, *By Christ alone without works we can-*

not be saved: it is enough for me, if I shew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prove the foundation of faith directly denied in the church of *Rome*.

29. Works are an addition: be it so, what then? the foundation is not subverted by every kind of addition. Simply to add unto those fundamental words is not to mingle wine with water, heaven and earth, things polluted with the sanctified blood of Christ: of which crime indict them which attribute those operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the work of our salvation wholly are peculiar unto Christ; and if I open my mouth to speak in their defence; if I hold my peace, and plead not against them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guilty of all the dishonour that ever hath been done to the Son of God. But the more dreadful a thing it is to deny salvation by Christ alone, the more slow and fearful I am, except it be too manifest, to lay a thing so grievous to any man's charge. Let us beware, lest if we make too many ways of denying Christ, we scarce leave any way for our selves truly and soundly to confess him. Salvation only by Christ is the true foundation whereupon indeed christianity standeth. But what if I say, you cannot be saved only by Christ, without this addition, Christ believed in heart, confessed with mouth, obeyed in life and conversation? Because I add, do I therefore deny that which I did directly affirm? There may be an additament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth and concludeth the proposition, whereunto it is annexed. He which saith, *Peter* was a chief apostle, doth prove that *Peter* was an apostle: he which saith, our salvation is of the Lord through sanctification of the Spirit, and faith of the truth, proveth that our salvation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be such a privation, as taketh away the very essence of that whereunto it is added, then by the sequel it overthroweth it. He which saith, *Judas* is a dead man, tho' in a word, he granteth *Judas* to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very speech no man, because death depriveth him of being. In like sort, he that should say, our election is of grace for our works sake, should grant in sound of words, but indeed by consequence deny, that our election is of grace; for the grace which electeth us is no grace, if it elect us for our works sake. Rom. 11. 6,

30. Now whereas the church of *Rome* addeth works, we must note further, that the adding of * works is not like the adding of circumcision unto Christ. Christ came not to abrogate and put away good works: he did to change circumcision; for we see that in place thereof he hath substituted holy baptism. To say, ye cannot be saved by Christ except ye be circumcised, is to add a thing excluded, a thing not only not necessary to be kept, but necessary not to be kept by them that will be saved. On the other side, to say, ye cannot be saved by Christ without works, is to add things not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place and in their kind necessary, and therefore subordinated unto Christ by Christ himself, by whom the web of salvation is spun: * *Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* They were ^b rigorous exactors of things not utterly to be neglected and left undone, washing and tithing, &c. As they were in these, so must we be in judgment and the love of God. Christ, in works ceremonial, giveth more liberty, in moral, much less, than they did. Works of righteousness therefore are added in the one proposition; as in the other, circumcision is.

of the matter in question between St. Paul and the Galatians, as inferreth those conclusions, *Ye are fallen from grace, Christ can profit you nothing*: Which conclusions will follow circumcision and rights of the law ceremonial, if they be required as things necessary to salvation. This only was alledged against me: and need I touch more than was alledged? * Matth. v. 20. Luke 11. 39.
* Matth. 5. 21.

31. But we say, our salvation is by Christ alone; therefore howsoever, or whatsoever we add unto Christ in the matter of salvation, we overthrow Christ. Our case were very hard, if this argument, so universally meant as it is supposed, were sound and good. We our selves do not reach Christ alone, excluding our own faith, unto justification; Christ alone, excluding our own works, unto sanctification; Christ alone, excluding the one or the other unnecessary unto salvation. It is a childish cavil, wherewith in the matter of justification, our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming, that we tread all christian virtues under our feet, and require nothing in christians but faith, because we teach that faith alone justifieth; whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified; or works from being added as necessary duties, required at the hands of every justified man: but to shew that faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ unto justification; and Christ the only garment, which being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preserveth us blameless in the sight of God, before whom otherwise, the weakness of our faith

Eph. 1. 11.

faith were cause sufficient to make us culpable, yea, to shut us from the kingdom of heaven, where nothing that is not absolute can enter. That our dealing with them be not as childish as theirs with us : when we hear of salvation by Christ alone, considering that [*alone*] as an exclusive particle, we are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I say, *Such a judge only ought to determine such a case*, all things incident to the determination thereof, besides the person of the judge, as laws, depositions, evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded ; persons are not excluded from witnessing herein, or assisting, but only from determining and giving sentence. How then is our salvation wrought by Christ alone ? is it our meaning, that nothing is requisite to man's salvation, but Christ to save, and he to be saved quietly without any more ado ? No, we acknowledge no such foundation. As we have received, so we teach, that besides the bare and naked work, wherein Christ without any other associate finished all the parts of our redemption, and purchased salvation himself alone ; for conveyance of this eminent blessing unto us, many things are of necessity required, as, to be known and chosen of God before the foundation of the world ; in the world to be called, justified, sanctified ; after we have left the world, to be received unto glory ; Christ in every of these hath somewhat which he worketh alone. Thro' him, according to the eternal purpose of God before the foundation of the world, born, crucified, buried, raised, &c. we were in a gracious acceptance known unto God long before we were seen of men : God knew us, loved us, was kind to us in Jesus Christ, in him we were elected to be heirs of life. Thus far God through Christ hath wrought in such sort alone, that our selves are meer patients, working no more than dead and senseless matter, wood, stone, or iron, doth in the artificers hands ; no more than clay, when the potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable use ; nay, not so much. For the matter whereupon the crafts-man worketh he chuseth, being moved by the fitness which is in it to serve his turn ; in us no such thing. Touching the rest which is laid for the foundation of our faith, it importeth farther, that by him we are called, that we have redemption, remission of sins through his blood, health by his stripes ; justice by him ; that he doth sanctify his church, and make it glorious to himself, that entrance into joy shall be given us by him ; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not so by him alone, as if in us to our vocation, the hearing of the gospel ; to our justification, faith ; to our sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit ; to our entrance into rest, perseverance in hope, in faith, in holiness, were not necessary.

32. Then what is the fault of the church of *Rome* ? Not that she requireth works at their hands which will be saved : but that she attributeth unto works a power of satisfying God for sin ; yea, a virtue to merit both grace here, and in heaven glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly ; that it is a direct denial thereof, I utterly deny. What it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this cause, and there needs no more ado. The thing which is handled, if the form under which it is handled be added thereunto, it sheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatsoever. Christ is the matter whereof the doctrine of the gospel treateth ; and it treateth of Christ as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Christ is the foundation of christianity : as for works, they are a thing subordinate, no otherwise than because our sanctification cannot be accomplished without them. The doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation ; therefore the doctrine which addeth unto them the power of satisfying, or of meriting, addeth unto a thing subordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation it self ; yet is the foundation by this addition consequently overthrowen, forasmuch as out of this addition it may be negatively concluded, he which maketh any work good and acceptable in the sight of God, to proceed from the natural freedom of our will ; he which giveth unto any good works of ours the force of satisfying the wrath of God for sin, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards ; he which holdeth works going before our vocation, incongruity to merit our vocation ; works following our first, to merit our second justification, and by condignity our last reward in the kingdom of heaven, pulleth up the doctrine of faith by the roots ; for out of every of these the plain direct denial thereof may be necessarily concluded. Not this only, but what other heresy is there that doth not raze the very foundation of faith by consequent ? Howbeit, we make a difference of heresies ; accounting them in the next degree to infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expressly acknowledged in the articles of our belief ; for out of any one article so denied the very foundation it self is straitway deferred. As for example, if a man should say, *There is no*

Hæc ratio ecclesiastici sacramenti & catholicæ fidei est, ut qui partem divini sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim sibi connexa & concorporata sunt omnia, ut aliud sine alio stare non possit, & qui unum ex omnibus denegaverit, alia ei omnia credidisse non profit. Cassian. lib. 6. de incar. nat. Dom. If he obstinately stand in the denial, pag. 193.

catholic church, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this *Jesus* whom we call the Saviour, is not the Saviour of the world; because all the prophets bear witness, that the true *Messias* should *shew light unto the Gentiles*; that is to say, gather such a church as is catholic, not restrained any longer unto one circumcised nation. In the second rank we place them, our of whose positions the denial of any the foresaid articles may be with like facility concluded: such as are they which have denied, with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion*, his humanity; an example whereof may be that of *Cassianus* defending the incarnation of the Son of God against *Nestorius* bishop of *Antioch*, who held, that the virgin, when she brought forth Christ, did not bring forth the Son of God, but a sole and meer man. Out of which hereby the denial of the articles of the christian faith he deduceth thus, *If* ^{Acts 26. 23.} *thou dost deny our Lord Jesus Christ, in denying the Son, thou canst not chuse but deny the Father*; for, according to the voice of the Father himself, He that hath not the Son, hath ^{Lib. 9. de incar. Dom. cap.} not the Father. Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou deniest him which doth beget. Again, denying the Son of God to have been born in the flesh, how canst thou believe him to have suffered? believing not his passion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his resurrection? For we believe him not raised, except we first believe him dead: neither can the reason of his rising from the dead stand, without the faith of his death going before. The denial of his death and passion inferreth the denial of his rising from the depth. Whereupon it followeth, that thou also deny his ascension into heaven. The apostle affirmeth, That he which ascended, did first descend; so that, as much as lieth in thee, our Lord *Jesus Christ* hath neither risen from the depth, nor is ascended into heaven, nor sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, neither shall he come at the day of the final account which is looked for, nor shalt judge the quick and dead. And darrest thou yet set foot in the church? Canst thou think thy self a bishop, when thou hast denied all those things whereby thou dost obtain a bishoply calling? *Nestorius* confessed all the articles of the creed, but his opinion did imply the denial of every part of his confession. Heresies there are of the third sort, such as the church of *Rome* maintaineth, which be removed by a greater distance from the foundation, altho' indeed they overthrow it. Yet because of that weakness, which the philosopher noteth in mens capacities when he saith, that the common sort cannot see things which follow in reason, when they follow, as it were, afar off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancy of such heresy and the foundation is not so quickly, or so easily found, but that an heretick of this, sooner than of the former kind, may directly grant, and consequently nevertheless deny the foundation of faith.

33. If reason be suspected, tryal will shew that the church of *Rome* doth no otherwise, by teaching the doctrine the doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamental words, and what man is there that will refuse to subscribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny, one and the very self-same thing? Our own proceedings in disputing against their works satisfactory and meritorious do shew, not only that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithstanding their opinion. For are not these our arguments against them? *Christ alone hath satisfied and appeased his Father's wrath: Christ hath merited salvation alone.* We should do fondly to use such disputes, neither could we think to prevail by them, if that whereupon we ground, were a thing which we know they do not hold, which we are assured they will not grant. Their very answers to all such reasons, as are in this controversy brought against them, will not permit us to doubt whether they hold the foundation or no. Can any man, that hath read their books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their answers unto these heads? *That the remission of all our sins, the pardon of all whatsoever punishments thereby deserved, the rewards which God hath laid up in heaven, are by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ purchased, and obtained sufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Christ be applied particularly to him by such means as God hath appointed that to work by. That those means of themselves, being but dead things, only the blood of Christ is that which putteth life, force, and efficacy in them to work, and to be available, each in his kind, to our salvation. Finally, that grace being purchased for us by the blood of Christ, and freely without any merit or desert at the first bestowed upon us, the good things which we do, after grace received, be thereby made satisfactory and meritorious.* Some of their sentences to this effect I must alludge for mine own warrant. If we desire to hear foreign judgments, we find ^{Lewis of Granada. med. cap. lib. 3.} in one this confession, *He that could reckon how many the virtues and merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ hath been, might likewise understand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, for so much as men are made partakers of them all by means of his passion: by him is given unto us remission of our sins, grace, glory, liberty, praise, salvation, redemption, justification, justice, satisfaction, sacraments, merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoveful for our salvation.* In another we have these ^{Paulus. 1et.} oppositions ^{11.}

Annot. in
1 John 1.

In his book of
consolation.

Works of su-
pererogation.

oppositions and answers made unto them: *All grace is given by Christ Jesus. True, but not except Christ Jesus be applied. He is the propitiation for our sin; by his stripes we are healed, he hath offered himself up for us: all this is true, but apply it. We put all satisfaction in the blood of Jesus Christ; but we hold, that the means, which Christ hath appointed for us in the case to apply it, are our penal works.* Our countrymen in *Rheims* make the like answer, that they seek salvation no other way than by the blood of Christ; and that humbly they do use prayers, fastings, alms, faith, charity, sacrifice, sacraments, priests, only as the means appointed by Christ, to apply the benefit of his holy blood unto them: touching our good works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor answerable to the joys of heaven: it cometh by the grace of Christ, and not of the work it self, that we have by well-doing a right to heaven, and deserve it worthily. If any man think that I seek to varnish their opinions, to set the better foot of a lame horse foremost; let him know, that since I began thoroughly to understand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it seemeth to them which know not the deepness of Satan, as the blessed divine speaketh. For, altho' this be proof sufficient, that they do not directly deny the foundation of faith; yet, if there were no other leaven in the lump of their doctrine but this, this were sufficient to prove, that their doctrine is not agreeable to the foundation of christian faith. The *Pelagians* being over-great friends unto nature, made themselves enemies unto grace, for all their confessing, that men have their sons, and all the faculties thereof, their wills, and all the ability of their wills from God. And is not the church of *Rome* still an adversary to Christ's merits, because of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the blood of Christ? Sir *Thomas More* setteth down the odds between us and the church of *Rome* in the matter of works thus. *Like as we grant them, that no good work of man is rewardable in heaven of its own nature, but thro' the meer goodness of God, that lists to set so high a price upon so poor a thing; and that this price God setteth thro' Christ's passion, and for that also they be his own works with us; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God work in him: and as we grant them also, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working; and for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a servant unprofitable, and doth but his bare duty: as we, I say, grant unto them these things, so this one thing or twain do they grant us again, that men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that who so worketh in true faith most, shall be most rewarded, but then set they thereto, that all his rewards shall be given him for his faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, because his faith is the thing, they say, that forceth him to work well.* I see by this of Sir *Thomas More*, how easy is it for men of the greatest capacity to mistake things written, or spoken as well on the one side as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the work of man rewardable in the world to come thro' the goodness of God, whom it pleased to set so high a price upon so poor a thing; and ours, that a man doth receive that eternal and high reward, not for his works, but for his faith's sake, by which he worketh; whereas in truth our doctrine is no other than that we have learned at the feet of Christ; namely, that God doth justify the believing man, yet not for the worthiness of his belief, but for the worthiness of him which is believed; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the work, but thro' his meer mercy, by whose commandment he worketh. Contrariwise, their doctrine is, that as pure water of it self hath no flavour, but if it pass thro' a sweet pipe, it taketh a pleasant smell of the pipe through which it passeth: so, altho' before grace received, our works do neither satisfy nor merit; yet after, they do both the one and the other. Every virtuous action hath then power in such to satisfy; that if we our selves commit no mortal sin, no hainous crime, whereupon to spend this treasure of satisfaction in our own behalf, it turneth to the benefit of other mens release, on whom it should please the steward of the house of God to bestow it; so that we may satisfy for our selves and others; but merit only for our selves. In meriting, our actions do work with two hands; with one, they get their morning stipend, the increase of grace; with the other, their evening hire, the everlasting crown of glory. Indeed they teach, that our good works do not these things as they come from us, but as they come from grace in us, which grace in us is another thing in their divinity, than is the meer goodness of God's mercy towards us in Christ Jesus.

34. If it were not a long deluded spirit which hath possession of their hearts; were it possible but that they should see how plainly they do herein gain say the very ground of apostolick faith? Is this that salvation by grace, whereof so plentiful mention is made in the scriptures of God? was this their meaning, which first taught the world to look for salvation only by Christ? By grace the apostle saith, and by grace in such sort as a gift: a thing that cometh not of our selves, nor of our works, lest any man should

boast, and say, *I have wrought out my own salvation*. By grace they confess; but by grace in such sort, that as many as wear the diadem of bliss, they wear nothing but what they have won. The apostle, as if he had foreseen how the church of *Rome* would abuse the world in time by ambiguous terms, to declare in what sense the name of grace must be taken, when we make it the cause of our salvation, saith, *He saved us according to his mercy*: which mercy, altho' it exclude not the washing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the holy Ghost, the means, the virtues, the duties which God requireth of our hands which shall be saved; yet it is so repugnant unto merits, that to say, we are saved for the worthiness of any thing which is ours, is to deny we are saved by grace. Grace bestoweth freely; and therefore justly requireth the glory of that which is bestowed. We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter passion, if we rest in these proud imaginations, that life is deservedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints, how many martyrs, how many of the ancient fathers of the church, have had their sundry perilous opinions; and amongst sundry of their opinions this, that they hoped to make God some part of amends for their sins, by the voluntary punishment which they laid upon themselves, because by a consequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Christ; shall we therefore make such deadly epitaphs, and set them upon their graves, *They denied the foundation of faith directly, they are damned, there is no salvation for them*? Saint *Austin* saith of himself, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo*. And, except we put a difference between them that err, and them that obstinately persist in error, how is it possible that ever any man should hope to be saved? Surely, in this case, I have no respect of any person either alive or dead. Give me a man, of what estate or condition soever, yea, a cardinal or a pope, whom in the extrem point of his life, affliction hath made to know himself; whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with love towards the gospel of Christ, whose eyes are opened to see the truth, and his mouth to renounce all heresy and error, any wise opposite thereunto; this one opinion of merits excepted, he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is discouraged; it may be I am forgetful, and unskilful, not furnished with things new and old, as a wise and learned scribe should be, nor able to alledge that, whereunto, if it were alledged, he doth bear a mind most willing to yield, and so to be recalled, as well from this, as from other errors; and shall I think, because of this only error, that such a man toucheth not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If he do, wherefore should not I have hope, that virtue might proceed from Christ to save him? Because his error doth by consequent overthrow his faith, shall I therefore cast him off, as one that hath utterly cast off Christ? One that holdeth not so much as by a slender thread? No, I will not be afraid to say unto a pope or cardinal in this plight, be of good comfort, we have to do with a merciful God, ready to make the best of a little which we hold well, and not with a capitious sophister, which gathereth the worst out of every thing wherein we err. Is there any reason, that I should be suspected, or you offended for this speech? Is it a dangerous thing to imagine, that such men may find mercy? The hour may come, when we shall think it a blessed thing to hear, that if our sins were the sins of the pope and cardinals, the bowels of the mercy of God are larger. I do not propose unto you a pope with the neck of an emperor under his feet; a cardinal, riding his horse to the bride in the blood of saints; but a pope or a cardinal sorrowful, penitent, disrobed, stript, not only of usurped power, but also delivered and recalled from error and anti-christ, converted and lying prostrate at the foot of Christ; and shall I think that Christ shall spurn at him? And shall I cross and gainsay the merciful promises of God, generally made unto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a pope or cardinal? What difference is there in the world between a pope and a cardinal, and *John a Style* in this case; if we think it impossible for them, if they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any such remorse? Let that be granted, the apostle saith, *If I, or an angel from heaven preach unto, &c.* Let it be as likely, that St. *Paul*, or an angel from heaven should preach hereby, as that a pope or cardinal should be brought so far forth to acknowledge the truth; yet if a pope or cardinal should, what find we in their persons why they might not be saved? It is not the persons, you will say, but the error, wherein I suppose them to die which excludeth them from the hope of mercy; the opinion of merits doth take away all possibility of salvation from them. What if they hold it only as an error? Although they hold the truth truly and sincerely in all other parts of christian faith: Although they have in some measure

Let all affecti-
on be laid aside,
let the matter
indifferently
be considered.

sure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of God's elect children in them: Although they be far from having any proud presumptuous opinion, that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deed: although the only thing which troubleth and molested them, be but a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear, rising from an erroneous conceit that God would require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves: Although they be not obstinate in this persuasion: Although they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it: Although the only let, why they do not forsake it ere they dye, be the ignorance of the 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 dye, if ever it be proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or a cardinal in such a case, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I must confess unto you, if it be an error, 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 unto this error, I would never wish to speak, nor to live.

36. Wherefore to resume that mother sentence, whereof I little thought that so much trouble would have grown, *I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers, living in popish superstition, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly.* Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this sentence, that it should be an occasion of so many hard censures? Did I say, *That thousands of our fathers might be saved?* I have shewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I say, *I doubt not but that they were saved?* I see no impiety in this persuasion, tho' I had no reason for it. Did I say, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did find mercy, and so were saved?* What hindreth salvation but sin? Sins are not equal; and ignorance, tho' it doth not make sin to be no sin, yet seeing it did make their sin the less, why should it not make our hope concerning their life the greater? We pity the most, and doubt not but God hath most compassion over them that sin for want of understanding. As much is confessed by sundry others, almost in the self-same words which I have used. It is but only my evil hap, that the same sentences which favour verity, in other mens books, should seem to bolster heresy when they are once by me recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the blessed apostle hath deceived me. What I said of others, the same he said of himself, *I obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly.* Construe his words, and you cannot misconstrue mine. I speak no otherwise, I mean no otherwise, than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the question concerning our fathers at length unto an end. Of whose estate, upon so fit an occasion as was offered me, handling the weighty causes of separation between the church of *Rome* and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retain men in that society; amongst which motives the examples of our fathers deceased is one; altho' I saw it convenient to utter the sentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby understand, how untruly we are said to condemn as many as have been before us otherwise persuaded than we our selves are; yet more than that one sentence, I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meetier for us to have regard to our own estate, than to sit over-curiously what is become of other men. And fearing, lest that such questions as these, if voluntarily they should be too far waded in, might seem worthy of that rebuke which our Saviour thought needful in a case not unlike, *What is this unto thee?* When I was forced, much beside my expectation, to render a reason of my speech, I could not but yield at the call of others, and proceed so far as duty bound me, for the fuller satisfying of minds. Wherein I have walked, as with reverence, so with fear: with reverence in regard of our fathers, which lived in former times: not without fear, considering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant, how ready men are to feed and sooth up themselves in evil. Shall I (will the man say, that loveth the present world, more than he loveth Christ) shall I incur the highest displeasure of the mightiest upon earth? Shall I hazard my goods, endanger my estate, put my self into jeopardy, rather than to yield to that which so many of my fathers embraced, and yet found favour in the sight of God? *Curse ye Meroz,* saith the Lord, *curse her inhabitants, because they helped not the Lord, they helped him not against the mighty.* If I should not only not help the Lord against the mighty, but help to strengthen them that are mighty against the Lord; worthily might I fall under the burthen of that curse, worthy I were to bear my own judgment: But, if the doctrine which I teach be a flower gathered in the garden of the Lord; a part of the saving truth of the gospel, from whence notwithstanding poysonous creatures do suck venom; I can but wish it were otherwise, and content my self with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, because it hath not befallen me alone. Saint *Paul* taught a truth, and a comfortable truth,

truth, when he taught, that the greater our misery is, in respect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our release, if we seek unto him; the more we have sinned, the more praise, and glory, and honour, unto him that pardoneth our sin. But mark what lewd collections were made hereupon by some: *Why then am I condemned for a sinner?* And the apostle (as we are blamed, and as some affirm that we say, *Why do we not evil that good may come of it?*) he was accused to teach that which ill-disposed people did gather by his teaching, though it were clean not only besides, but against his meaning. The apostle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus do) *is just*. I am not hasty to apply sentences of condemnation: I wish from my heart their conversion, whosoever are thus perversely affected. For I must needs say, their case is fearful, their estate dangerous, which harden themselves, presuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful, but let us beware of presumptuous sins. God delivered *Jonah* from the bottom of the sea; will you therefore cast your selves headlong from the tops of rocks, and say in your hearts, God shall deliver us? He pitieth the blind that would gladly see; but will he pity him that may see, and hardeneth himself in blindness? no, Christ hath spoken too much unto you, to claim the privilege of your fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this cause concerning the condition of our fathers, whether it be this thing or any other which we bring unto you, the counsel is good, which the wise man giveth, *Stand thou fast in thy sure understanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteousness*. As a loose tooth is a grief to him that eateth: so doth a wavering and unstable word in speech, that tendeth to instruction, offend. *Shall a wise man speak words for the wind*, saith *Eliphaz*, light, unconstant, unstable words? Surely the wisest may speak words of the wind: such is the untoward constitution of our nature, that we do neither so perfectly understand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so steadfastly embrace it when it is understood; nor so graciously utter it, when it is embraced; nor so peaceably maintain it, when it is uttered; but that the best of us are over-taken sometimes thro' blindness, sometimes thro' hastiness, sometimes thro' impatience, sometimes thro' other passions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too subject. We must therefore be contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for such things. Let no man, that speaketh as a man, think himself, while he liveth, always freed from escapes and over-sights in his speech. The things themselves which I have spoken unto you are sound, howsoever they have seemed otherwise unto some: at whose hands I have, in that respect, received injury, I willingly forget it: altho' indeed, considering the benefit which I have reaped by this necessary speech of truth, I rather incline to that of the apostle, *They have not injured me at all*. I have cause to wish them as many blessings in the kingdom of heaven, as they have forced me to utter words and syllables in this cause; wherein I could not be more sparing of my speech than I have been. *It becometh no man*, saith *St. Jerome*, *to be patient in the crime of heresy*. Patient, as I take it, we should be always, tho' the crime of heresy were intended; but silent in a thing of so great consequence I could not, beloved, I durst not be; especially the love, which I bear to the truth of Christ Jesus, being hereby somewhat called in question. Whereof I beseech them in the meekness of Christ, that have been the first original cause, to consider that a watch man may cry (*an enemy*,) when indeed a friend cometh. In which cause, as I deem such a watch-man more worthy to be loved for his care than misliked for his error; so I have judged it my own part in this, as much as in me lyeth, to take away all suspicion of any unfriendly intent or meaning against the truth, from which, God doth know my heart is free.

40. Now to you, beloved, which have heard these things, I will use no other words of admonition, than those that are offered me by *St. James*, *My brethren, have not the faith of our glorious Lord Jesus in respect of persons*. Ye are not now to learn, that as of itself it is not hurtful, so neither should it be to any, scandalous and offensive in doubtful cases, to hear the indifferent judgments of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this mind, and *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of peace, give you peaceable minds, and turn it to your everlasting comfort.

A L E A R N E D S E R M O N

O F

The Nature of PRIDE.

H A B A K. II. 4.

His mind fwelleth, and is not right in him: But the just by Faith shall live.

THE nature of man being much more delighted to be led than drawn, doth many times stubbornly resist authority, when to perswasion it easily yieldeth. Whereupon the wisest law-makers have endeavoured always that those laws might seem most reasonable, which they would have most inviolably kept. A law simply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in comparison of that which expresth the reason wherefore it doth the one or the other. And surely, even in the laws of God, altho' that he hath given commandment be in it self a reason sufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men; yet a forceable inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity and chearfulness of mind, when we see plainly that nothing is imposed more than we must needs yield unto, except we will be unreasonable. In a word, whatsoever be taught, be it precept for direction of our manners; or article for instruction of our faith; or document any way for information of our minds, it then taketh root and abideth, when we conceive not only what God doth speak, but why. Neither is it a small thing which we derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, joy and delight which we our selves should take by it, when we loosely slide over his speech as tho' it were as our own is, commonly vulgar and trivial. Whereas he uttereth nothing but it hath, besides the substance of doctrine delivered, a depth of wisdom, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in. The reason whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of brain than our nice minds for the most part can well away with, fain would we bring the world, if we might, to think it but a needless curiosity to rip up any thing further than extemporal readines of wit doth serve to reach unto. Which course, if here we did list to follow, we might tell you, that in the first branch of this sentence God doth condemn the *Babylonian's* pride; and in the second, teach what happiness of state shall grow to the righteous by the constancy of their faith, notwithstanding the troubles which now they suffer; and after certain notes of wholesome instruction hereupon collected, pass over without detaining your minds in any further removed speculation. But, as I take it, there is a difference between the talk that becometh nurses among children, and that which men of capacity and judgment do, or should receive instruction by.

The mind of the prophet being erected with that which hath been hitherto spoken, receiveth here for full satisfaction a short abridgment of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as the question before disputed of doth concern two sorts

of men, the wicked flourishing as the bay, and the righteous like the withered grass, the one full of pride, the other cast down with utter discouragement; so the answer which God doth make for resolution of doubts hereupon arisen, hath reference unto both sorts, and this present sentence containing a brief abstract thereof, comprehendeth summarily as well the fearful estate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteousness oppressed. In the former branch of which sentence, let us first examine what this rectitude or straightness importeth which God denieth to be in the mind of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create he made them at the first true, good, and right. True, in respect of correspondence unto that pattern of their Being, which was eternally drawn in the counsel of God's fore-knowledge; good, in regard of the use and benefit which each thing yieldeth unto other; right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly proposed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends proposed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and esteem of them; and therefore as they tend thereunto wittingly, so likewise in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by necessity so held that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the heavens do move, the heavens themselves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they seek for, neither are they by any such necessity tied naturally unto any certain determinate mean to obtain their end by, but that they may, if they will, forsake it. And therefore in the whole world, no creature but only man, which hath the last end of his actions proposed as a recompence and reward whereunto his mind directly bending it self, is termed right or strait, otherwise perverse.

To make this somewhat more plain, we must note, that as they, which travel from city to city, enquire ever for the straightest way, because the straightest is that which soonest bringeth them to their journey's end; so we, *having here*, as the apostle speaketh, *no abiding city*, but being always in travel towards that place of joy, immortality, and rest, cannot but in every of our deeds, words, and thoughts, think that to be best, which with most expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cause termed right. That sovereign good, which is the eternal fruition of all good, being our last and chiefest felicity, there is no desperate despiser of God and godliness living, which doth not wish for. The difference between right and crooked minds, is in the means which the one or the other eschew or follow. Certain it is, that all particular things which are naturally desired in the world, as food, raiment, honour, wealth, pleasure, knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise unto that future good which we look for in the world to come, that even in them there lyeth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwise we must think, that God making promises of good things in this life, did seek to pervert them, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the mind of man? his mind is perverse and crooked, not when it bendeth it self unto any of these things, but when it bendeth so that it swerveth either to the right hand or to the left, by excess or defect, from the exact rule whereby human actions are measured. The rule to measure and judge them by, is the law of God. For this cause the prophet doth make so often and so earnest suit, *O direct me in the way of thy commandments: as long as I have respect to thy statutes, I am sure not to tread amiss*. Under the name of the law we must comprehend not only that which God hath written in tables and leaves, but that which nature also hath engraven in the hearts of men. Else how should those heathens which never had books, but heaven and earth to look upon, be convicted of perverseness? *But the Gentiles which had not the law in books, had*, saith the apostle, *the effect of the law written in their hearts*.

Then seeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, unless it be found in all parts such, that God examining and calling it unto account with all severity of rigor, be not able once to charge it with declining or swerving aside (which absolute perfection when did God ever find in the sons of mere mortal men?) doth it not follow, that all flesh must of necessity fall down and confess, we are not dust and ashes, but worse; our minds from the highest to the lowest are not right; if not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that blessedness which we naturally seek, but subject unto that which we most abhor, anguish, tribulation, death, woe, endless misery. For whatsoever miseth the way of life, the issue thereof cannot be but perdition. By which reason, all being wrapped up in sin, and made thereby the children of death, the minds of all men being plainly convicted not to be right; shall we think that God hath induced them with to many excellencies more, not only than any, but than all the creatures in the world besides, to leave them in such estate, that they had been happier if they had never been? Here cometh necessarily in a new way unto salvation, so that they which were in the other perverse, may in this be found straight and righteous. That the way of nature,

this

this the way of grace. The end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of mens works; their righteousness, a natural hability to do them; that hability, 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 their 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 from the number of lost children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy, their misery, for whom he vouchsafed to make himself a Mediator. The want of exact distinguishing between these two ways, and observing what they have common, what peculiar, hath been the cause of the greatest part of that confusion whereof christianity at this day laboureth. The lack of diligence in searching, laying down, and inuring mens minds with those hidden grounds of reason, whereupon the least particular in each of these are most firmly and strongly builded, is the only reason of all those scruples and uncertainties, wherewith we are in such sort intangled, that a number despair of ever discerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter rest, whereinto we stepped to search out a way, how some minds may be, and are right truly, even in the sight of God, tho' they be simply in themselves not right.

Howbeit, there is not only this difference between the just and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the sight of God, because his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverse, because his sin is unrepented of; but even as lines that are drawn with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they should, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheless direct in comparison of them which run clean another way; so there is no incongruity in terming them right minded men, whom tho' God may charge with many things amiss, yet they are not as hideous and ugly monsters, in whom, because there is nothing but wilful opposition of mind against God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by saying, that their minds are not right. The angel of the church of *Thyatira*, unto whom the Son of God sendeth thus greeting, *I know thy works, and thy love, and thy service, and faith; notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee*, was not as he, unto whom St. Peter, *Thou hast no fellowship in this business; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God*. So that whereas the orderly disposition of the mind of man should be this, perturbation and sensual appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and sober will, in all things framed by reason; reason directed by the law of God and nature; this *Babylonian* had his mind, as it were, turned upside down. In him unreasonable cecity and blindness trampled all laws, both of God and nature, under feet; wilfulness tyrannized over reason; and brutish sensuality over will: an evident token that his out-rage would work his overthrow, and procure his speedy ruin. The mother whereof was that which the prophet in these words signified, *His mind doth swell*.

Immoderate swelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable destruction. pride, a vice which cleaveth so fast unto the hearts of men, that if we were to strip our selves of all faults one by one, we should undoubtedly find it the very last and hardest to put off. But I am not here to touch the secret itching humour of vanity wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanly inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did swell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more easily reap profit by the nature of this vice, which setteth the whole world out of course, and hath put so many even of the wisest besides themselves, is first of all to be enquired into: secondly, the dangers to be discovered which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured: and last of all, the way to cure it.

Whether we look upon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatsoever is in the world admired as a part of man's excellency, adorning his body, beautifying his mind, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in every kind somewhat possible which no man hath, and somewhat had which few men can attain unto. By occasion whereof, there groweth disparagement necessarily; and by occasion of disparagement, pride thro' mens ignorance. First therefore, altho' men be not proud of any thing which is not, at least in opinion, good; yet every good thing they are not proud of, but only of that which neither is common unto many, and being desired of all, causeth them which have it to be honoured above the rest. Now there is no man so void of brain, as to suppose that pride consisteth in the bare possession of such things; for then to have virtue were a vice, and they should be the happiest men who are most wretched, because they have least of that which they would have. And tho' in speech we do intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we say, *They are wise men*

men, and they know it; yet this doth not prove, that every wise man is proud which doth not think himself to be blockish. What we may have, and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offensive when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference between men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly blessings, and idols gorgeously attired, but this, *the one takes pleasure in that which they have, the other none*? If we may be possessed with beauty, strength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be privy to what we are every way, if glad and joyful for our own welfare, and in all this remain unblameable; nevertheless, some there are, who granting thus much, doubt whether it may stand with humility to accept those testimonies of praise and commendation, those titles, rooms, and other honours which the world yieldeth, as acknowledgments of some mens excellencies above others. For, inasmuch as Christ hath said unto those that are his, *The kings of the gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them, are called gracious lords; be ye not so*: the anabaptist herupon urgeth equality amongst christians, as if all exercise of authority were nothing else but heathenish pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no such meaning. But his disciples feeding themselves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Messiah of the world should in Jerusalem erect his throne, and exercise dominion with great pomp and outward stateliness, advanced in honour and terrene power above all the princes of the earth, began to think, how with their Lord's condition their own would also rise; that having left and forsaken all to follow him, their place about him should not be mean; and because they were many, it troubled them much, which of them should be the greatest man. When suit was made for two by name; that of them *one might sit at his right hand, and the other at his left*, the rest began to stomach, each taking it grievously that any should have what all did affect; their Lord and Master, to correct this humour, turneth aside their cogitations from these vain and fanciful conceits, giving them plainly to understand that they did but deceive themselves: his coming was not to purchase an earthly, but to bestow an heavenly kingdom, wherein they (if any) shall be greatest whom unfeigned humility maketh in this world lowest, and least amongst others: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel*. But my kingdom is no such kingdom as ye dream of. And therefore these hungry ambitious contentions are seemlier in heathens than in you. Wherefore, from Christ's intent and purpose nothing is farther removed, than dislike of distinction in titles and callings, annexed for order's sake unto authority, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil. And when we have examined thoroughly, what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it can be so simple as not to see an ugly shape thereof apparent many times in rejecting honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as Judas his care for the poor was meer covetousness; and that frank hearted wastefulness spoken of in the gospel, thrift; so, there is no doubt, but that going in rags may be pride, and thrones be clothed with unfeigned humility.

We must go farther therefore, and enter somewhat deeper, before we can come to the closet wherein this poison lieth. There is in the heart of every proud man, first, an error of understanding, a vain opinion whereby he thinketh his own excellency, and by reason thereof his worthiness of estimation, regard and honour, to be greater than in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to raise up himself; and by his inward affections his outward acts are fashioned. Which, if you list to have exemplified, you may, either by calling to mind things spoken of them whom God himself hath in scripture especially noted with this fault; or by presenting to your secret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together so plentiful an harvest of examples in this kind as the sacred scripture affordeth. That which we drink in at our ears, doth not so piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceive by sight. Is there any thing written concerning the Assyrian monarch, in the tenth of *Isaiah*, of his swelling mind, his haughty looks, his great and presumptuous taunts; *By the power of mine own hand I have done all things, and by mine own wisdom I have subdued the world*? Any thing concerning the dames of *Sion*, in the third of the prophet *Isaiah*, of their stretched out necks, their immodest eyes, their pageant-like, stately and pompous gait? Any thing concerning the practices of *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, of their impatience to live in subjection, their mutinies, repining at lawful authority, their grudging against their superiors ecclesiastical and civil? Any thing concerning pride in any sort of sect, which the present face of the world doth not, as in a glass, represent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if books, both profane and holy, were all lost, as long as

the manners of men retain the estate they are in; for him that observeth, how that when men have once conceived an over-weening of themselves, it maketh them in all their affections to swell; how deadly their hatred, how heavy their displeasure, how unappeasable their indignation and wrath is above other mens, in what manner they compose themselves to be as *Heteroclites*, without the compass of all such rules as the common sort are measured by; how the oaths which religious hearts do tremble at, they affect as principal graces of speech; what felicity they take to see the enormity of their crimes above the reach of laws and punishments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudiness of their looks; how far they exceed the terms wherewith man's nature should be limited; how high they bear their heads over others; how they brow-beat all men which do not receive their sentences as oracles, with marvelous applause and approbation; how they look upon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor hear any thing, saving their own praise, with patience, nor speak without scornfulness and disdain; how they use their servants, as if they were beasts, their inferiors as servants, their equals as inferiors, and as for superiors they acknowledge none; how they admire themselves as venerable, puissant, wise, circumspect, provident, every way great, taking all men besides themselves for cyphers, poor, inglorious, silly creatures, needless burthens of the earth, off-scourings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a false conceit of mens excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth also their deeds and behaviour, unless they be cunning to conceal it; for a foul scar may be covered with a fair cloth; and as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth grapes of thistles; nor from a thing of so bad a nature, can other than suitable fruits be looked for. What harm soever in private families there groweth by disobedience of children, stubbornness of servants, untractableness in them, who although they otherwise may rule, yet should in consideration of the imparity of their sex, be also subject; whatsoever, by strife amongst men combined in the fellowship of greater societies, by tyranny of potentates, ambition of nobles, rebellion of subjects in civil states; by heresies, schisms, divisions in the church; naming pride, we name the mother which brought them forth, and the only nurse that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all men humbled, and what is there that can overthrow or disturb the peace of the world, wherein many things are the cause of much evil, but pride of all?

To declaim of the swarms of evils issuing out of pride, is an easy labour. I rather wish that I could exactly prescribe and persuade effectually the remedies, whereby a sore so grievous might be cured, and the means how the pride of swelling minds might be taken down. Whereunto so much we have already gained, that the evidence of the cause which breedeth it pointeth directly unto the likeliest and fittest helps to take it away. Diseases that come of fulness, emptiness must remove. Pride is not cured but by abating the error which causeth the mind to swell. Then seeing that they swell by mis-conceit of their own excellency; for this cause, all tends to the beating down of their pride, whether it be advertisement from men, or from God himself chastisement; it then maketh them cease to be proud, when it causeth them to see their error in over-seeing the thing they were proud of. At this mark *Job*, in his apology unto his eloquent friends, aimeth: For perceiving how much they delighted to hear themselves talk, as if they had given their poor afflicted familiar a schooling of marvellous deep and rare instruction, as if they had taught him more than all the world besides could acquaint him with; his answer was to this effect: ye swell, as tho' ye had conceived some great matter; but as for that which ye are delivered of, who knoweth it not? is any man ignorant of these things? At the same mark the blessed apostle driveth: *Ye abound in all things, ye are rich, ye reign, and would to Christ we did reign with you*: but boast not. For what have ye, or are ye of your selves? To this mark all those humble confessions are referred, which have been always frequent in the mouths of saints truly wading in the trial of themselves: as that of the prophet's, *We are nothing but foreness and festered corruption*: our very light is darkness, and our righteousness it self unrighteousness: that of Gregory, *Let no man ever put confidence in his own deserts*; *sordet in conspectu judicis, quod fulget in conspectu operantis*, in the sight of the dreadful judge, it is noisome, which in the doer's maketh a beautiful shew: that of *Anselm*, *I adore thee, I bless thee, Lord God of heaven, Redeemer of the world, with all the power, ability, and strength of my heart and soul, for thy goodness so unmeasurably extended; not in regard of my merits, whereunto only torments were due, but of thy mere unprocured benignity.*

benignity. If these fathers should be raised again from the dust, and have the books laid open before them wherein such sentences are found as this: *Works no other than the value, desert, price, and worth of the joys of the kingdom of heaven; heaven, in relation to our works, as the very stipend, which the hired labourer covenanteth to have of him whose work he doth, as a thing equally and justly answering unto the time and weight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or bountiful gift.* If, I say, those reverend fore-rehearsed fathers, whose books are so full of sentences witnessing their christian humility, should be raised from the dead, and behold with their eyes such things written; wou'd they not plainly pronounce of the authors of such writs, that they were fuller of *Lucifer*, than of *Christ*; that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more swelling minds than sincerely and feelingly known christianity can tolerate.

But as unruly children, with whom wholesome admonition prevaieth little, are notwithstanding brought to fear that ever after, which they have once well finarred for; so the mind which falleth not with instruction, yet under the rod of divine chastisement ceaseth to swell. If therefore the prophet *David*, instructed by good experience, have acknowledged; Lord, I was even at the point of clean forgetting my self, and so straying from my right mind; but thy rod was my reformer; it *hath been good for me*, even as much as my soul is worth, *that I have been with sorrow troubled.* If the blessed apostle did need the corrosive of sharp and bitter strokes, lest his heart should swell with too great *abundance of heavenly revelations*, surely, upon us whatsoever God in this world doth or shall inflict, it cannot seem more than our pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedy. So hard it is to cure a sore of such quality as pride is, inasmuch as that which rooteth out other vices, causeth this; and (which is even above all conceit) if we were clean from all spot and blemish both of other faults, of pride, the fall of angels doth make it almost a question, whether we might not need a preservative still, lest we should haply wax proud, that we are not proud. What is virtue, but a medicine, and vice, but a wound? Yet we have so often deeply wounded our selves with medicine; that God hath been fain to make wounds medicinable; to cure by vice where virtue hath stricken; to suffer the just man to fall, that being raised, he may be taught what power it was which upheld him standing. I am not afraid to affirm it boldly with *St. Augustine*, that men puffed up thro' a proud opinion of their own sanctity and holiness, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are assisted with his grace, when with his grace they are not assisted, but permitted, and that grievously to transgress; whereby, as they were in over-great liking of themselves supplanted, so the dislike of that which did supplant them, may establish them afterwards the surer. Ask the very soul of *Peter*, and it shall undoubtedly make you it self this answer; my eager protestations, made in the glory of my ghostly strength, I am ashamed of; but those crystal tears wherewith my sin and weakness was bewailed, have procured my endless joy; my strength hath been my ruin, and my fall my stay.

A
R E M E D Y

A G A I N S T

Sorrow and Fear.

D E L I V E R E D I N A

F U N E R A L S E R M O N.

J O H N XIV. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.

THE holy apostles having gathered themselves together by the special appointment of Christ, and being in expectation to receive from him such instruction as they had been accustomed with, were told that which they least looked for, namely, that the time of his departure out of the world was now come. Whereupon they fell into consideration, first, of the manifold benefits which his absence should bereave them of; and, secondly, of the sundry evils which themselves should be subject unto, being once bereaved of so gracious a master and patron. The one consideration overwhelmed their souls with heaviness, the other with fear. Their Lord and Saviour, whose words had cast down their hearts, raiseth them presently again with chosen sentences of sweet encouragement. My dear, it is for your own sakes I leave the world; I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that advised and staid judgment which should be in you, my speech of leaving the world, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Desolate and comfortless I will not leave you; in spirit I am with you to the world's end. Whether I be present or absent, nothing shall ever take you out of these hands. My going is to take possession of that, in your names, which is not only for me, but also for you prepared; where I am, you shall be. In the mean while, *my peace I give, not as the world giveth, give I unto you: let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.* The former part of which sentence having elsewhere already been spoken of, this unacceptable occasion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not look for. But so God disposeth the ways of men. Him I heartily beseech, that the thing which he hath thus ordered by his providence, may thro' his gracious goodness turn unto your comfort.

Our nature covereth for preservation from things hurtful. Hurtful things being present, do breed heaviness; being future, do cause fear. Our Saviour, to abate the one, speaketh thus unto his disciples, *Let not your hearts be troubled*; and to moderate the other, addeth, *Fear not*. Grief and heaviness in the presence of sensible evils, cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore seem that Christ required a thing im-

possible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chuse? But we must note this being natural, and therefore simply not reprobable, is in us good or bad, according to the causes for which we are grieved, or the measure of our grief. It is not my meaning to speak so largely of this affection, or to go over all the particulars whereby men do one way or other offend in it, but to teach it so far only, as it may cause the very apostles equal to swerve. Our grief and heaviness therefore is reprobable, sometime in respect of the cause from whence, sometime in regard of the measure whereunto it groweth.

When Christ, the life of the world, was led unto cruel death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewailed much his heavy case. It was a natural compassion which caused them, where they saw undeserved miseries, there to pour forth unrestrained tears. Nor was this reprov'd. But in such readiness to lament where they less needed, their blindness in not discerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned; this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the tears which were waisted for him, might better have been spent upon themselves; *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, weep for your selves and for your children.* It is not, as the stoicks have imagined, a thing unseemly for a wife man to be touched with grief of mind: but to be sorrowful when we least should, and where we should lament, there to laugh, this argueth our small wisdom. Again, when the prophet *David* confesseth this of himself, *I grieved to see the great prosperity of godless men, how they flourish and go untouched.* Psal. 73. Himself hereby openeth both our common, and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cause should not have made so pensive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where we should not, because this grief doth rise from error. We err, when we grieve at wicked mens impunity and prosperity; because, their estate being rightly discerned, they neither prosper, nor go unpunished. It may seem a paradox, it is truth, that no wicked man's estate is prosperous, fortunate or happy. For what tho' they bless themselves, and think their happiness great? Have not frantick persons many times a great opinion of their own wisdom? It may be that such as they think themselves, others also do account them. But what others? Surely such as themselves are. Truth and reason discerneth far otherwise of them. Unto whom the Jews wish all prosperity, unto them the phrase of their speech is to wish peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happiness, when the prophet saith plainly, *That the wicked have no peace*; how can we think them to have any part of other than vainly imagined felicity? What wise man did ever account fools happy? If wicked men were wise, they would cease to be wicked. Their iniquity therefore proving their folly, how can we stand in doubt of their misery? They abound in those things which all men desire. A poor happiness, to have good things in possession, *A man to whom God hath given riches, Eccles. 6. and treasures, and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soul, of all that it desireth, but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; such a felicity *Solomon* esteemeth but as vanity, a thing of nothing. If such things add nothing to mens happiness, where they are not used, surely wicked men that use them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their prosperity therefore, we see what we are to think. Touching their impunity, the same is likewise but supposed. They are oftner plagued than we are aware of. The pangs they feel, are not always written in their forehead. Tho' wickedness be sugar in their mouths, and wantonness as oil to make them look with cheerful countenances; nevertheless, if their hearts were disclosed, perhaps their glittering state would not greatly be envied. The voices that have broken out from some of them, *O that God had given me a heart senseless, like the flints in the rocks of stone!* which as it can taste no pleasure, so it feeleth no woe: these and the like speeches, are surely tokens of the curse which *Zophar*, in the book of *Job*, poureth upon the head of the impious man, *He shall suck the gall of asps, and the viper's tongue shall slay him.* If this seem light, because it is secret, shall we think they go unpunished, because no apparent plague is presently seen upon them? The judgments of God do not always follow crimes, as thunder doth lightning; but sometimes the space of many ages coming between. When the sun hath shined fair the space of six hours upon their tabernacle, we know not what clouds the seventh may bring. And when their punishment doth come, let them make their account in the greatness of their suffering, to pay the interest of that respite which hath been given them. Or if they chance to escape clearly in this world, which they seldom do; in the day when the heavens shall shrivel as a scroll, and the mountains move as frighted men out of their places, what cave shall receive them? What mountain or rock shall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? What covert to hide them from that wrath, which they shall neither be able to abide or avoid? No man's misery therefore being greater than theirs whose impiety is most fortunate; much more cause there is for them to bewail their own infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their prosperous and

and happy estate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not, or would not touch them. For these causes, and the like unto these, therefore *be not troubled*.

Now, tho' the cause of our heaviness be just, yet may not your affections herein be yielded unto with too much indulgency and favour. The grief of compassion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other least dangerous: yet this is a let unto sundry duties; by this we are apt to spare sometimes where we ought to strike. The grief which our own sufferings do bring, what temptations have not risen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly grief of hearty contrition for sins committed against God, the near approaching of so many afflicted souls, whom the conscience of sin hath brought unto the very brink of extream despair, doth but too abundantly shew. These things, wheresoever they fall, cannot but trouble and molest the mind. Whether we be therefore moved vainly with that which seemeth hurtful, and is not; or have just cause of grief, being pressed indeed with those things which are grievous, our Saviour's lesson is touching the one, be not troubled; nor over-troubled for the other. For, tho' to have no feeling of that which merely concerneth us were stupidity, nevertheless, seeing that as the author of our salvation was himself consecrated by affliction, so the way which we are to follow him by, is not strewed with rushes, but set with thorns; be it never so hard to learn, we must learn to suffer with patience, even that which seemeth almost impossible to be suffered; that in the hour when God shall call us unto our trial, and turn his honey of peace and pleasure wherewith we swell, into that gall and bitterness which flesh doth shrink to taste of, nothing may cause us in the troubles of our souls to storm, and grudge, and repine at God; but every heart be enabled with divine inspired courage to inculcate unto it self, *be not troubled*; and in those last and greatest conflicts to remember, that nothing may be so sharp and bitter to be suffered, but that still we our selves may give our selves this encouragement, *even learn also patience, O my soul*.

Naming patience, I name that virtue which only hath power to stay our souls from being over-excessively troubled. A virtue, wherein if ever any, surely that soul had good experience, which extremity of pains having chased out of the tabernacle of this flesh, angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the bosom of her father *Abraham*. The death of the saints of God is precious in his sight. And shall it seem unto us superfluous at such times as these are, to hear in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himself hath not disdained so exactly to register in the book of life, after what sort his servants have closed up their days on earth, that he descendeth even to their very meanest actions; what meat they have longed for in their sickness, what they have spoken unto their children, kinsfolks, and friends, where they have willed their dead carcases to be laid, how they have framed their wills and testaments; yea, the very turning of their faces to this side or that, the setting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their natural heat hath departed from them, their cries, their groans, their pantings, breathings, and last gaspings he hath most solemnly commended unto the memory of all generations. The care of the living both to live and die well must needs be somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion of saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their dissolution? Finally, the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute of life, but it causeth them some time or other to wish in their hearts, *Oh, that we might die the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, because to spend herein many words, would be to strike even as many wounds into their minds, whom I rather wish to comfort: therefore concerning this virtuous gentlewoman only this little I speak, and that of knowledge, *she lived a dove, and died a lamb*. And if amongst so many virtues, hearty devotion towards God, towards poverty tender compassion, motherly affection towards servants, toward friends even serviceable kindness, mild behaviour, and harmless meaning towards all; if, where so many virtues were eminent, any be worthy of special mention, I wish her dearest friends of that sex, to be her nearest followers in two things; *silence*, saving only where duty did exact speech; and *patience*, even then when extremity of pains did enforce grief. *Blessed are they that die in the Lord*. And concerning the dead which are blessed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged, with grief over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of fear, which respecteth evil to come, as the other which we have spoken of doth present evils; first, in the nature thereof it is plain, that we are not of every future evil afraid. Perceive we not how they, whose tenderness

shrinketh at the least rase of a needle's point, do kifs the sword that pierceth their souls quite thorow? If every evil did cause fear, sin, because it is sin, would be feared; whereas properly sin is not feared as sin, but only as having some kind of harm annexed. To teach men to avoid sin, it had been sufficient for the apostle to say, *Fly it*: but to make them afraid of committing sin, because the naming of sin sufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is a *serpent which stingeth the soul*. Again, be it that some noxious or hurtful thing be towards us, must fear of necessity follow hereupon? Not except that hurtful thing do threaten us either with destruction or vexation, and that such, as we have neither a conceit of ability to resist, nor of utter impossibility to avoid. That which we know our selves able to withstand, we fear not; and that which we know we are unable to defer or diminish, or any way avoid, we cease to fear; we give our selves over to bear and sustain it. The evil therefore which is feared, must be in our persuasion unable to be resisted when it cometh, yet not utterly impossible for a time in whole or in part to be shunned. Neither do we much fear such evils, except they be imminent and near at hand; nor if they be near, except we have an opinion that they be so. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of such evils press, and ready to invade us; because they are hurtful unto our nature, we feel in our selves a kind of abhorring; because they are thought near, yet not present, our nature seeketh forthwith how to shift and provide for it self; because they are evils which cannot be resisted, therefore she doth not provide to withstand, but to shun and avoid. Hence it is, that in extreme fear, the mother of life contracting her self, avoiding as much as may be the reach of evil, and drawing the heart together with the spirits of the body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weak, feeble, unapt to perform the functions of life; as we see in the fear of *Balthasar king of Babel*. By this it appeareth, that fear is nothing else but a perturbation of the mind, thro' an opinion of some imminent evil, threatening the destruction, or great annoyance of our nature, which to shun it doth contract and deject it self.

Now because, not in this place only, but otherwise often we hear it repeated, *Fear not*, it is by some made a question, *Whether a man may fear destruction or vexation, without sinning*. First, the reproof wherewith Christ checketh his disciples more than once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are ye afraid?* Secondly, the punishment threatened in *Rev. 21. viz.* the lake, and fire, and brimstone, not only to murderers, unclean persons, forcerers, idolaters, liars, but also to the fearful and faint-hearted: this seemeth to argue, that fearfulness cannot but be sin. On the contrary side we see, that he which never felt motion unto sin, had of this affection more than a slight feeling. How clear is the evidence of the Spirit, that *in the days of his flesh he offered up prayers and supplications, with strong cries and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was also heard in that which he feared?* Heb. 5. 7. Whereupon it followeth, that fear in it self is a thing not sinful. For, is not fear a thing natural, and for mens preservation necessary, implanted in us by the provident and most gracious giver of all good things, to the end that we might not run headlong upon those mischiefs wherewith we are not able to encounter, but use the remedy of shunning those evils which we have not ability to withstand? Let that people therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their prince's days, the father or mother which rejoiceth to see the off-spring of their flesh grow like green and pleasant plants, let those children that would have their parents, those men that would gladly have their friends and brethrens days prolonged on earth (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would let them bless the Father of lights, as in other things, so even in this, that he hath given man a fearful heart, and settled naturally that affection in him, which is a preservation against so many ways of death. Fear then, in it self, being mere nature, cannot in it self be sin, which sin is not nature, but therefore an accessory deprivation.

But in the matter of fear we may sin, and do, two ways. If any man's danger be great, theirs is greatest that have put the fear of danger farthest from them. Is there any estate more fearful than that *Babylonian* strumpet's that sitteth upon the tops of seven hills, glorying and vaunting, *I am a queen*, &c. *Rev. 18. 7.*? How much better and happier are they, whose estate hath been always as his, who speaketh after this sort of himself, *Lord, from my youth have I born thy yoke?* They which sit at continual ease, and are settled in the lees of their security, look upon them, view their countenance, their speech, their gesture, their deeds: *Put them in fear, O God*, saith the prophet, *that so they may know themselves to be but men*; worms of earth, dust and ashes, frail, corruptible, feeble things. To shake off security therefore, and to breed fear in the hearts of mortal men, so many admonitions are used concerning the power of evils which beset them, so many threatnings of calamities, so many descriptions of things threatened, and these so lively,

to the end they may leave behind them a deep impression of such as have force to keep the heart continually waking. All which do shew, that we are to stand in fear of nothing more than the extremity of not fearing.

When fear hath deliver'd us from that pit, wherein they are sunk that have put far from them the evil day, that have made a league with death, and have said, *Tush, we shall feel no harm*; it standeth us upon to take heed it cast us not into that, wherein souls destitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoid, as much as may be, both extremities, that we may know, as a ship-master by his card, how far we are wide, either on the one side, or on the other, we must note, that in a christian man there is, first, nature: secondly, corruption perverting nature: thirdly, grace correcting and amending corruption. In fear all these have their several operations: nature teacheth simply, to wish preservation, and avoidance of things dreadful; for which cause our Saviour himself prayeth, and that often, *Father, if it be possible*. In which cases, corrupt nature's suggestions are, for the safety of temporal life not to stick at things excluding from eternal; wherein how far even the best may be led, the chiefest apostle's frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for such cogitations as, on the contrary side, grace and faith ministreth, such as that of *Job, Though God kill me*; that of *Paul, Scio cui credidi*, I know him on whom I do rely; small evils would soon be able to overthrow even the best of us. *A wise man*, saith *Solomon*, *doth see a plague coming, and hideth himself*. It is *nature* which teacheth a wise man in fear to hide himself, but *grace* and *faith* doth teach him *where*. Fools care not to hide their heads: but where shall a wise man hide himself when he searcheth a plague coming? Where should the frighted child hide his head, but in the bosom of his loving father? where a christian, but under the shadow of the wings of Christ his Saviour? *Come, my people*, saith God in the prophet, *enter into thy chamber, hide thy self*, &c. *Isai. 26*. But because we are in danger, like chafed birds, like doves, that seek and cannot see the resting holes that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his disciples these encouragements beforehand, that fear might never so amaze them, but that always they might remember, that whatsoever evils at any time did beset them, to him they should still repair for comfort, counsel and succour. For their assurance whereof, his *peace he gave them, his peace he left unto them, not such peace as the world offereth*, by whom his name is never so much pretended, as when deepest treachery is meant; but *peace which passeth all understanding*, *peace* that bringeth with it all happiness, *peace* that continueth for ever and ever with them that have it.

This peace God the Father grant, for his Son's sake; unto whom, with the holy Ghost, three persons, one eternal and everlasting God, be all honour, and glory, and praise, now and for ever. Amen.

A Learned and Comfortable

S E R M O N

O F

The Certainty and Perpetuity of FAITH in the ELECT:

Especially of the Prophet *HABAKKUK*'s FAITH.

HABAK. I. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, the Law doth fail, did thereby shew himself an unbeliever.

WE have seen in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weakness of the prophet's faith, first, what things they are, wherunto the faith of sound believers doth assent: secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that do, do it many times with small assurance. Now, because nothing can be so truly spoken, but thro' misunderstanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be possible, all misconstruction in this cause, where a small error cannot rise but with great danger; it is perhaps needful ere we come to the fourth point, that something be added to that which hath been already spoken concerning the third.

That meer natural men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not marvel, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weak in faith? why is their assenting to the law so scrupulous? so much mingled with fear and wavering? It seemeth strange that ever they should imagine the law to fail. It cannot seem strange if we weigh the reason. If the things which we believe be considered in themselves, it may truly be said that faith is more certain than any science. That which we know either by sense, or by infallible demonstration, is not so certain as the principles, articles and conclusions of christian faith. Concerning which we must note, that there is a *certainty of evidence*, and a *certainty of adherence*. *Certainty of evidence* we call that, when the mind doth assent to this or that, not because it is true in it self, but because the truth is clear, because it is manifest unto us. Of things in themselves most certain, except they be also most evident, our persuasion is not so assured as it is of things more evident, altho' in themselves they be less certain. It is as sure, if not surer, that there be spirits, as that there be men; but we be more assured of these than of them, because these are more evident. The truth of some things are so evident, that no man which heareth them can doubt of them: as when we hear that *a part of any thing is less than the whole*, the mind is constrained to say, this is true. If it were so in matters of faith, then, as all men have equal certainty of this, so no believer should be more scrupulous and doubtful than another. But we find the contrary. The angels and spirits of the righteous in heaven have certainty most evident of things spiritual: but this they have by the light of glory. That which

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we see by the light of grace, tho' it be indeed more certain; yet it is not to us so evidently certain, as that which sense or the light of nature will not suffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vain and frivolous, except they be more certain than is the thing proved. And do we not see how the Spirit every where in the scripture proving matters of faith, labour-eth to confirm us in the things which we believe by things whereof we have sensible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have less *certainty of evidence* concerning things believed, than concerning sensible or naturally perceived. Of those who doth doubt at any time? Of them at sometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the sundry confessions of the perfectest that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I should dwell too long upon a matter sufficiently known by every faithful man that doth know himself.

The other, which we call the *certainty of adherence* is, when the heart doth cleave and stick unto that which it doth believe. This certainty is greater in us than the other. The reason is this, the faith of a christian doth apprehend the words of the law, the promises of God, not only as true, but also as good; and therefore even then, when the evidence which he hath of the truth is so small, that it grieveth him to feel his weakness in assenting thereto, yet is there in him such a sure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearfully believe, that his spirit having once truly tasted the heavenly sweetness thereof, all the world is not able to quite and clean remove him from it: but he striveth with himself to hope against all reason of believing, being settled with *Job* upon this immoveable resolution, *Tho' God kill me, I will not give over trusting in him*. For why? this lesson remaineth for ever imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God, Psal. 37*.

Now the minds of all men being so darkned as they are with the foggy damp of original corruption, it cannot be that any man's heart living should be either so enlightened in the knowledge, or so established in the love of that wherein his salvation standeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor shrinking at all. If any such were, what doth let why that man should not be justified by his own inherent righteousness? For righteousness inherent, being perfect, will justify. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteousness inherent; yea, a principal part, the root and the mother of all the rest: so that if the fruit of every tree be such as the root is, faith being perfect as it is, if it be not at all mingled with distrust and fear, what is there to exclude other christian virtues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteousness of Christ? His garment is superfluous: we may be honourably clothed with our own robes, if it be thus. But let them beware, who challenge to themselves strength which they have not, lest they lose the comfortable support of that weakness which indeed they have.

Some shew, altho' no soundness of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this supposed perfection in certainty touching matters of our faith; as first, that *Abraham* did believe, and doubted not: secondly, that the Spirit, which God hath given us to no other end, but only to assure us that we are the sons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father; to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things believed evident unto our minds, is much mightier in operation than the common light of nature, whereby we discern sensible things: wherefore we must needs be more sure of that we believe, than of that we see; we must needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, than we are of the light of the sun when it shineth upon our faces. To that of *Abraham, He did not doubt*; I answer, that this *negation* doth not exclude all fear, all doubting, but only that which cannot stand with true faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting thro' infidelity, not from doubting thro' infirmity; from the doubting of unbelievers, not of weak believers; from such a doubting as that whereof the prince of *Samarita* is attainted, who hearing the promise of sudden plenty in the midst of extreame dearth, answered, *Tho' the Lord would make windows in heaven, were it possible so to come to pass?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubtings, what need we any other proof, than the plain evidence of his own words? *Gen. 17. 17*. The reason which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectual, if God did work like a natural agent, as the fire doth inflame, and the sun enlighten, according to the uttermost ability which they have to bring forth their effects: But the incomprehensible wisdom of God doth limit the effects of his power to such a measure as it seemeth best to himself wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which sufficeth abundantly to their salvation in the life to come; but in none so great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even so, O Lord, it hath pleased thee; even so it is best and fittest for us, that feeling still our own infirmities, we may no longer breath than pray *Adjuva, Domine, Help, Lord, our incredulity*. Of the third question, this I hope will suffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already spoken. The fourth question resteth, and so an end of this point.

That which cometh last of all in this first branch to be considered concerning the weakness of the prophet's faith is, *Whether he did by this very thought* [The law doth fail] *quench the Spirit, fall from faith, and shew himself an unbeliever, or no?* The question is of moment; the repose and tranquillity of infinite souls doth depend upon it. The prophet's case is the case of many; which way soever we cast for him, the same way it passeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguish grace, why the like thoughts in us should not take the like effects, there is no cause. Forasmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, dear and precious, which we have in hand, it behoveth us with so much the greater charnelness to wade thro' it, taking special heed both what we build, and whereon we build, that if our building be pearl, our foundation be not stubble; if the doctrine we teach be full of comfort and consolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be sure: otherwise we shall not save, but deceive both our selves and others. In this we know we are not deceived, neither can we deceive you, when we teach that the faith whereby ye are sanctified cannot fail; it did not in the prophet, it shall not in you. If it be so, let the difference be shewed between the condition of unbelievers, and his in this, or in the like imbecility or weakness. There was in *Habakkuk* that which St. *John* doth call the *seed of God*, meaning thereby the *first grace* which God poureth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Christ; which having received, if because it is an adversary to sin we do therefore think we sin not both otherwise, and also by distrustful and doubtful apprehending of that which we ought stedfastly to believe, surely we do but deceive our selves. Yet they which are of God do not sin either in this, or in any thing, any such sin as doth quite extinguish grace, clean cut them off from Christ Jesus; *because the seed of God abideth* in them, and doth shield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their faith, when it is at strongest, is but weak; yet even then, when it is at the weakest, so strong, that utterly it never faileth, it never perissheth altogether, no not in them who think it, extinguished in themselves. There are, for whose sakes I dare not deal slightly in this cause, sparing that labour which must be bestowed to make plain. Men in like agonies unto this of the prophet *Habakkuk's*, are thro' the extremity of grief, many times in judgment so confounded, that they find not themselves in themselves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they seek, they make diligent search and enquiry. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet still they ask, where? Still they lament as for a thing which is past finding; they mourn as *Rachel*, and refuse to be comforted, as if that were not, which indeed is; and as if that, which is not, were; as if they did not believe when they do; and, as if they did despair when they do not. Which in some, I grant, is but a melancholy passion, proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cause whereof is the body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no such bodily cause, the mind is not lightly in this mood, but by some of these three occasions: One, that judging by comparison either with other men, or with themselves at some other time more strong, they think imperfection to be a plain deprivation, weakness to be utter want of faith. Another cause is, they often mistake one thing for another. St. *Paul* wishing well to the church of *Rome*, prayeth for them after this sort: *The God of hope fill you with all joy of believing.* Hence an error groweth, when men in heaviness of spirit suppose they lack faith, because they find not the sugred joy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but so as a separable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cause why it should be removed. The light would never be so acceptable, were it not for that usual intercourse of darkness. Too much honey doth turn to gall, and too much joy, even spiritual, would make us wantons. Happier a great deal is that man's case, whose soul by inward desolation is humbled, than he whose heart is thro' abundance of spiritual delight lifted up and exalted above measure. Better it is sometimes to go down into the pit with him, who beholding darkness, and bewailing the loss of inward joy and consolation, crieth from the bottom of the lowest hell, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* than continually to walk arm in arm with angels, to sit as it were in *Abraham's* bosom, and to have no thought, no cogitation, but *I thank my God it is not with me as it is with other men.* No, God will have them that shall walk in light to feel now and then what it is to sit in the shadow of death. A grieved spirit therefore is no argument of a faithless mind. A third occasion of men's misjudging themselves, as if they were faithless when they are not, is, they fasten their cogitations upon the distrustful suggestions of the flesh, whereof finding great abundance in themselves, they gather thereby, surely unbelief hath full dominion, it hath taken plenary possession of me; if I were faithful it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of faith, because they lye buried and overwhelmed with the contrary: when notwithstanding, as the blessed apostle doth acknowledge, that the *spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; so there is no doubt but that our faith may have, and hath her private operations secret to us, yet known to

him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a mind deceived by too hard an opinion of himself, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his answer ready, will you make me think otherwise than I find, than I feel in my self? I have thoroughly considered, and exquisitely sifted all the corners of my heart, and I see what there is; never seek to persuade me against my knowledge, *I do not, I know, I do not believe*. Well, to favour them a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine, be it that they be faithless and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? 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 which they have of those things that are believed? No man can love things which in his own opinion are not. And if they think those things to be, which they shew that they love when they desire to believe them; then must it needs 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 subtilty of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve. The faith therefore of true believers, tho' it hath many and grievous downfalls, yet doth it still continue invincible; it conquereth and recovereth it self in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is subject, are not able to prevail against it. The prophet *Habakkuk* remained faithful in weakness, tho' weak in faith. It is true, such is our weak and wavering nature, we have no sooner received grace, but we are ready to fall from it. We have no sooner given our assent to the law that it cannot fail, but the next conceit which we are ready to embrace is, that it may, and that it doth fail. Tho' we find in our selves a most willing heart to cleave unseparably unto God, even so far as to think unfeignedly with *Peter*, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into prison and to death*; yet how soon, and how easily, upon how small occasions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone, and left unto our selves? The *Galatians* to day, for their sakes which teach them the truth of Christ, are content, if need were, to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day, ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the angel of the church of *Ephesus*, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly slackened: the higher we flow, the nearer we are unto an ebb, if men be respected as meer men, according to the wonted course of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly support of the Spirit. Again, the desire of our ghostly enemy is so incredible, and his means so forcible to overthrow our faith, that whom the blessed apostle knew betrothed and made hand-fast unto Christ, to them he could not write but with great trembling. *I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, for I have prepared you to one husband, to present you a pure virgin unto Christ: but I fear, lest as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ*. The simplicity of faith which is in Christ taketh the naked promise of God, his bare word, and on that it resteth. This simplicity the serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promise of God and those things which sense or experience, or some other fore-conceived persuasion hath imprinted. The word of the promise of God unto his people is, *I will not leave thee nor forsake thee*: upon this the simplicity of faith resteth, and is not afraid of famine. But mark how the subtilty of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation, whose spirits were not faithful unto God. They beheld the desolate state of the desert in which they were, and by the wisdom of their sense concluded the promise of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a table in the wilderness?* The word of the promise to *Sarah* was, *Thou shalt bear a son*. Faith is simple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this simplicity of faith, entangleth the mind of the woman with an argument drawn from common experience, to the contrary, *A woman that is old*; *Sarah now to be acquainted with forgotten passions again of youth!* The word of the promise of God by *Moses* and the prophets, made the Saviour of the world so apparent unto *Philip*, that his simplicity could conceive no other Messiah than *Jesus of Nazareth*, the son of *Joseph*. But to stay *Nathaniel*, lest being invited to come and see, he should also believe, and so be saved, the subtilty of Satan casteth a mist before his eyes, putteth in his head against this the common conceived persuasion of all men concerning *Nazareth*, *Is it possible that any good thing should come from thence?* This stratagem he doth use with so great dexterity, that the minds of all men are so strangely bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them, for the time, of all perceivance of that which should relieve them, and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are most familiarly acquainted. The people of *Israel* could not be ignorant, that he which led them thro' the sea was able to feed them in the desert: but this was obliterated, and put out by the sense of their present want. Feeling the hand of God against them in their food, they remember not his hand in the day

day that he delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. *Sarah* was not then to learn, that *with God all things were possible*. Had *Nathaniel* never noted how *God doth chuse the base things of this world to disgrace them that are most honourably esteemed?* The prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promises of grace, protection and favour which *God* in the law doth make unto his people, do not grant them any such immunity as can free and exempt them from all chastisements: he knew that, as *God* said, *I will continue for ever my mercy towards them*; so he likewise said, *Their transgressions I will punish with a rod*: he knew that it could not stand with any reason we should set the measure of our own punishments, and prescribe unto *God* how great, or how long our sufferings shall be: he knew that we were blind, and altogether ignorant *what* is best for us; that we sue for many things very unwisely against our selves, thinking we *ask fish*, when indeed we crave *a serpent*: he knew that when the thing we *ask* is good, and yet *God* seemeth slow to grant it, he doth not deny but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to desire great things greatly; all this he knew. But beholding the land which *God* had severed for his own people, and seeing it abandoned unto heathen nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havock of it at their pleasure; beholding the *Lord's* own royal seat made an heap of stones, his temple defiled, the carcases of his servants cast out for the fowls of the air to devour, and the flesh of his meek ones for the beasts of the field to feed upon; being conscious to himself how long and how earnestly he had cried, *Succour us, O God of our welfare, for the glory of thine own name*; and feeling that their sore was still increased; the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which faith upon promise of the law did look for, made so deep an impression, and so strong, that he disputed not the matter, but without any further inquiry or search, inferreth as we see, *The law doth fail*.

Of us who is here, which cannot very soberly advise his brother? Sir, you must learn to strengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of *God's* great goodness towards you, *Per ea quæ agnoscas præstita, discas sperare promissa*, by those things which you have known performed, learn to hope for those things which are promised. Do you acknowledge to have received much? let that make you certain to receive more: *Habenti dabitur; to him that hath, more shall be given*. When you doubt what you shall have, search what you have had at *God's* hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath bestowed are bills obligatory and sufficient sureties, that he will bestow further. His present mercy is still a warrant of his future love, because *whom he loveth, he loveth to the end*. Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, clear, undoubted signs of *God's* reconciled love towards us as there are years, yea days, yea hours past over our heads; all these set together have no such force to confirm our faith, as the loss, and sometimes the only fear of losing a little transitory goods, credit, honour, or favour of men, a small calamity, a matter of nothing, to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily again removed, that we are clean cross'd out of *God's* book, that he regards us nor, that he looketh upon others, but passeth by us like a stranger, to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with our selves, their tables are furnished day by day; earth and ashes are our bread: they sing to the lute, and they see their children dance before them; our hearts are heavy in our bodies as lead, our sighs beat as thick as a swift pulse, our tears do wash the bed whereon we lie: the sun shineth fair upon their foreheads; we are hang'd up like bottles in the smoak, cast into corners like the sherds of a broken pot: tell not us of the promises of *God's* favour, tell such as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others. The *Lord* be merciful to our weakness, but thus it is. Well, let the frailty of our nature, the subtilty of Satan, the force of our deceiveable imaginations be, as we cannot deny but they are, things that threaten every moment the utter subversion of our faith; faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things, that which one sometimes told the senators of *Rome*, *Ego sic existimabam, P. C. uti patrem sæpe meum prædicantem audiveram, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maximè tutos esse*, as I have often heard my father acknowledge, so I my self did ever think, that the friends and favourers of this state charged themselves with great labour, but no man's condition so safe as theirs; the same we may say a great deal more justly in this case: our fathers and prophets, our *Lord* and Master hath full often spoken, by long experience we have found it true, as many as have entred their names in the mystical book of life, *eos maximum laborem suscipere*, they have taken upon them a laboursome, a toilsome, a painful profession, *sed omnium maximè tutos esse*, but no man's security like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat*; here is our toil: but I have prayed for thee, that thy

faith fail not, this is our safety. No man's condition so sure as ours: the prayer of Christ is more than sufficient both to strengthen us, be we never so weak; and to overthrow all adversary power, be it never so strong and potent. His prayer must not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain, who think that their *watching* can preserve the *city*, which God himself is not willing to *keep*. And are not theirs as vain, who think that *God will keep the city*, for which they themselves are not careful to *watch*? The husbandman may not therefore burn his plough, nor the merchant forsake his trade, because God hath promised *I will not forsake thee*. And do the promises of God concerning our stability, think you, make it a matter indifferent for us to use, or not to use the means whereby to attend, or not to attend to reading? To pray, or not to pray, *that we fall not into temptations*? Surely, if we look to stand in the faith of the sons of God, we must hourly, continually be providing and setting our selves to strive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in saying, *Father, keep them in thy name*, that we should be careless to keep our selves. To our own safety, our own sedulity is required. And then blessed for ever and ever be that mother's child, whose faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may shake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us; the countenance of the heaven may be appaled, the sun may lose his light, the moon her beauty, the stars their glory; but concerning the man that trusteth in God, if the fire have proclaimed it self unable as much as to singe a hair of his head; if Lyons, beasts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being set to devour, have as it were religiously adored the very flesh of the faithful man; what is there in the world that shall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall make a *separation* between me and my God? *Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?* no; *I am persuaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall ever prevail so far over me.* *I know in whom I have believed*; I am not ignorant whose precious blood hath been shed for me; I have a shepherd full of kindness, full of care, and full of power, unto him I commit my self; his own finger hath engraven this sentence in the tables of my heart, *Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy faith fail not*: therefore the assurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a jewel, unto the end; and by labour, thro' the gracious mediation of his prayer, I shall keep it.

To the WORSHIPFUL

Mr. GEORGE SUMMASTER,

Principal of Broad-Gates Hall in Oxford,

HENRY JACKSON Wistheth all Happinefs.

S I R,

YOUR kind acceptance of a former testification of that respect I owe you, hath made me venture to shew the world these godly sermons under your name. In which, as every point is worth observation, so some especially are to be noted; the first, that as the spirit of prophecy is from God himself, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and minds of his holy pen-men, (which if some would diligently consider, they would not puzzle themselves with the contrivances of Scot, and Thomas, Whether God only, or his ministring spirits, do infuse into mens minds propheticall revelations, *per species intelligibiles*) so God framed their words also. Whence the holy father St. Augustine religiously observeth, That all those who understand the sacred writers, will also perceive, that they ought not to use other words than they did, in expressing those heavenly mysteries which their hearts conceived, as the blessed virgin did our Saviour, by the holy Ghost. The greater is Castello his offence, who hath laboured to teach the prophets to speak otherwise than they have already. Much like to that impious King of Spain, Alphonius the tenth, who found fault with God's work: Si, inquit, creationi assuisssem, mundum melius ordinasssem; if he had been with God at the creation of the world, the world had gone better than now it doth. As this man found fault with God's works, so did the other with God's words; but, because we have a most sure word of the prophets, to which we must take heed, I will let his words pass with the wind, having elsewhere spoken to you more largely of his errors, whom notwithstanding for his other excellent parts, I much respect.

You shall moreover from hence understand, how christianity consists not in formal and seeming purity, (under which who knows not notorious villany to mask?) but in the heart root. Whence the author truly teacheth, that mockers, which use religion as a cloak, to put off and on, as the weather serveth, are worse than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew how justly this kind of men hath been reproved by that renowned martyr of Jesus Christ, Bishop Latimer, both because it will be apposite to this purpose, and also free that christian worthy from the slanderous reproaches of him, who was, if ever any, a mocker of God, religion, and all good men. But first I must desire you, and in you all readers, not to think light of that excellent man for using thus and the like witty similitudes in his sermons. For whosoever will call to mind with what riss-rass God's people were sed in those days, when their priests, whose lips should have preserved knowledge, preached nothing else but dreams and false miracles of counterfeit saints, enrolled in that sottish legend, coined and amplified by a growly head between sleeping and waking. He that will consider this, and also how the people were delighted with such toys (God sending them strong delusions that they should believe lies) and how hard it would have been for any man, wholly, and upon the sudden, to draw their minds to another bent, will easily perceive, both how necessary it was to shew symbolical discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applied by the religious father, to the end he might lead their understanding so far, till it were so convinced, informed, and settled, that it might forget the means and way by which it was led, and think only of that it had acquired. For in all such mystical speeches, who knows not that the end for which they are used is only to be thought upon?

This then being first considered, let us hear the story, as it is related by Mr. Fox: "Mr. Latimer (saith he) in his sermon gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew. For the chief triumph in the cards limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God without whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. By this he exhorted all men to serve the Lord with inward heart, and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: " adding

" adding moreover to the praise of that triumph, that tho' it were never so small, yet it
 " would take up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of
 " clubs, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worshiped and served in simplicity
 " of the heart, and verity, wherein consisteth the true christian religion, &c." Thus
 Mr. Fox.

By which it appears, that the holy man's intention was to lift up the peoples hearts
 to God, and not that he made a sermon of playing at cards, and taught them how to

^a In the third part of the three conversions of England: in the examination of Fox's saints, c. 14. sect. 53, 54. ^b Christmas sermon. Now he that will think ill of such allusions, may, out of the abundance of his folly, jest at ^c Demosthenes, for his story of the sheep, wolves, and dogs: and ^d Menenius, for his fiction of the belly. But, hinc illæ lachrymæ, the good bishop

meant that the Romish religion came not from the heart, but consisted in outward ceremonies: which sorely grieved Parsons, who never had the least warmth or spark of honesty.

^e Plut. in Demosthen. ^f Iru. dec. 1. l. 2. an. V. C. 60. Whether Bp. Latimer compared the bishops to the knave of clubs, as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am sure Parsons, of all others, deserved those colours; and so I leave him. We see then, what inward purity is required of all christians, which if they have, then in prayer, and all other christian duties, they shall lift up

pure hands, as the ^g apostle speaks, not as ^h Baronius would have it, washed from sins with holy water; but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of sin, as the Greek word βαρύς does signify.

ⁱ Tim. 2. 8. You may see also here refuted those calumnies of the papists, that we abandon all religious rites, and godly duties; as also the confirmation of our doctrine touching certainty of faith (and so of salvation) which is so strongly denied by some of that faction, that they have told the world, ^k St. Paul himself was uncertain of his own salvation. What

then shall we say, but pronounce a woe to the most strict observers of St. Francis's rules, and his canonical discipline (tho' they make him even ^l equal with Christ) and the most meritorious monk that ever was registred in their kalender of saints? But we, for our

comfort, are otherwise taught out of the holy scripture, and therefore exhorted to build our selves in our most holy faith, that so, ^m When our earthly house of this tabernacle shall be destroyed, we may have a building given of God, a house not made with hands,

but eternal in the heavens.

ⁿ Witnesses the verses of Horatius a Jesuit, recited by Poss. Biblioth. select. part 2. l. 17. c. 19. Exue franciscum tunica laceroque cucullo. Qui franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit. Francisci exuviis (si quæ licet) induet Christum: jam franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat. The like hath Demens another Jesuit. ^o 2 Cor. 5. 1.

This is that which is most piously and feelingly taught in these few leaves, so that you shall read nothing here, but what I persuade my self you have long practised in the constant course of your life. It remaineth only that you accept of these labours tendered to you by him, who wisheth you the long joys of this world, and the eternal of that which is to come.

Oxon, from Corp. Christi College,
 this 13th of January, 1613.

TWO SERMONS

Upon Part of St. JUDE's Epistle.

S E R M O N I.

Epist. JUDE, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ:

How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which should walk after their own ungodly lusts.

These are makers of sects, fleshly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edify your selves in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost.

And keep your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.

THE occasion whereupon, together with the end wherefore this epistle was written, is opened in the front and entry of the same. There were then, as there are now, many evil and wickedly disposed persons, not of the mystical body, yet within the visible bounds of the church, *men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonness, and denied the Lord Jesus.* For this cause the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Jude the servant of Jesus and brother of James*, to exhort them that are called, and sanctified of God the Father, that they would earnestly contend to maintain the faith, which was once delivered to the saints. Which faith, because we cannot maintain, except we know perfectly, first, against whom; secondly, in what sort it must be maintained; therefore in the former three verses of that parcel of scripture which I have read, the enemies of the cross of Christ are plainly described; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jesus have a sweet lesson given them how to strengthen and stablish themselves in the faith. Let us first therefore examine the description of these reprobates concerning faith; and afterwards come to the exhortation, wherein christians are taught how to rest their hearts on God's eternal and everlasting truth. The description of these godless persons is twofold, *general and special.* The *general* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *particular* pointeth at them, and saith plainly, these are they. In the *general* description we have to consider of these things; *First*, when they were described, *They were told of before.* *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.* *Thirdly*, the days when they should be manifest unto the world, they told you, *they should be in the last time.* *Fourthly*, their disposition and whole demeanour, *Mockers, and walkers after their own ungodly lusts.*

2. In the third to the *Philippians*, the apostle describeth certain; *They are men (saith he) of whom I have told you often, and now with tears I tell you of them, their god is their belly, their glory and rejoicing is in their own shame, they mind earthly things.*

These were enemies to the cross of Christ, enemies whom he saw, and his eyes gushed out with tears to behold them. But we are taught in this place, how the apostle spake also of enemies, whom as yet they had not seen, describ'd a family of men as yet unheard of, a generation reserved for the end of the world, and for the last time; they had not only declared what they heard and saw in the days wherein they lived, but they have prophesied also of men in time to come. And *you do well* (saith St. Peter) *in that you take heed to the words of prophecy, so that ye first know this, that no prophecy in the scripture cometh of any man's own resolution.* No prophecy in scripture cometh of any man's own resolution; for all prophecy which is in scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no scripture; yea, there are prophecies against the scripture: my brethren, beware of such prophecies, and take

heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before; but spoken of before by the apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in scripture; for both the manner and matter of those prophecies do shew plainly that they are of God.

Of the Spirit
of prophecy
received from
God himself.

3. Touching the manner how men by the spirit of prophecy in holy scripture, have spoken and written of things to come, we must understand, that as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the utterance of that they knew, came not by these usual and ordinary means whereby we are brought to understand the mysteries of our salvation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For whatsoever we know, we have it by the hands and ministry of men, which lead us along like children from a letter to a syllable, from a syllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turn over. But God himself was their instructor, he himself taught them, partly by dreams and visions in the night, partly by revelations in the day, taking them aside from amongst their brethren, and talking with them as a man would talk with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the secret and hidden counsels of God, they saw things which themselves were not able to utter; they beheld that whereat men and angels are astonished, they understood in the beginning, what should come to pass in the last days.

Of the pro-
phets manner
of speech.

4. God, which lightned thus the eyes of their understanding, giving them knowledge by unusual and extraordinary means, did also miraculously himself frame and fashion their words and writings, in so much that a greater difference there seemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their speech and others. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and thoroughly understand it, as we think within our selves, ere we can utter in such sort, that our brethren may receive instruction or comfort at our mouths, how great, how long, how earnest meditation are we forced to use? And after much travel and much pains, when we open our lips to speak of the wonderful works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouths, yea, many times we disgrace the dreadful mysteries of our faith, and grieve the spirit of our hearers by words unsavoury, and unseemly speeches: *Shall*

Job 15. 2.

3. a wise man fill his belly with the eastern wind, saith Eliphaz? Shall a wise man dispute with words not comely? or with talk that is not profitable? Yet behold, even they that are wisest amongst us living, compared with the prophets, seem no otherwise to talk of God, than as if the children which are carried in arms should speak of the greatest matters of state. They whose words do most shew forth their wise understanding, and whose lips do utter the purest knowledge, so long as they understand and speak as men, are they not fain sundry ways to excuse themselves? sometimes acknowledging with the wise man, *Hardly can we discern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us. Who can then seek out the things that are in heaven?* Sometimes confessing with Job the righteous, in treating of things too wonderful for us, we have spoken we wist not what: sometimes ending their talk, as do the history of *Maccabees*; if we have done well, and as the cause required, it is that we desire; if we have spoken slenderly and barely, we have done what we could. But God

Esaï. 49. 2.

bath made my mouth like a sword, saith Isaiah. And we have received, saith the apostle, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us of God, which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost doth teach. This is that which the prophets mean by those books written full within and without; which books were so often delivered them to eat, not because God fed them with ink and paper, but to teach us, that so oft as he employ'd them in this heavenly work, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable, as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwise than the harp or the lute doth give a sound, according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill. The difference is only this; an instrument, whether it be a pipe or harp, maketh a distinction in the times and sounds, which distinction is well perceived of the hearer, the instrument it self understandeth not what is piped or harped. The prophets and holy men of God not so: *I opened my mouth, saith Ezekiel, and God reached me a scrowl, saying, Son of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I give thee; I ate it, and it was sweet in my mouth as honey, saith the prophet; yea, sweeter, I am persuaded, than either honey or the honey-comb.* For herein they were not like harps or lutes, but they felt, they felt the power and strength of their own words. When they spake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they prophesied of mourning, lamentations, and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterness and indignation of spirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and strong upon them.

Ezekiel 3.

5. On this manner were all the prophecies of holy scripture. Which prophecies although they contain nothing which is not profitable for our instruction; yet as one star differeth

differeth from another in glory, so every word of prophecy hath a treasure of matter in it: but all matters are not of like importance, as all treasures are not of equal price; the chief and principal matter of prophecy is the promise of righteousness, peace, holiness, glory, victory, immortality, unto every soul which believeth that Jesus is Christ, of the Jew first, and of the Gentile. Now because the doctrine of salvation to be looked for by faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a man forsaken of God; in him, who was numbred, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in him, whom men did see buffeted on the face, scoffed at by the soldiers, scourged by tormentors, hanged on the cross, pierced to the heart; in him, whom the eyes of many witnesses did behold, when the anguish of his soul enforced him to roar, as if his heart had rent in sunder, *O my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* I say, because the doctrine of salvation by him, is a thing improbable to a natural man, that whether we preach to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our faith as madness, the other as blasphemy; therefore to establish and confirm the certainty of this saying truth in the hearts of men, the Lord, together with their preachings whom he sent immediately from himself to reveal these things unto the world, mingled prophecies of things, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were to come in every age, from time to time, till the very last of the latter days, that by those things, wherein we see daily their words fulfilled and done, we might have strong consolation in the hope of things which are not seen, because they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are spoken of before in scripture, whereof we see first one thing accomplished, and then another, and so a third, perceive we not plainly, that God doth nothing else but lead us along by the hand, till he have settled us upon the rock of an assured hope, that not one jot or tittle of his word shall pass, till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore said in vain that these godless wicked ones were spoken of before.

6. But by whom? By them, whose words, if men or angels from heaven gainsay, they are accursed; by them, whom whosoever despiseth, *despiseth not them but me*, faith Christ. If any man therefore doth love the Lord Jesus, (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jesus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he despise not the things that are spoken of by his apostles, whom many have despised, even for the baseness and simpleness of their persons. For it is the property of fleshly and carnal men to honour and dishonour, credit and discredit the words and deeds of every man, according to that he wanteth or hath without. *If a man of gorgeous apparel come amongst us*, altho' he be a thief or a murderer, (for there are thieves and murderers in gorgeous apparel,) be his heart whatsoever, if his coat be of purple or velvet, or tinsue, every one riseth up, and all the reverend solemnities we can use are too little. But the man that serveth God, is contemned and despised amongst us for his poverty. Herod speaketh in judgment, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man*. Paul preacheth Christ, they term him a trifler. Hearken, beloved, *hath not God chosen the poor of this world, that they should be rich in faith?* Hath he not chosen the refuse of the world to be heirs of his kingdom, which he hath promised to them that love him? Hath he not chosen the off-scourings of men to be the lights of the world, and the apostles of Jesus Christ? Men unlearned, yet how fully replenished with understanding? Few in number, yet how great in power? Contemptible in shew, yet in spirit how strong? how wonderful? *I would fain learn the mystery of the eternal generation of the Son of God*, faith Hillary. Whom shall I seek? Shall I get me to the schools of the Grecians? Why, I have read, *Ubi sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi conqueror hujus sæculi?* These wise men in the world must needs be dumb in this, because they have rejected the wisdom of God. Shall I beseech the scribes and interpreters of the law to become my teachers? How can they know this, sith they are offended at the cross of Christ? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unsearchable mystery of the Son of God; of which mystery notwithstanding I should have been ignorant, but that a poor fisher-man, unknown, unlearned, new-come from his boat, with his cloaths wringing wet, hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*. These poor silly creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the mysteries of Christ.

7. Remember therefore that which is spoken of by the apostles; whose words if the children of this world do not regard, is it any marvel? They are the apostles of our Lord Jesus; not of their Lord, but of ours. It is true which one hath said in a certain place, *apostolicam fidem sæculi homo non capit*, a man sworn to the world is not capable of that faith which the apostles do teach. What mean the children of this world then to tread in the courts of our God? What should your bodies do at Bethel, whose hearts are at Beth-lezen? The god of this world, whom ye serve, hath provided apostles and teachers for you. *eludeans, wizards, sooth-sayers, astrologers*, and such like; hear them. Tell not us that ye will sacrifice to the Lord our God, if ye will sacrifice to *Ash-toreth* of the two opinions.

Melcom; that ye will read our scriptures, if we will listen to your traditions; that if ye may have a mafs by permission, we shall have a communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are spoken of by the apostles of our Lord Jesus, if your Lord and Master may have his ordinances observed, and his statutes kept. *Solomon* took it (as he well might) for an evident proof, that she did not bear a motherly affection to her child, which yielded to have it cut in divers parts. He cannot love the Lord Jesus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to his apostles, and another to false apostles; which can brook to see a mingle-mangle of religion and superstition, ministers and mafsing-priests, light and darkness, truth and error, traditions and scriptures. No, we have no Lord, but Jesus; no doctrine, but the gospel; no teachers, but his apostles. Were it reason to require at the hand of an *English* subject, obedience to the laws and edicts of the *Spaniards*? I do marvel, that any man bearing the name of a servant of the servants of Jesus Christ, will go about to draw us from our allegiance. We are his sworn subjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by his apostles. They have told us, that *in the last days there shall be mockers*, therefore we believe it; *Credimus quia legimus*, we are so persuaded, because we read it must be so. If we did not read it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro legis non continentur, ea nec nosse decemus*, saith *Hillary*; Those things that are not written in the book of the law, we ought not so much as to be acquainted with them. Remember the words, which were spoken of before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Mockers in the
last time.

8. The third thing to be considered in the description of these men, of whom we speak, is the time wherein they should be manifested to the world. They told you *there should be mockers in the last time*. *Noah*, at the commandment of God, built an ark, and there were in it beasts of all sorts, clean and unclean. A husbandman planteth a vineyard, and looketh for grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with grapes, there are found also wild grapes. A rich man prepareth a great supper, and biddeth many, but when he sitteth him down, he findeth amongst his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath been the state of the church since the beginning. God always hath mingled his saints with faithless and godless persons, as it were the clean with the unclean, grapes with fower grapes, his friends and children with aliens and strangers. Marvel not then, if *in the last days* also ye see the men with whom you live and walk arm in arm, laugh at your religion, and blaspheme that glorious name whereof you are called. Thus it was in the days of the patriarchs and prophets, and are we better than our fathers? Albeit we suppose that the blessed apostles, in fore-shewing what manner of men were set out for the last days, meant to note a calamity special and peculiar to the ages and generations which were to come. As if he should have said, as God hath appointed a time of seed for the sower, and a time of harvest for him that reapeth; as he hath given unto every herb and every tree his own fruit, and his own season, not the season nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather figs in the winter, because the summer is the season for them; nor grapes of thistles, because grapes are the fruit of the vine:) so the same God hath appointed sundry for every generation of men, other men for other times, and for the last times the worst men, as may appear by their properties; which is the fourth point to be considered of in this description.

Mockers.

9. They told you that there should be *mockers*: he meaneth men that shall use religion as a cloak, to put off and on as the weather serveth; such as shall, with *Herod*, hear the preaching of *John Baptist* to day, and to morrow condescend to have him beheaded; or with the other *Herod* say they will worship Christ, when they purpose a massacre in their hearts; kiss Christ with *Judas*, and betray Christ with *Judas*. These are mockers. For *Ismael* the Son of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaac*, which was heir of the promise: so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest people under the sun, if ye be like *Moses*, chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, and why? God hath not given them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of salvation made to you, are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, even as *Ismael* took no pleasure in that promise wherein God had said unto *Abraham*, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*; because the promise concerned not him, but *Isaac*. They are termed for their impiety towards God, *mockers*; and for the impurity of their life and conversation, *walkers after their own ungodly lusts*. *St. Peter*, in his second epistle, and third chapter, foundeth the very depth of their impiety; shewing first, how they shall not shame at the length to profess themselves profane and irreligious, by flat denying the gospel of Jesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing. Secondly, that they shall not be only deriders of all religion, but also disputers against God, using truth to subvert the truth; yea, scriptures themselves, to disprove scriptures. Being in this sort mockers, they must needs be also followers of *their own ungodly lusts*. Being atheists in persuasion, can they chuse but be beasts in conversation? For why remove they

they quite from them the fear of God? Why take they such pains to abandon and put out from their hearts all sense, all taste, all feeling of religion? But only to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remotion and grudging of conscience, give over themselves to all uncleanness. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable than ^{Mockers worse than Pagans and Infidels.} the condition of *Pagans* and *Turks*. For at the bare beholding of heaven and earth the infidel's heart by and by doth give him, that there is an eternal, infinite, immortal, and ever-living God, whose hands have fashioned and framed the world; he knoweth that every house is builded of some man, tho' he see not the man which built the house; and he considereth that it must be God which hath built and created all things, altho' because the number of his days be few, he could not see when God disposed his works of old; when he caused the light of his clouds first to shine, when he laid the corner-stone of the earth, and swaddled it with bands of water and darkness, when he caused the morning star to know his place, and made bars and doors to shut up the sea within his house, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.* He hath no eye-witness of these things; yet the light of natural reason hath put this wisdom in his reins, and hath given his heart thus much understanding. Bring a *Pagan* to the schools of the prophets of God; prophesy to an infidel, rebuke him, lay the judgments of God before him, make the secret sins of his heart manifest, and he shall fall down and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of glory, were not so far past recovery, but that the preaching of the apostles was able to move their hearts, and to bring them to this, *Men and brethren, what shall we do? Agrippa*, that fate in judgment against *Paul* for preaching, yielding notwithstanding thus far unto him; *Altho' thou persuadest me to become a christian.* Altho' the *Jews*, for want of knowledge, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God; yet *I bear them record*, saith the apostle, *that they have a zeal.* The *Athenians*, a people having neither zeal nor knowledge, yet of them also the same apostle beareth witness, *Ye men of Athens, I perceive ye are* ^{δαιμονιστες} *δαιμονιστες*, some way religious, but mockers walking after their own ungodly lusts, they have smothered every spark of that heavenly light, they have trifled away their very natural understanding. O Lord, thy mercy is over all thy works, thou savest man and beast; yet a happy case it had been for these men, if they had never been born: and so I leave them.

10. Saint *Jude* having his mind exercised in the doctrine of the apostles of *Jesus* ^{Judas vir sapi- ens & certi ju- dicit.} *Christ*, concerning things to come in the last time, became a man of wife and staid judgment. Grieved he was to see the departure of many, and their falling away from the faith which before they did profess; *grieved*, but not *dismayed*. With the simpler and weaker sort it was otherwise: their countenance began by and by to change, they were half in doubt they had deceived themselves in giving credit to the gospel of *Jesus Christ*.

St. *Jude*, to comfort and refresh these silly babes, taketh them up in his arms, and sheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Look upon them that forsake this blessed profession wherein you stand: they are now before your eyes, view them, mark them, are they not carnal? are they not like to noisome carrion cast out upon the earth? is there that spirit in them which cryeth *Abba Father* in your bosoms? Why should any man be discomfited? Have you not heard that there should be *mockers in the last time*? These verily are they that now do separate themselves.

11. For your better understanding what this severing and separating of themselves doth mean, we must know that the multitude of them which truly believe (howsoever they be dispersed far and wide each from other) is all *one body*, whereof the head is *Christ*; *one building*, whereof he is corner stone, in whom they, as the members of the body, being knit, and as the stones of the building, being coupled, grow up to a man of perfect stature, and rise to an holy temple in the Lord. That which linketh *Christ* to us, is his mere mercy and love towards us. That which tieth us to him, is our faith in the promised salvation revealed in the word of truth. That which uniteth and joineth us amongst our selves, in such sort that we are now as if we had but one heart and one soul, is our love; who be inwardly in heart the lively members of this body, and the polished stones of this building, coupled and joined to *Christ*, as flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, by the mutual bond of his unspeakable love towards them, and their unfeigned faith in him, thus linked and fastned each to other, by a spiritual, sincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of simulation; who be *Jews* within, and what their names be, none can tell, save he whose eyes do behold the secret dispositions of all mens hearts. We, whose eyes are too dim to behold the inward man, must leave the secret judgment of every servant to his own Lord, accounting and using all men as brethren, both near and dear unto us, supposing *Christ* to love them tenderly, so as they keep the profession of the gospel, and join in the outward communion of saints. Whereof the one doth warrantize unto us their faith, the other

their love, till they fall away, and forsake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no injury to term them as they are. When they separate themselves, they are *Threefold separation.* *αὐτοκατακεῖρον*, not judged by us, but by their own doings. Men do separate themselves either by *heresy*, schism, or apostacy. If they loose the bond of faith, which then they are justly supposed to do when they srowardly oppugn any principal point of christian doctrine, this is to separate themselves by *heresy*. If they break the bond of unity, whereby the body of the church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forsake all external communion with saints in holy exercises purely and orderly established in the church, this is to separate themselves by *schism*. If they willingly cast off, and utterly forsake both profession of Christ and communion with christians, taking their leave of all religion, this is to separate themselves by plain *apostacy*. And St. Jude; to express the manner of their departure, which by *apostacy* fell away from the faith of Christ, saith, *They separated themselves*; noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weakness in themselves; it was not fear of persecution to come upon, whereat their hearts did fail; it was not grief of torment, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them: no, they voluntarily did separate themselves with a fully settled, and altogether determined purpose, never to name the Lord Jesus any more, nor to have any fellowship with his saints, but to bend all their counsel, and all their strength, to raze out their memorial from amongst them.

12. Now, because that by such examples, not only the hearts of infidels were hardened against the truth, but the minds of weak brethren also much troubled, the holy Ghost hath given sentence of these backsliders, that they were carnal men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Jesus, lest any man having an over-weening of their persons should be over-much amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men, not able to discern their spirits, were brought, by their apostacy, thus to reason with themselves: If Christ be the Son of the living God, if he have the words of eternal life, if he be able to bring salvation to all men that come unto him, what meaneth this apostacy and unconstrained departure? Why do his servants so willingly forsake him? Babes, be not deceived, his servants forsake him not. They that separate themselves were amongst his servants, but if they had been of his servants, they had not separated themselves. *They were amongst us, not of us*, saith St. John; and St. Jude proveth it, because they were carnal, and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of wheat by chaff, which the wind hath scattered from amongst it? Have the children no bread, because the dogs have not tasted it? Are christians deceived of that salvation they look for, because they were denied the joys of the life to come which were no christians? What if they seemed to be pillars and principal upholders of our faith? What is that to us, which know that angels have fallen from heaven? Altho' if these men had been of us indeed (O the blessedness of a christian man's estate!) they had stood surer than the angels that had never departed from their place: whereas now we marvel not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away; because they were not of us, sith they are fleshly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the house for ever; they are bond-men and bond-women which are cast out.

Infallible evidence in the faithful, that they are God's children.

13. It becometh you therefore greatly, every man to examine his own estate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I have told you already, that we must beware we presume not to sit as gods in judgment upon others; and rashly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us, so to determine of this man, he is sincere; or of that man, he is an hypocrite; except by their falling away they make it manifest and known that they are. For who art thou that takest upon thee to judge another before the time? judge thy self. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous sentence upon our selves. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we have passed from death to life, we know it, saith St. John, because we love the brethren: *And know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except you be reprobates?* I trust, beloved, we know that we are not reprobates, because our spirit doth bear us record, that the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ is in us.

14. It is as easy a matter for the spirit within you to tell whose ye are, as for the eyes of your body to judge where you sit, or in what place you stand. For what saith the scripture? *Ye which were in times past strangers and enemies, because your minds were set on evil works, Christ hath now reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to make you holy, and unblameable, and without fault in his sight; if you continue grounded and established in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel.* Coloss. 1. And in the third to the *Colossians*, *Ye know, that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of that inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ.* If we can make this account with our selves, I was in times past dead in trespasses and sins, I

walked after the prince that ruleth in the air, and after the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickned me in Christ. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the child that is newly weaned. I loved pleasures more than God, I followed greedily the joys of this present world; I esteemed him that erected a stage or theatre, more than *Solomon*, which built a temple to the Lord; the harp, viol, timbrel, and pipe, men-fingers and women-fingers were at my feast; it was my felicity to see my children dance before me; I said of every kind of vanity, O how sweet art thou in my soul! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now I take as great delight in the way of thy testimonies, O Lord, as in all riches; now I find more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, than the worldly-minded man, when his wheat and oil do much abound: now I taste nothing sweet but the bread which came down from heaven, to give life unto the world; now mine eyes see nothing but Jesus rising from the dead; now my ears refuse all kind of melody, to hear the song of them that have gotten victory of the beast, and of his image, and of his mark, and of the number of his name, that stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God, and singing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy ways, O King of saints. Surely, if the Spirit have been thus effectual in the secret work of our regeneration unto newness of life; if we endeavour thus to frame our selves anew; when we say boldly with the blessed apostle, in the tenth to the *Hebrews*, *We are not of them which withdraw our selves to perdition, but which follow faith to the conservation of the soul*. For they which fall away from the grace of God, and separate themselves unto perdition, they are fleshly and carnal, they have not God's holy Spirit. But unto you, because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, to the end ye might know that Christ hath built you upon a rock unmoveable; that he hath registred your names in the book of life; that he hath bound himself in a sure and everlasting covenant to be your God, and the God of your children after you; that he hath suffered as much, groaned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter*, O Father, keep them in thy name, O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. I have declared thy name unto them, and will declare it, that the love, wherewith thou hast loved them, may be in me, and I in them. The Lord of his infinite mercy give us hearts plentifully fraught with the treasure of this blessed assurance of faith unto the end.

15. Here I must advertise all men that have the testimony of God's holy fear within their breasts to consider, how unkindly and injuriously our own countrymen and brethren have dealt with us by the space of twenty four years, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom St. Jude here speaketh, never ceasing to charge us, some with *schism*, some with *heresy*, some with plain and manifest *apostacy*, as if we had clean separated our selves from Christ, utterly forsaken God, quite abjured heaven, and trampled all truth and religion under our feet. Against this third sort, God himself shall plead our cause in that day, when they shall answer us for these words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accused for *schism* and *heresy*, we have often made our reasonable, and, in the sight of God, I trust, allowable answers. For in the way which they call *Heresy*, we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets. That which they call *schism*, we know to be our reasonable service unto God, and obedience to his voice, which cryeth shrill in our ears, *Go out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues*. And therefore when they rise up against us, having no quarrel but this, we need not seek any farther for our apology, than the words of *Abiah* to *Jeroboam* and his army, 2 Chron. 13. O *Jeroboam* and *Israel*, hear you me: ought you not to know, that the Lord God of *Israel* hath given the kingdom over *Israel* to *David* for ever, even to him, and to his sons, by a covenant of salt? that is to say, an everlasting covenant. Jesuits and papists, hear ye me: ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made him the only head over his church, wherein he dwelleth as an husbandman in the midst of his vineyard, manuring it with the sweat of his own brows, not letting it forth to others? For, as it is in the *Canticles*, *Solomon had a vineyard in Baalhamon, he gave the vineyard unto keepers, every one bringing for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of silver*; but my vineyard, which is mine, is before me, saith Christ. It is true, this is meant of the mystical head set over the body, which is not seen. But as he hath reserved the mystical administration of the church invisible unto himself; so he hath committed the mystical government of congregations visible to the sons of *David*, by the same covenant; whose sons they

The papists
fully accuse
us of heresy
and apostacy.

Act. 25.

Apoc. 18.

Cant. 8. 11.

A. H. to.

The pope's usurped supremacy.

Conc. delect.
Card. Laur.
Surius Com.
de reb. gest. à
Pio 5. Francis.
cisc. Sanfov.
de gubern.
rerum. pub.
l. 11. cap. de
Jud. Marechal.
& Sold.

they are in the governing of the flock of Christ, whomsoever the holy Ghost hath set over them, to go before them, and to lead them in several pastures, one in this congregation, another in that; as it is written, *Take heed unto your selves, and to all the flock whereof the holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Neither will ever any pope or papist under the cope of heaven, be able to prove the *Romish* bishop's usurped supremacy over all churches by any one word of the covenant of salt, which is the scripture. For the children in our streets do now laugh them to scorn, when they force [*Thou art Peter*] to this purpose. The pope hath no more reason to draw the charter of his universal authority from hence, than his brethren had to gather by the words of Christ in the last of St. *John*, that the disciple which Jesus loved should not die. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* saith Christ. Straitways a report was raised amongst the brethren, that this disciple should not die. *Tet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Christ hath said in the xviith of St. *Matthew's* gospel to *Simon* the son of *Jonas*, *I say to thee, Thou art Peter.* Hence an opinion is held in the world, that the pope is universal head of all churches. Yet Jesus said not, the pope is universal head of all churches; but, *Tu es Petrus, Thou art Peter.* Howbeit, as *Jeroboam*, the son of *Nebat*, the servant of *Solomon*, rose up and rebelled against his lord, and there were gathered unto him vain men and wicked, which made themselves strong against *Roboam* the son of *Solomon*, because *Roboam* was but a child and tender-hearted, and could not resist them; so the son of perdition and man of sin, (being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which forbid his disciples to be like princes of nations, *They bear rule that are called gracious, it shall not be so with you.*) hath risen up and rebelled against his Lord; and to strengthen his arm, he hath crept into the houses almost of all the noblest families round about him, and taken their children from the cradle to be his cardinals; he hath fawned upon the kings and princes of the earth, and by spiritual cozenage hath made them sell their lawful authority and jurisdiction for titles of *Catholicus, Christianissimus, Defensor Fidei*, and such like; he hath proclaimed sale of pardons to inveigle the ignorant; built seminaries to allure young men desirous of learning; erected stewes to gather the dissolute unto him. This is the rock whereupon his church is built. Hereby the man is grown huge and strong, like the cedars which are not shaken with the wind, because princes have been as children, over-tender-hearted, and could not resist.

Hereby it is come to pass, as you see this day, that the man of sin doth war against us, not by men of a language which we cannot understand, but he cometh as *Jeroboam* against *Judah*, and bringeth the fruit of our own bodies to eat up, that the bowels of the child may be made the mother's grave; and hath caused no small number of our brethren to forsake their native country, and with all disloyalty to cast off the yolk of their allegiance to our dread sovereign, whom God in mercy hath set over them; for whose safeguard, if they carried not the hearts of tygers in the bosoms of men, they would think the dearest blood in their bodies well spent. But now saith *Abiah* to *Jeroboam*, ye think ye be able to resist the kingdom of the Lord, which is in the hands of the sons of *David*. Ye be a great multitude, the golden calves are with you, which *Jeroboam* made you for gods: have ye not driven away the priests of the Lord, the sons of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, and have made you priests like the people of nations? whosoever cometh with a young bullock, and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods. If I should follow the comparison, and here uncover the cup of those deadly and ugly abominations, wherewith this *Jeroboam*, of whom we speak, hath made the earth so drunk that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly hearts would loath to see them. For my own part, I delight not to rake in such filth, I had rather take a garment upon my shoulders, and go with my face from them to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cause them, if it be possible, at the length to see how they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Put it, O Lord, in their hearts, to seek white raiment, and to cover themselves, that their filthy nakedness may no longer appear. For, beloved in Christ, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to heaven in our chambers secretly, and openly in our churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them also: tho' the pope hath given out as a judge in a solemn declaratory sentence of *excommunication* against this land, that our gracious lady hath quite abolished prayer within her realm: and his scholars, whom he hath taken from the midst of us, have in their published writings charged us, not only not to have any holy assemblies unto the Lord for prayer, but to hold a common school of sin and flattery; to hold sacrilege to be God's service; unfaithfulness and breach of promise to God, to give it to a strumpet to be a virtue; to abandon fasting; to abhor confession; to mislike with penance; to like well of usury; to charge none with restitution; to find no good before God in single life; nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to us, are much worse,

and more than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word or syllable unto that which Mr. *Bristow*, a man both born and sworn amongst us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the conscience of every soul, that hath been truly converted by us, whether his heart were never raised up to God by our preaching; whether the words of our exhortation never wrung any tear of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his soul never reaped any joy and comfort, any consolation in Christ Jesus by our sacraments, and prayers, and psalms, and thanksgiving; whether he were never bettered, but always worse by us.

O merciful God! If heaven and earth in this case do not witness with us, and against them, let us be razed out from the land of the living! Let the earth on which we stand, swallow us quick, as it hath done *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*! But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken him; if our priests, the sons of *Aaron*, minister unto the Lord, and the *Levites* in their office; if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the burnt-offerings, and sweet incense of prayers, and thanksgiving; if the bread be set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold, with the lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to say, if amongst us God's blessed sacraments be duly administered, his holy word sincerely and daily preached; if we keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forsaken him; then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a captain, his priests with sounding trumpets must cry alarm against you; O ye ^{1 Chron. 1} children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper. ^{Ver. 18.}

S E R M O N II.

Epist. J U D E, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ:

How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which should walk after their own ungodly lusts.

These are makers of sects, fleshly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edify your selves in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost.

And keep your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.

HAVING elsewhere spoken of the words of St. *Jude*, going next before, concerning *mockers* which should come in the last time, and back-sliders which even then should fall away from the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; I am now by the aid of Almighty God, and thro' the assistance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of exhortation which I have read.

2. Wherein first of all, whosoever hath an eye to see let him open it, and he shall well perceive how careful the Lord is for his children, how desirous to see them profit and grow up to a manly stature in Christ, how loth to have them any way misled, either by the examples of the wicked, or by inticements of the world, and by provocation of the flesh, or by any other means forceable to deceive them, and likely to estrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we sink or swim. No, he hath written our names in the palm of his hand, in the signet upon his finger are we graven; in sentences not only of mercy, but of judgment also we are remembered, he never denounceth judgments against the wicked, but he maketh some *proviso* for his children, as it were for some certain privileged persons, *Touch not mine anointed, do my prophets no harm: hurt not the cartle, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of God in their foreheads.* He never speaketh of godless men, but he adjoyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moved to rest and settle our hearts on him. In the second to *Timothy*, the third chapter, *Evil men* (saith the apostle) *and deceivers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned.* And in the first to *Timothy*, the sixth chapter, *Some men lusting after money, have*

erred from the faith, and pierced themselves thro' with many sorrows: but thou, O man of God, fly these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. In the second to the *Thessalonians*, the second chapter, they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions that they may believe lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, thro' sanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the truth. And in this epistle of St. Jude, There shall come mockers in the last times, walking after their own ungodly lusts. But beloved, edify ye your selves in your most holy faith.

3. These sweet exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouths of the prophets and apostles of Jesus Christ, are evident tokens that God sitteth not in heaven careless and unmindful of our estate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found unnatural, and do forget the fruit of her own womb; yet God's judgments shew plainly that he cannot forget the man whose heart he hath framed and fashioned anew in simplicity and truth to serve and fear him. For when the wickedness of man was so great, and the earth so filled with cruelties, that it could not stand with the righteousness of God any longer to forbear, wrathful sentences brake out from him, like wine from a vessel that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (saith he) *can struggle and strive no longer, an end of all flesh is come before me*. Yet then did Noah find grace in the eyes of the Lord: *I will establish my covenant with thee*, (saith God) *thou shalt go into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons wives with thee*.

4. Do we not see what shift God doth make for Lot and for his family, in the nineteenth of *Genesis*, lest the fiery destruction of the wicked should overtake him? Overnight the angels make enquiry what sons and daughters, or sons in law, what wealth and substance he had. They charged him to carry out all, *Whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring it out*. God seemed to stand in a kind of fear, lest something or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoof of any beast, nor a thread of any garment should be singled with that fire. In the morning the angels fail not to call him up, and to hasten him forward, *Arise, take thy wife and thy daughters which are here, that they be not destroyed in the punishment of the city*. The angels having spoken again and again, Lot for all this lingereth out the time still, till at the length they were forced to take both him, his wife, and his daughters by the arms, (the Lord being merciful unto him) and to carry them forth, and set them without the city.

5. Was there ever any father thus careful to save his child from the flame? A man would think, that now being spoken unto to escape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the plain, but to hasten to the mountain, and there to save himself, he should do it gladly. Yet behold, now he is so far off from a cheerful and willing heart to do whatsoever is commanded him for his own weal, that he beginneth to reason the matter, as if God had mistaken one place for another, sending him to the hill, when salvation was in the city. *Not so, my Lord, I beseech thee, behold, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life. I cannot escape in the mountain, lest some evil take me, and I dye. Here is a city hard by, a small thing; O, let me escape thither (is it not a small thing?) and my soul shall live*. Well, God is contented to yield to any conditions: *Behold, I have received thy request concerning this thing also, I will spare this city for which thou hast spoken; haste thee, save thee there; For I can do nothing till thou come thither*.

6. He could do nothing! Not because of the weakness of his strength (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but because of the greatness of his mercy, which would not suffer him to lift up his arm against that city, nor to pour out his wrath upon that place, where his righteous servant had a fancy to remain, and a desire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercy and love of God! God is afraid to offend us, who are not afraid to displease him. God can do nothing till he have saved us, who can find in our hearts rather to do any thing than to serve him. It contenteth him not to exempt us, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of reprobates and godless men; to save us as the apple of his own eye, when fire cometh down from heaven to consume the inhabitants of the earth; except every prophet, and every apostle, and every servant whom he sendeth forth, do come loaden with these or the like exhortations, *O beloved, edify your selves in your most holy faith; give your selves to prayer in the spirit; keep your selves in the love of God; look for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life*.

7. *Edify your selves*. The speech is borrowed from material builders, and must be

spiritually understood. It appears in the sixth of St. *John's* gospel, by the *Jews*, that their mouths did water too much for bodily food, *Our fathers*, say they, *did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, he gave them bread from heaven to eat; Lord, evermore give us of this bread.* Our Saviour, to turn their appetite another way, maketh them this answer, *I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.*

8. An usual practice it is of Satan, to cast heaps of worldly baggage in our way, that whilst we desire to heap up gold as dust, we may be brought at the length to esteem vilely that spiritual bliss. Christ in *Mat. 6.* to correct this evil affection, putteth us in mind to lay up treasure for our selves in heaven. The apostle, *1 Tim. 3.* misliking the vanity of those women who attired themselves more costly than becomed the heavenly calling of such as professed the fear of God, willeth them to cloath themselves with shamefacedness and modesty, and to put on the apparel of good works. *Taliter pigmentate, Deum habebitis amatorem*, saith *Tertullian*. Put on righteousness as a garment; instead of civet have faith which may cause a savour of life to issue from you, and God shall be enamoured, he shall be ravished with your beauty. These are the ornaments, bracelets, and jewels which inflame the love of Christ, and set his heart on fire upon his spouse. We see how he breaketh out in the *Canticles* at the beholding of this attire, *How fair art thou, and how pleasant art thou, O my love, in these pleasures!*

9. And perhaps St. *Jude* exhorteth us here not to build our houses, but our selves, foreseeing by the Spirit of the Almighty which was with him, that there should be men in the last days like to those in the first, who should encourage and stir up each other to make brick, and to burn it in the fire, to build houses huge as cities, and towns as high as heaven, thereby to get them a name upon earth; men that should turn out the poor, and the fatherless, and the widow, to build places of rest for dogs and swine in their rooms; men that should lay houses of prayer even with the ground, and make them stables where God's people have worshipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongst men; and a special sickness of this age. What it should mean I know not, except God hath set them on work to provide fuel against that day, when the Lord Jesus shall shew himself from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire. What good cometh unto the owners of these things, saith *Solomon*, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou buiest thy self about many things; one thing is necessary.* Ye are too busy, my brethren, with timber and brick; they have chosen the better part, they have taken a better course that build themselves. *Ye are the temples of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.*

10. Which of you will gladly remain or abide in a mishapen, or a ruinous, or a broken house? And shall we suffer sin and vanity to drop in at our eyes, and at our ears, and at every corner of our bodies, and of our souls, knowing that we are the temples of the holy Ghost? Which of you receiveth a guest whom he honoureth, or whom he loveth, and doth not sweep his chamber against his coming? And shall we suffer the chambers of our hearts and consciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbage, knowing that Christ hath said, *I and my Father will come and dwell with you?* Is it meet for your oxen to lie in parlors, and your selves to lodge in cribs? Or is it seemly for your selves to dwell in your cieled houses, and the house of the Almighty to lie waste, whose house ye are your selves? Do not our eyes behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their journeys? How suddenly they pop down into the pit? How God's judgments for their crimes come so swiftly upon them, that they have not the leisure to cry, alas! How their life is cut off like a thread in a moment? How they pass like a shadow? How they open their mouths to speak, and God taketh them even in the midst of a vain or an idle word? and dare we for all this lie down, and take our rest, eat our meat securely and carelessly in the midst of so great and so many ruins? Blessed and praised for ever and ever be his name, who perceiving of how senseless and heavy metal we are made, hath instituted in his CHURCH a spiritual supper, and an holy communion to be celebrated often, that we might thereby be occasioned often to examine these buildings of ours, in what case they stand. For sith God doth not dwell in temples which are unclean, sith a shrine cannot be a sanctuary unto him; and this supper is received as a seal unto us, that we are his house, and his sanctuary; that his Christ is as truly united to me, and I to him, as my arm is united and knit unto my shoulder; that he dwelleth in me as verily as the elements of bread and wine abide within me; which persuasion, by receiving these dreadful mysteries, we profess our selves to have: a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocrisy, then we worth us. Therefore e'er we put forth our hands to take this blessed sacrament, we are charged to examine and try our hearts whether God be in us of a truth or no: as if by faith and love unfeigned we be found the temples of the holy Ghost, then to judge whether we have had such regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth

The sacrament of the Lord's supper.

in us hath no way been vexed, molested and grieved : or if it had, as no doubt sometimes it hath by incredulity, sometimes by breach of charity, sometimes by want of zeal, sometimes by spots of life, even in the best and most perfect amongst us ; (for who can say his heart is clean ?) O then to fly unto God by unfeigned repentance, to fall down before him in the humility of our souls, begging of him whatsoever is needful to repair our decays, before we fall into that desolation, wherof the prophet speaketh, saying, *Thy breach is great like the sea, who can heal thee ?*

Lam. 2. 13.

11. Receiving the sacrament of the supper of the Lord after this sort (you that are spiritual judge what I speak) is not all other wine like the water of *Marah*, being compared to the cup which we bless ? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna* ? Is there not a taste, a taste of Christ Jesus in the heart of him that eateth ? Doth not he which drinketh behold plainly in this cup, that his soul is bathed in the blood of the Lamb ? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, if ye will taste how sweet the Lord is, if ye will receive the King of glory, *build your selves*.

12. *Young men*, I speak this to you, for ye are his house, because by faith ye are conquerors over Satan, and have overcome that evil. *Fathers*, I speak it also to you, ye are his house, because ye have known him, who is from the beginning. Sweet *babes*, I speak it even to you also, ye are his house, because your sins are forgiven you for his name sake. *Matrons and sisters*, I may not hold it from you, ye are also the Lord's building ; and as St. Peter speaketh, *Heirs of the grace of life as well as we*. Tho' it be forbidden you to open your mouths in publick assemblies, yet ye must be inquisitive in things concerning this building which is of God, with your husbands and friends at home ; not as *Dalilah* with *Sampson*, but as *Sarah* with *Abraham* ; whose daughters ye are, whilst ye do well, and build your selves.

13. Having spoken thus far of the exhortation, as whereby we are called upon to edify and build our selves ; it remaineth now, that we consider the things prescribed, namely, wherein we must be built. This prescription standeth also upon two points, the thing prescribed, and the *adjunct* of the thing. And that is, our most pure and holy faith.

14. The thing prescribed is *faith*. For, as in a chain which is made of many links, if you pull the first, you draw the rest ; and as in a ladder of many staves, if you take away the lowest, all hope of ascending to the highest will be removed : so, because all the precepts and promises in the law and in the gospel do hang upon this, *believe* ; and because the last of the graces of God doth so follow the first, that he glorifieth none, but whom he hath justified, nor justifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectual, and lively faith in Christ Jesus ; therefore St. Jude exhorting us to *build our selves*, mentioneth here expressly only faith, as the thing wherein we must be edified ; for that faith is the ground and the glory of all the welfare of this building.

Ephes. 12.

15. *Ye are strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God*, (saith the apostle) *and are built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit*. And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if we believe, for it is written, *Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God*. The strength of this habitation is great, it prevaileth against Satan, it conquereth sin, it hath death in derision ; neither principalities nor powers can throw it down ; it leadeth the world captive, and bringeth every enemy that riseth up against it to confusion and shame, and all by faith ; for *this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith*. *Who is it that overcometh the world, but he which believeth that Jesus is the Son of God ?*

1 John 4.
Chap. 5.

16. The strength of every building which is of God, standeth not in any man's arms or legs ; it is only in our faith, as the valour of *Sampson* lay only in his hair. This is the reason, why we are so earnestly called upon to *edify our selves in faith*. Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we believe the gospel of Christ, were able in it self, as of it self, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like stones, which abide in building for ever, and fall not out : No, it is not the worthiness of our believing, it is the virtue of him in whom we believe, by which we stand sure, as houses that are builded upon a rock. He is a wiseman which hath builded his house upon a rock ; for he hath chosen a good foundation, and no doubt his house will stand ; but how shall it stand ? Verily, by the strength of the rock which beareth it, and by nothing else. Our fathers, whom God delivered out of the land of *Egypt*, were a people that had no peers amongst the nations of the earth, because they were built by faith upon the rock, which rock is Christ. *And the rock* (saith the apostle in the first to the *Corinthians*, the tenth chapter) *did follow them*. Whereby we learn not only this, that being built by faith on Christ, as on a rock, and grafted into him as into an olive, we receive all our strength and firmness from him ; but also, that this strength and firmness of ours ought to be no cause, why we should be high-

Matth. 7.

minded, and not work out our salvation with a reverent trembling, and holy fear. For if thou boastest thy self of thy faith, know this, that Christ chose his apostles, his apostles chose not him; that *Israel* followed not the rock, but the rock followed *Israel*; and that thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. So that every heart must thus think, and every tongue must thus speak, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us*, nor unto anything ^{Rom. 11.} which is within us, but unto thy Name only, only to thy Name belongeth all the praise of all the treasures and riches of every temple which is of God. This excludeth all boasting and vaunting of our faith.

17. But this must not make us careless to edify our selves in faith. It is the Lord that delivereth mens souls from death, but not except they put their trust in his mercy. It is God that hath given us eternal life, but no otherwise than thus, if we believe in the Name of the Son of God; for he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon *Sampson*, and made him strong to tear a lyon, as a man would rend a kid; but his strength forsook him, and he became like other men, when the razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithful *have subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained the promises, stopped the mouths of Lyons, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword*: but take away their faith, and doth not their strength forsake them? Are they not like unto other men?

18. If ye desire yet further to know, how necessary and needful it is that we edify and build up our selves in faith, mark the words of the blessed apostle, *Without faith it is impossible to please God*. If I offer to God all the sheep and oxen, that are in the world; if all the temples, that were builded since the days of *Adam* till this hour, were of my foundation; if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and wear out my tongue with preaching; if I sacrifice my body and soul unto him, *and have no faith*, all this availt nothing. *Without faith it is impossible to please God*. Our Lord and Saviour ^{No pleasing of God without faith.} therefore being asked in the sixth of St. *John's* gospel, *What shall we do that we might work the works of God?* maketh answer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him, whom he hath sent*.

19. That no work of ours, no building of our selves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in faith, what need we to seek about for long proof? Look upon *Israel*, once the very chosen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithful, and the glory of cherubims, and the covenants of mercy, and the law of *Moses*, and the service of God, and the promises of Christ were made inappropriate, who not only were the off-spring of *Abraham*, father unto all them which do believe, but Christ their off-spring, which is God to be blessed for evermore.

20. Consider this people, and learn what it is to *build your selves in faith*. They were the Lord's vine: he brought it out of *Egypt*, he threw out the heathen from their places, that it might be planted; he made room for it, and caused it to take root, till it had filled the earth; the mountains were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly cedars; she stretched out her branches to the sea, and her boughs unto the river. But, when God having sent both his servants and his Son to visit this vine, they neither spared the one, nor received the other, but stoned the prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory which came unto them; then began the curse of God to come upon them, even the curse whereof the prophet *David* hath spoken, saying, *Let their table be made a snare, and a net, and a stumbling-block, even for a recompence unto them: let their eyes be darkened, that they do not see, bow down their backs for ever, keep them down*. And thence the hour that the measure of their infidelity was first made up, they have been spoiled with wars, eaten up with plagues, spent with hunger and famine; they wander from place to place, and are become the most base and contemptible people that are under the sun. *Ephraim*, which before was a terror unto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelity so vile, that he seemeth as a thing cast out to be trampled under mens feet. In the midst of these desolations they cry, *Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts, look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine*: But their very prayers are turned into sin, and their cries are no better than the howling of beasts before him. *Well*, saith the apostle, *by their unbelief they are broken off, and thou dost stand by thy faith*: ^{Rom. 11. 20.} behold therefore the bountifulness, and severity of God; towards them severity, because they have fallen, bountifulness towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulness, or else ^{Verse 22.} thou shalt be cut off. If they forsake their unbelief and be grafted in again, and we at any time for the hardness of our hearts be broken off, it will be such a judgment as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are above. Who hath searched the counsel of God concerning this secret? And who doth not see, that infidelity doth threaten *Lo ammi* unto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo ruchama* upon the Jews? It may be that these words seem dark unto you: but the words of the apostle, in the eleventh to the Romans, are plain enough, *If God hath not spared the natural branches, take heed, take heed, lest he spare not thee*: build thy self in faith. Thus much of the thing which is prescribed, and wherein

wherein we are exhorted, *edify your selves*. Now consider the *condition* and *properties* which are in this place annexed unto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edify your selves in your faith*.

21. A strange, and a strong delusion it is wherewith the *man of sin* hath bewitched the world; a forceable spirit of error it must needs be, which hath brought men to such a senseless and unreasonableness as this is, not only that men clothed with mortality and sin, as we our selves are, can do God so much service as shall be able to make a full and perfect satisfaction before the tribunal seat of God for our own sins, yea, a great deal more than is sufficient for themselves; but also, that a man at the hands of a bishop or a pope, for such or such a price, may buy the *overplus* of other mens merits, purchase the fruits of other mens labours, and build his soul by another man's faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterness? Is his heart right in the sight of God? Can he have any part or fellowship with *Peter*, and with the successors of *Peter*, who thinketh so vilely of building the precious temples of the holy Ghost? Let his money perish with him, and he with it, because he judgeth that the gift of God may be sold for money.

22. But, beloved in the Lord, deceive not your selves, neither suffer ye your selves to be deceived: ye can receive no more ease nor comfort for your soul by another man's faith, than warmth for your bodies by another man's cloaths, or sustenance by the bread which another man doth eat. The just shall live by his own faith. *Let a saint, yea a martyr, content himself that he hath cleansed himself of his own sins*, saith *Tertullian*: No saint or martyr can cleanse himself of his own sins. But if so be a saint or a martyr can cleanse himself of his own sins, it is sufficient that he can do it for himself. Did ever any man by his death deliver another man from death, except only the Son of God? He indeed was able to save conduct a thief from the cross to paradise: for to this end he came, that being himself pure from sin, he might obey for sinners. Thou which thinkest to do the like, and supposest that thou canst justify another by thy righteousness, if thou be without sin, then lay down thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou be a sinner, even as I am a sinner, how can the oyl of thy lamp be sufficient both for thee and for me? *Virgins* that are wise, get ye oyl, while ye have day, into your own lamps: for out of all peradventure, others, tho' they would, can neither give nor sell. Edify your selves in your own most holy faith. And let this be observed for the first *property* of that wherein we ought to edify our selves.

23. Our faith being such is that indeed which St. *Jude* doth here term *faith*; namely, a thing most *holy*. The reason is this, we are justified by *faith*: for *Abraham* believed, and this was imputed unto him for righteousness. Being justified, all our iniquities are covered; God beholdeth us in the righteousness which is imputed, and not in the sins which we have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of sin, both *original* and *actual*; whosoever denieth it is a double sinner, for he is both a sinner and a liar. To deny sin is most plainly and clearly to prove it, because he that saith he hath no sin, lyeth, and by lying proveth that he hath sin.

25. But *imputation* of righteousness hath covered the sins of every soul which believeth; God by pardoning our sin hath taken it away: so that now, altho' our transgressions be multiplied above the hairs of our head, yet being justified, we are as free and as clear as if there were no one spot or stain of any uncleanness in us. For it is God that justifieth; *And who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's chosen?* saith the apostle in *Rom. 8*.

26. Now sin being taken away, we are made the righteousness of God in Christ: for *David* (speaking of this righteousness, saith, *Blessed is the man whose iniquities are forgiven*. No man is blessed, but in the righteousness of God: Every man whose sin is taken away is blessed, Therefore every man whose sin is covered, is made the righteousness of God in Christ. This righteousness doth make us to appear most holy, most pure, most unblameable before him.

27. This then is the sum of that which I say, faith doth justify; justification washeth away sin; sin remov'd, we are cloth'd with the righteousness which is of God; the righteousness of God maketh us most holy. Every of these I have proved by the testimony of God's own mouth; therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh us most holy, in consideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our most holy faith*.

28. To make a wicked and a sinful man most holy thro' his believing, is more than to create a world of nothing. Our faith most holy! Surely, *Solomon* could not shew the queen of *Sheba* so much treasure in all his kingdom, as is laid up in these words. O that our hearts were stretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our understanding were as bright as the sun, that we might thoroughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and most holy, through our believing! O that the Spirit of the Lord would give this doctrine entrance into the stony and brazen heart of the *Jew*; which fol-

loweth the law of righteousness, but cannot attain unto the righteousness of the law ! Wherefore, saith the apostle, they seek righteousness, and not by faith ; wherefore they stumble at Christ, they are bruised, shivered to pieces, as a ship that hath run her self upon a rock. O that God would cast down the eyes of the proud, and humble the souls of the high minded ! that they might at the length abhor the garments of their own flesh, which cannot hide their nakedness, and put on the faith of Christ Jesus, as he did put it on, who hath said, *Doubtless I think all things but loss, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loss, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Christ, and might be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law ; but that which is thro' the faith of Christ, even the righteousness which is of God thro' faith.* O that God would open the ark of mercy, wherein this doctrine lieth, and set it wide before the eyes of poor afflicted consciences, which fly up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can see nothing but only the gulf and deluge of their sins, wherein there is no place for them to rest their feet. The God of pity and compassion give you all strength and courage, every day, and every hour, and every moment, to build and edify your selves in this most pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing prescribed in this exhortation, and also of the properties of the thing, *Build your selves in your most holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of prayer ; but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I have added somewhat for the applying of it, both to others, and to our selves.

29. For your better understanding of matters contained in this exhortation, *Build your selves,* you must note, that every church and congregation doth consist of a multitude of believers, as every house is built of many stones. And altho' the nature of the mystical body of the church be such, that it suffereth no distinction in the visible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, prince or prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Christ's, and Christ is equally theirs : yet in the external administration of the church of God, because God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, it is necessary, that in every congregation there be a distinction, if not of inward dignity, yet of outward degree ; so that all are saints, or seem to be saints, and should be as they seem : but are all apostles ? If the whole body were an eye, where were then the hearing ? God therefore hath given some to be apostles, and some to be pastors, &c. for the edification of the body of Christ. In which work, we are God's labourers (saith the apostle) and ye are God's husbandry, and God's building.

30. The church, respected with reference unto administration ecclesiastical, doth generally consist but of two sorts of men, the *labourers* and the *building* ; they which are ministered unto, and they to whom the work of the ministry is committed ; *pastors* and the *flock* over whom the holy Ghost hath made them overseers. If the *guide* of a congregation, be his name or his degree whatsoever, be diligent in his vocation, feeding the flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it, *not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ;* not as tho' he would tyrannize over God's heritage, but as a pattern unto the flock, wisely guiding them : if the people in their degree do yield themselves framable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed and squared for the building : if the magistrate do carefully and diligently survey the whole order of the work, providing by statutes and laws, and bodily punishments, if need require, that all things might be done according to the rule which cannot deceive ; even as *Moses* proved, that all things might be done according to the pattern which he saw in the mount ; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of such a congregation every man will say, *Behold a people that are wise, a people that walk in the statutes and ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and understanding, a people that have skill in building themselves.* Where it is otherwise, there, as by *slothfulness the roof doth decay* ; and as by *idleness of hands the house droppeth thorow,* as it is in *Eccles. 10. 18.* so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall away, till there be not a stone left upon a stone.

31. We see how fruitless this exhortation hath been to such as bend all their travel only to build and manage a *papacy* upon earth, without any care in the world of building themselves in their most holy faith. God's people have enquired at their mouths, *What shall we do to have eternal life ?* Wherein shall we build and edify our selves ? And they have departed home from their prophets, and from their priests, laden with doctrines which are precepts of men ; they have been taught to tire out themselves with bodily exercise : those things are enjoined them, which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them ; their eyes are fed with pictures, and ears are filled with melody, but their souls do wither, and starve, and pine away ; they cry for bread, and behold stones are offered them ; they ask for fish, and see they have scorpions in their hands. Thou seest, O Lord, that they build themselves, but not in faith ; they feed their children, but not with food : their rulers say with shame, bring, and not build.

build. But God is righteous; their drunkenness stinketh, their abominations are known, their madness is manifest, the wind hath bound them up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, saith the prophet, *is joined to idols, let him alone*. I will turn me therefore from the priests, which do minister unto idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his chosen in *Israel*.

32 If there be any feeling of Christ, any drop of heavenly dew, or any spark of God's good Spirit within you, stir it up, be careful to build and edify, first your selves, and then your flocks in this most holy faith.

33. I say, *first, your selves*; for, he which will set the hearts of other men on fire with the love of Christ, must himself burn with love. It is want of faith in our selves, my brethren, which makes us * wretched in building others. We forsake the Lord's inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reason of this? Our own desires are settled where they should not be. We our selves are like those women which have a longing to eat coals, and lime, and filth; we are fed, some with honour, some with ease, some with wealth; the gospel waxeth loathsome and unpleasant in our taste; how should we then have a care to feed others with that which we cannot fancy our selves? If *faith* wax cold and slender in the heart of the prophet, it will soon perish from the ears of the people. The prophet *Amos* speaketh of a famine, saying, *I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord. Men shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north unto the east shall they run to and fro, to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it. Judgment must begin at the house of God*, saith *Peter*. Yea, I say, at the sanctuary of God this judgment must begin. This famine must begin at the heart of the prophet. He must have darkness for a vision, he must stumble at noon-day, as at the twilight, and then truth shall fall in the midst of the streets; then shall the people wander from sea to sea, and from the north unto the east shall they run to and fro, to seek the word of the Lord.

34. In the second of *Haggai*, *Speak now*, saith God to his prophet, *Speak now to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, prince of Judah, and to Jehoshua, the son of Jehozadak the high-priest, and to the residue of the people, saying, who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do you see it now? Is not this house in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing?* The prophet would have all mens eyes turned to the view of themselves, every sort brought to the consideration of their present state. This is no place to shew what duty *Zerubbabel* or *Jehoshua* do owe unto God in this respect. They have, I doubt not, such as put them hereof in remembrance, I ask of you, which are a part of the residue of God's elect and chosen people, who is there amongst you that hath taken a survey of the house of God, as it was in the days of the blessed apostles of Jesus Christ? Who is there amongst you that hath seen and considered this holy temple in her first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not, in comparison of the other, almost as nothing? When you look upon them which have undertaken the charge of your souls, and know how far these are, for the most part, grown out of kind, how few there be that tread the steps of their antient predecessors, ye are easily filled with indignation, easily drawn unto these complaints, wherein the difference of present from former times is bewailed; easily persuaded to think of them that lived to enjoy the days which now are gone, that surely they were happy in comparison of us that have succeeded them: were not their bishops men unreprieveable, wise, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, even of those which were without? Were not their pastors, guides, and teachers, able and willing to exhort with wholesome doctrine, and to reprove those which gain-said the truth? Had they priests made of the refuse of the people? Were men, like to the children which were in *Nineveh*, unable to discern between the right hand and the left, presented to the charge of their congregations? Did their teachers leave their flocks, over which the holy Ghost had made them overseers? Did their prophets enter upon holy things as spoils, without a reverend calling? Were their leaders so unkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to sell them as sheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But beloved, deceive not your selves. Do the faults of your guides and pastors offend you? It is your fault if they be thus faulty. *Nullus, qui malum rectorem patitur, eum accuset: quia sui fuit meriti perversi pastoris subjacere ditioni*, saith St. Gregory, whosoever thou art, whom the inconvenience of an evil government, *Jer. 3. 14, 15*, nor doth press, accuse thy self, and not him; his being such, is thy deserving. *O ye disobedient children, turn again*, saith the Lord, *and then will I give you pastors according to mine own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding*. So that the only way to repair all ruins, breaches, and offensive decays in others, is to begin reformation at your selves. Which that we may all sincerely, seriously, and speedily do, God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jesus's sake, unto whom, with the holy Ghost, three Persons, one eternal and everlasting God, be honour, and glory, and praise, for ever. *Amen*.

T H E I N D E X.

Note, that the numeral letters refer to the *preface*, all the figures to the *book*; *a* denotes the top of the page, *b* about the middle, *c* towards the end.

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