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**THE TESTIMONY
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THE REFORMERS;

SELECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF

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BECON, BRADFORD, ETC.

WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY THE REV. E. BICKERSTETH,

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON THE PROGRESS OF POPERY,

ETC.

THE glorious gospel of the blessed God, committed to the trust of his ministers (1 Tim i. 11), is the richest treasure which they can dispense to men. In proportion to the excellency of the treasure is the responsibility of faithfulness to their trust.

How rich that treasure is, what tongue can utter! It is *the good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people*, that there has been born for us, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. It is *the faithful saying, worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners*, even the very chief. It is the good news, that, though our God is beyond compare pure and holy, just and righteous, he *so loved the world*, the sinful, rebellious world, *that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life*.

By simple faith in God's testimony concerning his Son, we enter into the most delightful of all feelings, that God loves us, though vile and sinful, and is our most tender and merciful Father, and thus we have the rich privilege of being his children. This

faith is its own evidence in the peace, joy, love, and gratitude with which it fills the bosom of the Christian, and the holiness which it produces in his life. *He that believeth hath the witness in himself.* In his very coming to Christ he knows that he is among the elect, and has been drawn of the Father to come; *all that the Father giveth me shall come unto me: no man can come to me, except the Father draw him: my sheep hear my voice; I know them, and they follow me.* Under the blessed influence of these truths, and by the new creating power of the Holy Ghost, the Christian loves as his tender Father the great God, loves his Saviour Jesus, and all his fellow-men; and in the diligent use of all God's appointed means of grace, he is daily conformed, more and more, to his heavenly Lord, and becomes meet for his everlasting inheritance.

Satan, the God of this world, seeing this blessed effect of the pure gospel of Christ, has ever bent his strength from the very beginning, to mar and adulterate it. We see this in the necessity of the first council at Jerusalem, and in the epistles generally, especially those to the Romans and Galatians. The Lord who foresaw that Rome would be one grand instrument employed by Satan to obscure and overthrow *the gospel of the grace of God*, in his infinite wisdom and love provided the most complete, systematic, full and orderly statement of salvation by grace, addressed specially to the Romans, that it might be their guard from these devices of that enemy.

To maintain the purity of the gospel, to be full of zeal and godly jealousy on this point, is a great part of our fidelity as *stewards of the mysteries of Christ*. Especially does it become us to be so when there is reason to think that the grossest corruption of the gospel that the world has ever yet seen, is again reviving among us.

We live in most awful, heart-stirring and fearful times, from infidelity as well as from popery. We cannot indeed be blind to the fact, that INFIDELITY is a more open enemy to Christ than popery, not even pretending to hold ONE of the truths of the gospel, and in its very nature excluding altogether the hopes, the joys, and the holiness, the present and the everlasting

happiness of delighting in God, which comes by Christ our Saviour. Nor can we be blind to the fact that there are said to be thirty congregations in London where infidelity is regularly preached, and that the worst works of infidels, and those most adapted to delight man's fallen mind, are widely circulated. The writings of infidels on the continent fearfully embody now all kinds of blasphemy. In the language of Cecil, 'The infidel conspiracy approaches nearest to popery. But infidelity is a suicide. It dies by its own malignity. It is known and read of all men. No man was ever injured essentially by it who was fortified with but a small portion of the genuine spirit of Christianity, its contrition and its docility. Nor is it one in its efforts; its end is one, but its means are disjointed, various and often clashing. Popery debases and alloys Christianity; but infidelity is a furnace, wherein it is purified and refined. The injuries done to it by popery will be repaired by the very attacks of infidelity.' Yet Mr. Cecil said, 'The church has endured a pagan and a papal persecution. There remains for her an infidel persecution,—general, bitter, purifying, and cementing.'

We must not then overlook this foe, as one also to be met: and it can only be met by the same bright, holy, joyful, and heavenly light of divine truth shining in our principles, in our words, and in our lives; *that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.*

POPERY is a more dangerous enemy because it pretends to be the warmest and only real friend of Christ. Believing what protestants do of popery, its state and progress cannot but be a matter of deep interest and concern. If we love, as we do from the heart, papists who as our fellow men, are with ourselves the objects of the love of the same God and Father, (John iii. 16.) who are with ourselves redeemed by the same divine blood, (2 Cor. v. 19.) and who have the same promises of the Holy Spirit as ourselves, (Luke xi. 13.) how can we but see, with

deep sympathy, any progress in that which we believe is abominable to God, our Father, and ruinous to the everlasting welfare of our fellow men, our brethren in the flesh!

We believe popery to be **THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY**, (2 Thess. ii. 7. with Cecil, we think it 'the masterpiece of Satan—formed to overwhelm—to enchant—to sit as the great whore making the earth drunk with her fornications,' (Rev. xvii. 1, 2.) and believing this, and knowing that there are now in the world probably one hundred millions of our fellow men under this delusion, surely it is our bounden duty with all affection and earnestness to entreat all papists, *come out of her that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.*

There is much reason to fear that **POPERY IS NOW ADVANCING** and extending in this Country and in the United States of America; and it is very desirable that protestants should be made acquainted with this fact, and be stirred up to exertion against so great an evil.

In considering the present state of popery, it must be admitted that it has different features in different countries.

On **THE CONTINENT**, popery, in its ecclesiastical revenues and political power, has materially suffered by the varied revolutions which have taken place in France, in Spain, in Portugal, and in other countries. Its dominion and influence to injure externally, have thus been greatly crippled and overthrown. Infidelity has *made her desolate and naked.* (Rev. xvii. 16.)

In **NORTH AMERICA**, though accounts differ, and probably the chief increase of papists has been from emigrants of their communion from other countries, it is probable that papists have also been to a certain extent successful in turning protestants to their awful delusions, and it is believed that foreign wealth has been furnished to a considerable extent to aid the progress of popery in America.¹

¹ The following statement taken from the Christian Observer of January, shews the progress of Popery in the UNITED STATES.—“All the priests of Rome and Ireland could not have accomplished one tithe of what has been effected for Popery in the United States, had they not added to their forms of religious worship, the monastic

The testimony of Bishop Broughton as to New South Wales, was given at the monthly meeting of the Christian Knowledge Society in January last, to this effect: 'Protestantism was much endangered in the Colony; the efforts of Rome in that Country were almost incredible. The country is traversed by the agents of Rome. I earnestly desire means of counteracting these machinations. The protestant schools could be maintained no longer, and a grant was required to maintain schools in connection with the church, and in the churches themselves.'

In IRELAND, the undisguised, bitter, and persecuting spirit of popery on the one hand, and on the other the large circulation of the Holy Scriptures, have been overruled and blessed by the mercy of God, to withdraw many a spiritually-minded follower of Christ from its ranks, and it is not believed by some, who have the means of information, to be there making progress.¹

systems of education in colleges and convents. It is but a little more than forty years, since the first Roman Catholic See was created, by the Pope in the United States. There is now a catholic population of 600,000 souls, under the government of the Pope of Rome; an archbishop of Baltimore, 12 Bishops, and 341 Priests. The number of churches is 401; mass houses about 300; colleges ten; seminaries for young men, nine; theological seminaries, five; novitiates for Jesuits; monasteries and convents with academies attached for young ladies, thirty one; seminaries for young ladies, thirty; schools of sisters of charity, twenty-nine; an academy for coloured girls at Baltimore, a female Indian school Michigan; and seven catholic newspapers.²

My friend, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, remarks, that in the state of Illinois in America, a district 360 miles long by 200 wide, a tide of 100,000 persons per annum is pouring in, and fast forming settlements and townships. The Unitarians, and the Romanists, are making great exertions to preoccupy the field: and it is understood that large sums are sent over from the Leopoldine Institution in Austria, to propagate the Romish Faith.

¹ The following fact, occurring at a meeting of the teachers of the Irish Society at King's Court in Ireland, as given in a letter from the Rev. R. Daly, dated October 29, 1835.--'The most interesting and gratifying part of the whole meeting was towards the conclusion of the day; the examination of thirty six of those Irishmen, who were anxious to receive on the next day, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They were addressed collectively on the nature of the step they were about to take, and afterwards several of them were individually examined, and led to express their reasons for leaving the Church of Rome; and desiring to join the Protestant communion. They were likewise strictly questioned as to their personal religion

Respecting GREAT BRITAIN, we have information of its progress of a painful character. About forty years since, there were but about 30 chapels in Great Britain. In the year 1835 there were 510; in England 421, and in Scotland 89. In that year 11 new ones have been built. In Dover, and also in Kidderminster a protestant chapel has been converted into a papal chapel. They will, with praiseworthy zeal if it were in a right cause, build a chapel where they have not a dozen members, and this chapel is sometimes filled by the zeal of those members from the neighbourhood. There are said to be now, 700 ecclesiastics in this Island, and they have resorted in several places to preaching in the open air. Popish colleges and seminaries are multiplying, and these are modern institutions; there are now 8 popish colleges and 52 seminaries, and in many of them great decorum and application to their objects is manifested. Monasteries and nunneries are also beginning. With these efforts are connected several tract societies; they have been very active in distributing tracts in favour of popery at the doors of meetings and churches, and at the Scotch church near Covent-garden, at the evening service they distributed them in the church. They form schools adapted to attract the children of the poor, giving public breakfasts and clothing the children, and thus getting the parents to attend mass. The chief body of the reporters for the public journals are said to be papists. While a few of the higher classes, many of the lower it is believed, have been entrapped into this snare of the enemy. In Scotland there once were but few Roman Catholic families, there are now in Glasgow alone 30,000 Roman Catho-

and as to their views of Christian truths. The result was most satisfactory. We have every reason to hope that they left the Church of Rome on a scriptural conviction of its errors, and that they now wished to approach the table of the Lord from a sense of their situation as sinners, and from a value of the salvation purchased by the blood of Jesus. On the Sunday I had the pleasure of preaching to these men, and administering to them the sacrament in the Church of Kingscourt; except twelve or fourteen, who had received the sacrament before, all were new converts from the Church of Rome, and all brought to the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Scriptures in the Irish language.

lics, and it is believed that there has been an increase of popery on the eastern as well as on the western coast.¹

The influence of papists with the government under all recent administrations has been manifested not only by the grant to Maynooth College, and the withholding of grants from the Kildare Place Society, but in aiding the sending out priests abroad, and in the national system of education now adopted in Ireland.

I am credibly informed that, since the year 1815, large sums have been remitted from the continent to this country and Ireland, for the purpose of promoting popery; my informant puts the sum at £400,000, and stated the name of the person to whom the distribution of it was assigned.

After making every abatement from the increase of population, there is then painful evidence of the growth of popery in protestant Britain. We have to say of the papists of our day as Paul did of the Jews, *I bear them record they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge*, and that, like the pharisees of old, *they compass sea and land to make one proselyte*, and they have been successful in those countries where protestantism is in its purest form.

Before we proceed to shew what the scriptures say of popery, let us most carefully distinguish the system, from the men under the system. For the men under the system, we would do every thing in our power, we would say every thing that truth will allow that is kind and loving. We are sure God

¹ The following account is taken from the Record of Jan. 21, 1836. 'The Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, at the opening of the conventual church is said thus to have expressed himself. 'Since the period of the Reformation there was a time when one solitary Catholic priest wandered over the length and breadth of the kingdom—now your places of worship adorn the places of the land and are widely scattered over the face of the country;—now you at noon-day worship the Almighty with almost all the splendour of Catholic times and Catholic countries. Scarce now does the year roll over in which several edifices are not reared and dedicated to God, according to the form and faith of the Catholic church. You are yet assembled, my friends, in the first conventual chapel that has dared to raise its head in this kingdom since the Reformation. Yes, my fellow Catholics, if to-day St. Margaret stands alone, the time may not be far distant when the increase of similar institutions may be proclaimed with as much joy as I at this moment experience in alluding to its solitary existence.'

has his people among them, ignorant of the real character of this falling away from the truth, and thinking that they are in the only true church of Christ, for he himself has bid his people to come out of Babylon, (Rev. xviii. 4) and therefore it is of such importance to set before their minds the light of God's word. We believe that there are bright and holy examples of devotion among the papists. We cannot look at the Jansenists without seeing this. Though there are passages in God's word which make us tremble for all under the full power of popery as in the extremest danger, (Rev. xiv. 9--11) yet I cannot read the pious practical works of Bellarmine, himself the great defender of popery, and know that he said, 'upon account of the uncertainty of life it is most safe to rely on Christ alone,' without hoping that he was led before his death to renounce all confidence in any thing but God's testimony concerning his Son, and so became a child of our Heavenly Father, and an heir of our Saviour's kingdom. We believe also that there are in our country now thousands of truly benevolent, amiable, moral men, among the papists, who abhor from their hearts cruelty and tyfanny. It is not in malice and hatred of the papists that we write against popery ; but, we take God to witness, it is in love to God and man, in real fidelity to his truth, and to fulfil that confession of the truth to which Christ calls his disciples.

Of the system itself¹ we can only speak with ab-

¹ The followings extracts and Creed will enable even the uninformed reader who knows his Bible, to judge of the true character of Popery.

Extracts from a few of the first pages of the prayers of the ROMAN MISSAL, for the use of the laity. Published by Keating, the Roman Catholic Bookseller. 1815.

Page xvii. I beseech the blessed Mary, ever a virgin, blessed Michael the arch-angel, blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, and you O father, to pray to the Lord our God for me.

xviii. We beseech thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy saints whose relics are here, and of all the saints, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to forgive me all my sins.

xx. By the intercession of glorious and blessed Mary, the ever Virgin mother of God, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of blessed — and of all the saints, grant us in thy mercy health, and peace.†

horrence ; it being most dishonourable to God, and most ruinous to man. But even here we must be careful in our abhorrence of popery, not to bear false witness, or to think by falsehood to promote the

xxiii. Accept, O holy Father, Almighty and eternal God, this unspotted host which I thy unworthy servant offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present, and also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead, that it may avail both me and them unto everlasting life.

xxiv. We offer unto thee, O Lord the chalice of salvation, beseeching thy clemency, that it may ascend before thy Divine Majesty as a sweet odour for our salvation, and for that of the whole world.

xxv. After pronouncing the words of consecration, the Priest kneeling *ADOREs* and elevates the sacred host.

The adoration of the cross, (notwithstanding a previous note that they only adore Jesus Christ,) is awfully idolatrous. One hymn is left untranslated. It is indeed too open for the light of this country. This is the meaning of one verse in the hymn ; 'Hail O cross, our only hope in this time of the passion, increase the grace of the faithful, and pardon our sins.' See p. 294, 295.

But I cannot transcribe any more of these idolatries and blasphemies. They run through the whole Missal, with such an intermixture of the Scriptures and pious prayers, as to make it eminently *THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY*.

The council of Trent is the chief standard of the Roman Catholic Religion.—The following extracts from the *DECREES OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT*, on the Rule of Faith, will shew how it adds to God's word. The sacred Council 'receive and reverence with *EQUAL* piety and veneration all the books as well of the Old [in this is included a great part of the Apocrypha,] as of the New Testament, the same God being the author of both, and also the aforesaid *TRADITIONS*, pertaining to faith and manners, whether received from Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic Church by continual succession.' This is contrary to Deut. iv. 2. Matt. xv. 3—9. Rev. xxii. 18. 'It has not appeared expedient to the Fathers, that the mass should be everywhere celebrated in the vulgar tongue.' This perpetuates prayers in an unknown tongue, directly contrary to 1 Cor. xiv. The Catechism of the Council of Trent says, 'This our Church cannot err in the delivery of faith and discipline of manners.' p. 96. This is contrary to Rom. xi. 20—22.

The Roman Catholic *CREED* OF *POPE PIUS IV.*, added to the Decrees of the Council, is a summary of its doctrinal decisions ; it is as follows, after giving the Nicene Creed :—

'I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church.

'I also admit the sacred scriptures, according to the sense which the holy mother church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy scriptures ; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise, than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

'I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one ; viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order,

cause of truth; the *damnation is just of those who say, Let us do evil that good may come.* We cannot, if Christians, *rejoice in iniquity*; we should mourn over it, as the apostle did when he said, *many walk*

and matrimony, and that they confer grace; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

'I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the Catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above said sacraments.

'I receive and embrace all and every one of the things, which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

'I profess likewise, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic church calls transubstantiation.

'I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire, Christ and a true sacrament is received.

'I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

'Likewise, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

'I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the mother of God ever virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

'I also affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

'I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolical Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

'I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, *rejected*, and anathematized by the church.

'This true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, vow and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life; and to procure, as far as lies in my power, that the same shall be held, taught, and preached by all who are under me, or are entrusted to my care, by virtue of my office. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God.'

How enormous are the evils of this creed,—

1. It adds to the word of God human traditions.
2. It binds the conscience to human interpretation.
3. It multiplies God's sacraments from two to seven, and makes them necessarily confer grace.
4. It approves the adoration of what is really only flour and water.
5. It sets aside the grace of the gospel on justification.
6. It makes

of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.

It is the peculiarity of this system to retain the doctrine of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, nominally and in outward appearance, but in reality to set it all aside. It has *two horns like a lamb, but it speaks as a dragon*. Rev. xiii. 11. Salvation by grace is wholly corrupted by the Romanist. The Bible doctrine is plain and explicit. *By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.* Ephes. ii. There is no room for mistake here: salvation is wholly of grace, all human merit is excluded, and works flow from our being created in Christ Jesus to them.

In the 9th, 11th, and 24th canons of the council of Trent (afterwards quoted,) these truths are expressly denied. In the 32nd canon good works are expressed to be the merits of the justified person in these words, 'If any one shall say that the good works of a just-

a constant renewal of Christ's sacrifice, against God's plain word. Heb. ix. 25—28. 7. It sets aside Christ's appointment of both bread and wine. 8. It makes a purgatory which God has not made. 9. It requires what God has expressly forbidden, idolatry by the invocation of saints, and the retaining of images. 10. It brings in indulgences, and so sets aside the whole doctrine of all men's total corruption, of after having done all, being unprofitable servants, and of the sufficient and perfect sacrifice of Christ. 11. It makes the pope lord it over God's heritage, against his word, Matt. xx. 25, 26, and the honour of our Redeemer. Ephes. i. 22. 12. It approves all the false doctrine of the council, and the world of iniquity of former councils. 13. It denies salvation, in utter intolerance, to all who differ from the church of Rome, and obliges every papist to do his utmost to spread the peculiar errors of his system. It blinds, manacles, and delivers up as a slave to popery the human intellect and affections; the whole body, soul, and spirit of an immortal being. What Christian can find the good tidings of our free salvation by Christ, through all this mass of superstition and antichristian delusion? How can I make my way through all these human additions, to the love of my God who was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself not imputing their trespasses unto them, and invites me freely to come and be reconciled, seeing Christ was made sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him? Christian reader, may God preserve us from being corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. (2 Cor. xi. 3.)

fiend man are so the gifts of God that they are not also the merits of the same justified person ; or that he, being justified by the good works which are performed by him through the grace of God and merits of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does not truly merit increase of grace and eternal life, and the attainment of that eternal life, if he shall depart in grace and even the increase of glory, let him be accursed.'

The prayer about the ashes on Ash-Wednesday puts human inventions in the place of Christ. Roman Missal, p. 115. 'Grant by our calling on thy most holy name, whoever shall be touched by these ashes, for the remission of their sins, may receive health of body and defence of soul.' 'Mercifully vouchsafe to bless these ashes which we design to receive on our heads in token of our humiliation, and to obtain forgiveness,' *promerendæ veniæ*, 'for deserving pardon.'

The prayer on Wednesday in Ember Week sets aside Christ and puts fasting in his place. Judge, reader, for yourself. See Roman Missal, p. 61. 'Let our fasts we beseech thee, O Lord, be acceptable to thee, that by ATONING FOR OUR SINS THEY MAY BOTH MAKE US WORTHY OF THY GRACE, AND BRING US TO THE EVERLASTING *effects of thy promises.*' There is added the word 'Through,' intending, I suppose, to point out—Through our Lord Jesus Christ; but his name is left out here as in other prayers: but if inserted, the evil doctrine is not mended. (Gal. v. 4.)

The doctrine of forgiveness of sins is so stated in the TRENT CATECHISM, as entirely to destroy the main doctrine of the Bible, *Through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins, and by him all that believe are justified from all things, Acts xiii.* While, with THE MYSTERY which marks the whole of Popery, it acknowledges that God only can forgive sins, and that Christ received this gift; it pretends that he granted this power to the bishops and priests in the church, and asserts that the priests and the sacraments are 'as it were the instruments to the forgiveness of sins, by which Christ our Lord, who is the very Author and Giver of Salvation, works in

us forgiveness of sins and righteousness.'¹ We are dependant then not on Christ, but on Papal priests, for our forgiveness and righteousness: and so the creature is exalted in the place of the Creator and Redeemer, and the doctrine of salvation by grace is really frustrated.²

The open and undisguised conduct of the papists in Ireland has given us the actual sight of and contact with the persecuting spirit of popery in our own day. Events passing before our eyes have proved it to be the same as ever: only, instead of the open warfare of death by fire, we have the more insidious plans of starvation and ruin, by withholding those just rights which the laws of the country give to protestant ministers. The reader will see below³ in the very important petition of the Irish bishops presented to the house of lords, the perilous state of the Irish church. May it at length have the effect of

¹ See Trent Catechism, page 103.

² If it be said the absolutions of the Church of England, whether in its ordinary service, its sacraments, or especially in its Visitation of the Sick, have fallen into the same error: we utterly deny that the Priest or Presbyter gives absolution. Ministers have committed to them the preaching of the gospel of free forgiveness by the blood of Jesus, to be received in faith and penitence, and with this, the confirmation of forgiveness to the believer, by administering those ordinances which the Lord has appointed, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as signs and seals of his forgiving love. The Lord has intrusted the ministers of his gospel with the mysteries of Christ and the word of reconciliation. We are the heralds and witnesses of his grace, and the stewards to dispense his mysteries. (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. John xx. 22. 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. James v. 14, 15.) Beyond this plain word of God the Church of England goes not. The words in the visitation of the sick absolution, "I absolve thee" (though it is admitted that the expressions may be easily abused) mean not more than "I pronounce thee absolved," as is clear from the express statement in the 74th Article of the Irish Church: "God hath given power to his ministers, not simply to forgive sins (which prerogative he has reserved only to himself,) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent and believe his holy gospel, the absolution and forgiveness of sins." See Usher's Certain Discourses.

³ COPY OF PETITION OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the united Church of England and Ireland established in Ireland.

Showeth—That your petitioners, actuated by no ungenerous or uncharitable feeling, desire for themselves, for the ministers of this

awakening us all to a greater danger, even that over-spreading of moral darkness with which papal doctrine fills a country, and by which Satan blinds

Established Church, and for their Protestant brethren, no other privileges and protection than such as may be consistent with the public good, in its connexion with the institutions of the empire, and necessary to secure the interests of pure religion, which in this and every other state, is confessedly the only solid basis of national and individual prosperity.

That upon this foundation your petitioners rest their claim to the interposition of your Lordship's House for the maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland, a church truly catholic and apostolical in her doctrines, worship, and polity, deeply seated in the affections of the most enlightened part of the Irish community, diffusing her kindly influences through all the national establishments, and intimately interwoven with them; the steady and tried supporter of British connexion and civil order; and the great bulwark against the inroads of Romish usurpation, in a land where disaffection to the British name, contempt of legal authority, and blind obedience to the Papal See, appear in their undisguised forms, and prevail to a formidable extent.

That such a church, deserving, as it should seem, to be cherished and supported in proportion to the need of her holy and counteracting influence, your petitioners fondly trusted had been with equal wisdom and piety connected in indissoluble association with the state by the fundamental laws of the empire, and recognized and formally pronounced to be so connected by the solemn Act of Union.

That your petitioners behold with mingled emotions of surprise and dismay the establishment of this church about to be undermined, and in many districts of Ireland utterly dismembered and overthrown, by the provisions of a Bill recently introduced into Parliament—her property alienated from its rightful owners, and appropriated to other uses than those of divine worship, and sound religious instruction under a duly constituted and legally established ministry, to which uses that property was originally dedicated, and has been since guaranteed by repeated Acts of Parliament.

That, under these afflicting circumstances, your petitioners are constrained by the sacred obligation imposed on them to watch over the interests of their brethren, and of the flocks committed to their charge, but above all, by their duty to Almighty God, who will demand of them an account of their stewardship, to lay before your Lordships the genuine feelings of their hearts, and to appeal to your pious solicitude for the well-being of a church which is, on every consideration, civil and religious, entitled to your zealous protection.

That your petitioners disclaim every purpose of embarrassing His Majesty's Government, by insisting on any rights, which, however just in themselves, may not be strictly connected with the preservation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland. If, notwithstanding the alterations which have been made by late enactments in the concerns of the Church, improvements are still required, your petitioners are most willing to contribute to their introduction; and if the distribution of the Church revenues be so unequal as to impair her usefulness, they are desirous to see them applied in such a way as may best increase her efficiency, seeking only to render her, under God's grace, a more powerful instrument of edification. Meanwhile, the ministers of the church set themselves in opposition to no salutary arrangement, by which those revenues may be collected without danger

men from the light of the gospel and the knowledge of God's grace and love, and then leads them captive at his will to destruction. O that we may be yet more sensitive to the injury done to God's truth than the injury done to our personal rights!

of collision with the passions of an adverse party, and by which tranquillity and kind feeling may be restored to a long-distracted part of His Majesty's dominions.

That although your petitioners consider it more especially their duty to vindicate the right of the National Church to the undisturbed possession of its property, they cannot, at the same time, refrain from adding, that such proceeding as the meditated diversion of ecclesiastical revenue would weaken the security of all other property, and create an universal distrust of the national faith, and of the validity of every act of settlement.

That your petitioners would further most earnestly impress upon the minds of your Lordships, that the suppression, as proposed by the Bill, of 860 parishes in Ireland, which now strictly form parts of consolidated benefices, but which it is proposed arbitrarily to dis sever from adjoining parts, solely for the purpose, as it should seem, of making out a striking case of the numerical inferiority of church Protestants in the parishes thus separately considered, is founded upon a principle of partial calculation subversive of every church establishment, and is equally applicable to parts of parishes in England; in which Dissent abounds; that the operation of this principle in Ireland would be to strip the incumbents of large Protestant parishes of their entire parochial income, in all instances in which that income is not derived from the part of an united benefice, where the population may happen to be almost exclusively Roman Catholic, and could not, at the same time, fall to be productive of results most injurious, in a religious point of view, as inevitably depriving many members of the church of the spiritual blessings now enjoyed by them, as leading to an incalculable diminution of Protestants, and as holding out a dangerous incitement to persecution.

That your petitioners further most respectfully submit to your lordships, that what is alleged in vindication of this provision of the bill—namely, that it is unjust that the Roman Catholic should be called upon to pay for spiritual services which he neither requires nor receives—is founded on palpable misrepresentation, inasmuch as the Roman Catholic pays for no such spiritual services, but in satisfying the demands for title composition merely discharges an engagement, on the faith of which he occupies his land. In truth, the Protestant incumbent is paid by no one, but in return for the duties which he performs (of which every parishioner who chooses may avail himself) enjoys a portion of a corporate endowment, to which he alone can prefer a legal claim, and which is secured to him by a title more ancient than that of any other species of property. That the principle implied in this vindication would moreover convert the clergy into mere stipendiaries of the state, or render them dependent on the voluntary contributions of their parishioners, than which nothing can be conceived more adverse to one great end of the ministry—the inculcating of sound doctrine through 'evil report and good report,'—nothing more injurious to the real spiritual welfare of the people: that the unprecedented powers proposed by the bill to be vested in the Lord-Lieutenant, of diminishing ecclesiastical income to the standard of 300*l.* a-year in parishes reported to exceed that sum in value,

ward ; as a part of religion, to contrive rebellion against kings whom God has called us to honour, and as a proof of zeal for God to perpetrate the most atrocious cruelties that ever man perpetrated on his fellow men ; for the greatest of sinners to promise to forgive sin ; to pretend to be the very fountain of all peace, and harmlessness, spotlessness, and purity, and yet be full of all wickedness, and stir up wars, and ruin countries, and destroy innumerable multitudes : to pretend to be the vicar of Christ, and instead of being meek, to be clothed with pride ; instead of preaching, never to preach ; instead of being a sufferer, to sit in all the pomp and glory of this world, reign over the earth, and wear his triple crown, full of precious stones and diamonds.

What a mystery of iniquity is that, which on the one hand will stretch the words " This is my body " to such a degree as to make it, by a priest's merely repeating it, work perpetual miracles, making Christ's glorified body every where ; and stretch the words " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," &c. &c. to make the Pope the successor of Peter, and the Church of Rome the centre of unity ; and yet, on the other hand, contract the " Drink ye *all* of it," to ' none but priests shall drink it,' and interpret " Thou shalt not make thee any graven image," to ' it is lawful to represent God and the Holy Trinity by images.' What a mystery, too, to make celibacy of the clergy a part of superior devotion, when God speaks of *forbidding to marry* as a *departure from the faith*, and directs a bishop *how to rule his house and children*.

' There are' says Frith, ' infinite other things wherein he contradicts Christ, insomuch that if it be diligently examined, I think there is no word that Christ spake but the other has taught or made a law against it.' O mystery of iniquity !—to get the whole of the pure wheat of truth, and leaven every part with error ; to get the whole canon of scripture, and make it only teach falsehood ; to put the bright lamp to our paths into a dark lantern, and then say we have the truth, come to us for light, and keep men in a darkness that may be felt.

Popery is most ANTICHRISTIAN, an Antichrist, the Antichrist; many and successive deceivers, being, in the language of St. John, the deceiver, and the antichrist (*ο πλανεος και ο αντιχριστος*). *He is antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. Not to confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is to be the deceiver and the antichrist.* O how manifestly the whole system of Popery denies the Father! By its multitude of saints, mediators, and intercessors, it shuts out him whose name is *Light*, and whose name is *Love*. The whole system gives a representation of a severe Being, an austere and hard master, so that we can hardly discern anything of those boundless treasures of love with which the scriptures show us *God so loved the world*. Plenty have we of *the spirit of bondage again unto fear*, but where have we *the spirit of adoption crying abba Father!*

Popery is antichrist as it is directly opposed also to Christ and the reality of his coming in the flesh; and this it performs in the same mysterious way which peculiarly entitles it to its distinguishing name MYSTERY. It pretends not to deny, but to multiply the flesh of Christ; so to multiply it that any priest can turn flour and water at once into the flesh of Christ. O wretched delusion! which wholly destroys the reality of Christ's risen body in heaven in our nature, and there wearing our form, and gives us another flesh to be handled here below, and be again and again a sacrifice and atonement yet making on earth for our sins. But popery is opposed to Christ in every thing. It is opposed to the merit of his blood, by teaching men to rely on the merits of saints and works of supererogation. It is opposed to the efficacy of the cross by the doctrines of the mass and purgatory. It is opposed to his mediatorial kingdom and dominion, by setting councils against his word. It is opposed to the efficacy of his Spirit, by washings and sprinklings of holy water to cleanse us. It is opposed to the authority of his word, by the traditions and authoritative interpretations of man. It makes war with his appointed sacraments, by multiplying them to seven, denying the cup to the laity and incumbering baptism with vain addi-

tions. It is opposed to the holy law of God, omitting the Second Command, adding commands of men, and destroying the force of God's law, if men will pay for indulgences. It is opposed to the gentle and paternal discipline of the gospel by vain austerities, and a voluntary humility not required. It is opposed to the charity and union of Christians, by the curses of its canons and the persecution of all who join not with it. This is the antichrist which has for 1200 years virtually dethroned Christ, and under the mask and appearance of his pure and holy gospel, has set up the virgin Mary in his room; the chief prayers, images, chapels, pilgrimages, and worship, being everywhere made by the papists in countries under their full influence, to the virgin rather than to Christ.

Whether this great apostasy may yet in these last days develope itself in a more daring and blasphemous and direct infidelity, interpreters of God's word have differed; the past fulfilment has been such as to meet the full description according to the opinion of men of the deepest wisdom and piety.¹

The pope (not indeed in his individual, but in his official character, and in the succession of popes) is THE MAN OF SIN, and the son of perdition, foretold by St. Paul in his epistle to the Thessalonians, as the apostasy to precede the coming of Christ. He opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Apostasy specially refers to idolatry,² and the worship paid to the

¹ The publications establishing the Protestant view of antichrist are very numerous. It is the general interpretation of the Protestant Commentators on the Scripture. (See Commentaries) Gualter, Frith, Daneus, Fox, Whitaker, Fulke, Downam, Abbott, Beard, Maresius, (who answers Grotius taking another view,) Keach, Hallifax, Hurd, Cuninghame, as well as the more general statements of Mede, Warburton, Bishop Newton, &c. &c. may be consulted. But for one wishing to come shortly to the conclusion, the Roman Missal and the Decrees, and Canons, and Catechism of the Council of Trent, compared with 1 Tim. 3. 2 Thess. ii, and Rev. xiii. xvii. with furnish ample evidence. Antichrist in St. John's Epistle's is manifestly an appellative rather than a proper name of an individual.

² See Cuninghame on the Church of Rome, the Apostasy in proof of this, and of the full application of this prophecy to the

virgin Mary and the saints, as is evident by their missals, is idolatry; as are the making of images of Christ and the saints, and worshipping them. There is no scriptural reason to think that the man of sin is to be one individual, as in scripture a single person often represents a large body in their collective character. In the scriptures civil rulers or magistrates are frequently called "gods." Deut. x. 17; Exod. xxii. 28; Psalm lxxxii. 1, 6; John x. 34; and nothing can be more clear from all past history than the pope's opposing and exalting himself above all such. The pope began his Bull against Henry the VIII. 'The pope being God's vicar on earth, and according to Jeremiah's prophecy, set over nations and kingdoms to root out and destroy, and having the supreme power over all the kings of the whole world.' The title, 'His holiness the pope,' and 'the supreme pontiff,' his setting aside the commands of God, his conferring absolution, his omission of the second commandment in commonly circulated catechisms, and his assuming to preside in and over the visible church, remarkably accomplish the prediction of St. Paul. *His coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish.* The deceitfulness of popery pretending to be so holy and yet being so vile, and the innumerable false miracles by which their system is propped up, are here set before us. Bellarmine says 'The eleventh note of the church is the glory of miracles,' and he proceeds to instance it in miracles which he endeavours to enumerate down to the sixteenth age of the church, as if purposely to expound this prophecy, by shewing its accomplishment in popery.

ROME IS THE BABYLON OF REVELATION. The word Babylon means confusion. It is the name of the city first founded by Nimrod, about 4000 years since, as the seat of a tyrannical and idolatrous empire. The Babylonian was the earliest of those four universal monarchies that prevailed over the earth, its character

Pope. In addition to the writers before mentioned, Bishop Jewell on the Thessalonians, Manton on the Man of Sin, with the general Protestant Commentators on Thessalonians II. may be consulted.

was ambitious and tyrannical, idolatrous, and hostile to God, lording it over others, superstitious and licentious, as we find clearly set forth in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Rome is called Babylon because it is in so many things like Babylon of old. There are two marks given in the 17th chapter of Revelation that make this plain. At the 9th verse we are told where she dwells: *the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth*. The general description of Rome by Roman authors is, that it was founded on seven hills. At the 18th verse it is also said, *The woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth*. To no other city did this description apply when the Revelation was given to John. All notions therefore that Babylon means corrupted churches or Christians with the devil at their head, are contrary to God's word. Babylon is in Rev. xviii. 2—4 distinguished from the nations and kings of the earth. She sits upon the many waters or nations of the world. Rev. xvii. 1.

These things are so clear that the most learned Roman Catholics agree with us in this view, though some of them have applied it to Rome Pagan, and others consider it unfulfilled. That it cannot, however, be Pagan Rome, is clear. Rome Pagan never forced its idols on other nations; but popery makes all nations drunk with the wine of her fornication. Rome Pagan could not be called a harlot—a name only given to those that have apostatized from the true religion,—a name given to Jerusalem (Ezek. xvi. 35.) when it became idolatrous. Rome Pagan also was never desolated by fire so as not to be restored, as it is here predicted that this Babylon should be. Nor did any thing of the kind take place when Rome became Christian. But if it were true that Rome Pagan was meant, then would there be still a remarkable testimony against Rome Papal, for in that case, as when Babylon is destroyed it is to become *the habitation of every unclean and hateful bird*, that interpretation would thus represent the pope, and cardinals, and jesuits, and monks now dwelling at Rome. To suppose it unfulfilled is to contradict the plain words,

'to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass.'

What a most disgusting representation is thus given of this mystery of iniquity, A WHORE, a great whore, a mother of harlots, drunken with blood, drunken with the blood of the saints. What a horrible picture is this! Bossuet says, 'It must of necessity represent Pagan not Christian Rome, for to accord with the former she is properly named an harlot, but to represent the latter she should have been called a faithless spouse, an adulteress.' But in scripture an apostate, adulterous and idolatrous nation, or city, or church, is frequently called a harlot, Isaiah l. 1; Jer. ii. 20; iii. 6; Ezek. xvi. 35; Rev. ii. 20, 21; Matt. v. 32; xix. 9. The term describes not a single act of idolatry, but the multiplied idolatries of its daily course. How strong is the language of the church of England on this point! ¹ 'Now concerning excessive decking of images and idols with painting, gilding, adorning with precious vestures, pearl and stone, what is it else, but for the further provocation and enticement to spiritual fornication to deck spiritual harlots most costly and wantonly, which the idolatrous church understandeth well enough. For she being not only an harlot (as the scripture calls her) but also a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot (for she is indeed of ancient years) and understanding her lack of natural and true beauty, and great loathsomeness, which of herself she has, does, after the custom of such harlots, paint herself and deck and tire herself with gold, pearl, stone, and all kinds of precious jewels, that she, shining with the outward beauty and glory of them, may please the foolish fantasy of fond lovers, and so entice them to spiritual fornication with her, who if they saw her, (I will not say naked) but in simple apparel, would abhor her as the foulest and filthiest harlot that ever was seen, according as appears by

¹ See Homily on the Peril of Idolatry. The Protestant Commentaries on the book of Revelation, with slight exceptions, apply, Babylon to papal Rome. Cressener's Demonstration of the Apocalypse, Vitringa, Cuninghame, and Woodhouse, with Daubuz, Usher and Ouseley, Sir Isaac Newton, and Bishop Newton, are very valuable.

the description of the garnishing of the great strumpet of all strumpets, the mother of whoredoms set forth by St. John in his Revelation, who by her glory provoked the princes of the earth to commit whoredom with her.'

It was this view of popery which led our reformers to a decided separation from the church of Rome. As God commanded the Jews to come out of Babylon of old, (Isa. xlvi. 20; Jer. l. 8; li. 6; Zech. ii. 7) so he explicitly commands those in modern Babylon by a voice from heaven to separate from her. *And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her my people that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* The same God who has forbidden all unnecessary divisions, and who marks heresy and schism with special displeasure, bids his people, under the most awful threatenings, to depart from Rome. It is not lawful to separate from a pure church of Christ. It is a positive duty to go out from the fallen church of Rome. It is remarkable, too, in the whole history of our country, how the blessing of God has distinguished those periods of our history in which our separation from Rome was most decided.

May we be guarded then against the false liberalism of this age. It is false charity to say papists are not in danger. It is true charity to say that those remaining in that corrupt communion and partaking of her sins will partake of her plagues. All liberality that is not founded on God's holy word is selfishness, infidelity and cruelty, calling evil good, and putting darkness for light.

Are these statements to be withheld? Who can say so who knows what God's truth is, and how needful it is to his glory and our salvation? or what popery is? or what popery has done in years that are past, while the spirit which animated those of past days manifestly lives in their successors? Take only Mr. Scott's short summary of the cruelties of the church of Rome. 'No computation can reach the numbers who have been put to death in different ways on account of their maintaining the profession of the gospel and opposing the corrup-

tions of the church of Rome. A million of poor Waldenses perished in France; 900,000 orthodox Christians were slain in less than 30 years after the institution of the order of the Jesuits. The duke of Alva boasted of having put 36,000 to death in the Netherlands by the hands of the common executioner during the space of a few years. The Inquisition destroyed by various tortures 150,000 within 30 years. These are a few specimens and but a few of those which history has recorded, but the total amount will never be known till the earth shall disclose her blood and no more cover her slain.' If such be the awful character and effects of popery and it be now increasing amongst us, it becomes us to speak very distinctly about it.

It also becomes us seriously to inquire into THE CAUSES OF THIS PROGRESS OF POPERY.

We may observe generally that popery must have some sort of religious feeling to work upon. On the continent, infidelity has so crushed all religion, as to have left little for popery to corrupt; but in America and England there are religious consciences and feelings on which popery, with its manifold delusions, may work; and when the simple faith of the gospel has decayed, popery comes with its soporific sedatives to quiet the conscience. Now this is very much the state of the Protestant religion.

There has been a great DECAY OF PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES among us. The precious doctrine of salvation by grace through faith has been extensively lost. The simplicity with which the Reformers kept to this point in their lengthened and suffering conflict was very remarkable. They had the whole of Papal doctrine, in its varied forms of error, to meet; and everywhere they met it with the glorious truths of the gospel of the grace of God. Christ, Christ, our only Saviour.—Justification by grace, through faith in him, not of works, but ever followed by good works wrought by the divine Spirit. This was the inscription on their banner in all their fearful warfare. 'None but Christ'—'none but Christ,' was their dying testimony. Their writings are full of the savour of that fragrant name.

There has been a great departure from this spirit of the Reformation ; and though there have been partial revivals, the general state of the Protestant church, like that of the Jewish, and of the early Christian churches, is that of decay from the first faith and love of the gospel. The corruption of man is remarkably shown in his continual tendency to fall away from God's truth. It is hard to keep that truth in its simplicity in our own hearts, and in our ministry. What faithful servant of Christ does not groan under his own unbelief and self-righteousness? But these things have become now in the course of centuries so intermingled with our divinity, so embodied in our practical and religious treatises, as very greatly to diffuse through Protestantism a leaven—as if taking the parable of the leaven as some have done in a bad sense, the woman had hid the leaven in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened.

And here let the writer speak his sentiments plainly and openly, respecting the Christian Knowledge Society. It has noble designs. It is the parent of all our blessed religious institutions. It has done, by the best of books, immense good. Every lover of Christ must wish it yet to be honoured with far more extensive usefulness. But what is the present character of some of its most widely-circulated and recognized human works? While we feel the defects of all human writings, and the danger of making a man an offender for a word, and how easy it is to cavil and find fault, yet, it must with grief be confessed, that some of their tracts have greatly departed from the purity of the gospel, and have gone into the very verge of Popery. The extracts in the note below¹ will show that most widely circulated books, from our school-books (Crossman's Introduction) to our highest exercises of devotion (Bishop Wilson's Lord's Supper) are leavened with something of that leaven, and therefore tend to draw us downward to that fearful abyss. The importance of that Society, arising from its patronage, its support, its

¹ The following are extracts from Crossman's Introduction to the Christian Religion, and Bishop Wilson's Introduction to the Lord's Supper.

influence, and the very wide-spread diffusion of its publications, demand, in Christian faithfulness and

Mr. Crossman, p. 2, says,

'Upon what conditions are you to expect it? (i. e. a life of everlasting happiness after death.)

'If I do those things which my god-fathers and god-mothers promised for me at my Baptism.'

Here everlasting happiness is made to depend on the righteousness of the sinner, and not on the righteousness of Christ; it is no longer the gift of eternal life to us in Christ Jesus.

P. 5. 'Q. But will the PERFORMANCE OF THESE CONDITIONS. (i. e. to serve and obey God and live according to the gospel of Christ,) OBTAIN FOR YOU ETERNAL LIFE?'

A. 'Not on account of my own deserts, but for the sake and through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour.'

Here eternal life again depends upon the sinner's serving and obeying God, and something more (living according to the Gospel) is, if possible, to be added to that; and then, after that service and obedience have been performed, the merits of Christ will avail for our obtaining that life. Thus the glory of the gospel—free salvation is shut out, and the true place of good works as the fruit of faith through the Spirit, and real holiness as flowing from the belief of God's love in Christ and our union with him, are wholly unknown and undescribed. It is the law and not the gospel: and though for the merits of Christ, is added, it is still in reality, *do this and live*. O miserable exposition of the Protestant faith! teaching all our scholars the very elements of Popery. How different is the Bible motive and character of good works. *Being filled with the fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ to the glory and praise of God. The love of Christ constraineth us not to live to ourselves but to him that died for us.*

Now have we clearer views afterwards.

See p. 40. 'Q. Wherein does this second covenant differ from the first as to the mildness and mercy of it?'

'A. Whereas a perfect and unsinning obedience was expected of our first parents upon pain of death, we are ONLY REQUIRED TO USE OUR HONEST AND HEARTY ENDEAVOURS TO SERVE GOD AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS.'

'Q. What if we fail in our obedience?'

'A. We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the propitiation for our sins; and for his sake God will accept of our sincere repentance, and constant care to do better for the time to come.'

The danger and insidiousness of this statement is very great. It seems at first sight to shew forth Christ as the real propitiation of our sins, and then wholly supplants him by our sincere repentance and constant care to do better.

Can there be more direct contradictions to God's own words than such statements: *A man is not justified by the works of the law but by the faith of Jesus Christ. If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor. For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God.* It seems as if the Apostle in the Galatians had been refuting this very statement of Mr. Crossman 1800 years since. It is so put as exactly to suit the carnal, natural, and self-righteous notions of our fallen hearts: but Oh how little will it bear the light of God's truth! It would appear from this statement, that sin is not the transgression of the law, but the transgression of our endeavours; the effect of the whole is manifestly, that our eye is fixed, not on Christ, but on using

love, this unequivocal statement. It would have been GLADLY withheld, had there been a speedy pro-

these endeavours. Who then can in this view look at himself as an unprofitable servant? It is the very way to lead us to be well satisfied, not with Christ (our *all in all, in whom alone we are complete*) but with ourselves; not with Christ's righteousness but with our own.

However clear the preceding statements of Jesus coming in the flesh 'to die for our sins, by which he obtained for us pardon of them, grace to do our duty and eternal happiness in heaven,' yet are they all marred and spoiled by these subsequent questions and answers. Instead of the *just live by faith*, instead of *Christ liveth in me, and the life I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me*, and all that entire consecration and devotedness which such principles lead to, this most antinomian doctrine of Crossman adulterates both law and gospel, and destroys the power of both on the soul; bringing in self-righteousness, darkening the grace of Christ, beclouding his salvation, and leaving an awakened conscience in bondage. According to it, having entered the new covenant by Christ, we need henceforth only go on with our endeavours; they become our real Saviour. How striking an illustration of St. Paul's question: *Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye made perfect in the flesh?*

Oh! it is with deep pain and grief I write this. The wrong and injury done to God's truth and glory and to men's souls by such antichristian statements are unutterable! When I consider my own ignorance of them, I cannot but hope that they are still unknown to the leaders and conductors of the Christian Knowledge Society, and that now they are distinctly brought forward, this most unsound book will be speedily removed from the Society's Catalogue.

It having been thought desirable that the fundamental errors of this work (which is largely circulated,) should be more fully pointed out, the following additional remarks are added. Very thankful shall the writer be if it shall please God thus to deliver any from the snares of that enemy, who constantly seeks by error and ignorance to keep the immortal spirit of man alienated from the great God. Our true happiness is to know and confide in, love and always delight in God, and ever walk with him. Scriptural views of the glorious gospel of the grace of God shew us the loving kindness of our heavenly Father towards the vilest of sinners, at the very time he expresses, in the agonies of his only begotten Son, the utmost hatred of sin; and bring, through the power of the Spirit, our once alienated minds nigh to God, by the blood of Jesus. This gospel it is that makes it our privilege to rejoice always in Christ, (Phil. iv. 4.) while it ever keeps us in our proper place of meekness, contrition, humility, and self-loathing: that fills us with love to God and love to man, and yet makes it impossible for us to glory but in the Lord.

Much darkness and false doctrine is connected with the artificial human system respecting the two covenants. How extraordinary it is that in a professed explanation of the two covenants, the full Bible account, as given in Jeremiah xxxi. and Heb. viii. should be wholly omitted! Most UNSCRIPTURAL is the whole statement, both of the first and second covenant, and this under the lamentation that this necessary point is not usually well understood! The very expression, *Baptismal Covenant*, is calculated to mislead; neither the Bible nor the Church of England give that name to baptism. But why should the first covenant be said to be made with Adam in Paradise, when God describes it as made with Israel at Sinai? Why should the second covenant be said to be made with Adam in Christ Jesus? True

spect of a remedy for the mischief, in the proceedings of the Tract Committee of the Society, or had that

it is, the Bible reveals the promise: *I will put enmity between thee and the woman and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy heel, and thou shalt bruise his head.* This is very different from Mr. C.'s statement. The Bible describes Christ himself as *given for a covenant of the people*, and tells us *the covenant was confirmed of God in Christ to Abraham in the promise—In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* There is no doubtful uncertain benefit—but a real bruising of Satan's head; a real blessing to all nations in Christ Jesus. The doctrine of the Reformation corresponds to this. It is as Melancthon expresses it: "When the mind is terrified by the voice that reproves sin, let it hear the peculiar promise of the gospel, touching the Son of God, and let him be assured that his sins are fully remitted for the sake of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our atonement, and that not for any contrition or love of ours."

I dwell not on the directions such as "Think on the account thou must give hereafter, and thou wilt never do amiss," or, the prayers such as "O grant that I may live in such a careful and godly manner here, that when I depart hence to appear before Thee in the other world, I may give a good account of myself and be received into thy favour and the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord." A mind at all enlightened by the truth, brought home to his heart by the Spirit of God, will be deeply pained by such exhibitions of human self-sufficiency and self-righteousness.

ON THE SACRAMENTS, there is the same perverted gospel.

P. 41. 'Q. What is done in this sacrament [i. e. baptism]?'

'A. God Almighty therein applies to every particular person that covenant he made with mankind in Christ Jesus, and assures to us all the blessings of it, and we, on our parts promise to PERFORM THE CONDITIONS OF THIS COVENANT.'

What strange assertions! First, the covenant is made with mankind in Christ, and then we are to perform the conditions to obtain the blessings of it. Here again Christ *in whom it pleased the Father all fulness should dwell* is set aside.

P. 42. 'Q. Suppose we break the vows and promises we made at our baptism?'

'A. We break our covenant, and of course forfeit the blessings assured to us therein.'

He then goes on to shew 'that we have in many ways grievously broken our baptismal vows; but God in his mercy suffers us to renew our covenant with him in the Lord's Supper, and if we be SINCERE he gives us the same blessings again, as he promised to us in the sacrament of baptism.—Christ assuring us that the Lord's Supper is the blood of the new covenant which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' The nature of this sincerity may be judged of by the next question.

'Q. What QUALIFICATIONS are necessary on our parts in order to OBTAIN THE PARDON OF OUR SINS in this holy sacrament?'

'A. An hearty faith in the merits of Christ's sufferings, repentance for sins that are past, and sincere resolutions of amendment of life.'

Thus all the way through, in each step, it is essentially one thing; we are, on Mr. C.'s plan, saved by our own works. Pardon is not procured really by the blood of Jesus, but substantially and essentially by our own qualifications, sincerity, and doings. The very thing which the Council of Trent laboured to establish, this most unsound catechism labours to establish. *The gifts and calling of God*

Committee such unfettered power to purify or eject antisciptural tracts, as that the hope might be enter-

are without repentance; but on Mr. C.'s plan, we are losing them and regaining them continually.

It is a totally different thing to do as our Baptismal Service does, show that the Lord Jesus makes rich promises of RECEIVING US, RELEASING US OF OUR SINS, and SANCTIFYING US BY THE HOLY GHOST, GIVING US the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life; and then, in the faith of these promises, to call us on our part to a life corresponding to such grace, by renouncing the devil and all his works, constantly believing God's holy word, and obediently keeping his commands. Mr. Crossman teaches, 'be sincere, and you shall be pardoned,' the Church of England teaches, Christ promises you reception, release of sins, sanctification by the Spirit, the gift of heaven and eternal life; believe his promises, and in the strength given by them, serve and obey him. One is, Do this and live; the other is, Life is given you in Jesus, believe and thou shalt be saved. One is, Perform the conditions, and thou shalt have the blessings; the other is *I beseech you by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.*

It is astonishing, did we not know the natural darkness of every human mind in the things of God, that ministers of a church which teaches us so plainly in its Articles and Homilies the way of salvation by grace through faith; which so explicitly brings forward, in the very beginning of our Prayer Book, *If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,* (1 John i. 9, 10); that ministers of such a church should be going about in any other way than this plain way, to find a remedy for our sins. The propitiation of Jesus for our sins (noticed by John in the following verses (1 John ii. 1, 2.) has effectually secured to us pardon of sin, and power over sin. Our course is simple confession of sin and looking to Jesus, believing the testimony that God has given of his Son. Admitted into the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ, we see God's love, we walk in the light as God is in the light, we have fellowship with God, and *the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin*; it purges our conscience from dead works to serve the living God. The true remedy for the power of sin is to go again and again, confessing it to him who alone *forgiveth all our iniquities and healeth all our diseases.* It is his grace alone which bringeth salvation, teaching us to *deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, living soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.*

This catechism of Mr. Crossman's, on the other hand, brings in another gospel, which is no gospel, but a cruel bondage to an awakened sinner, and a mere soporific to a worldly mind, leaving such a man quite at ease, in his fancied sincerity and honest and hearty endeavours (see Ezekiel xiii. 22.) O the awful guilt of distributing such a soporific in thousands, and teaching it to our poor ignorant children, through our country! How many precious souls, for whom Christ died, have, by this pretended 'introduction to the Christian religion,' been introduced to Antichristian error, so that *Christ has profited them nothing.* (Gal. v. 2.) It is so fearful a thing to *pervert the gospel of Christ,* (Gal. i. 7.) that I feel constrained to be thus explicit.

It is a lesser wrong, but it is also a serious wrong, to the Church of England, to send forth such false statements as the accredited doctrines of those ministering in this part of the church of Christ.

tained they would be enabled to do so. It becomes every believer in Christ to strengthen the hands of those

How sweet is it to an afflicted conscience, to turn from these dark statements to the real voice of the Church of England, as expressed by Bishop Jewell in his Apology! 'We say that man is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin, and no man can truly say his heart is clean; that the most holy man is an unprofitable servant; that the law of God requires of us a full and perfect obedience, and that we cannot in any way keep it perfectly in this life; and that there is no mortal who can be justified in the sight of God by his own deserts; and therefore our only refuge and safety is in the mercy of God the Father, by Jesus Christ, and IN THE ASSURING OURSELVES (certo animis nostris persuadeamus) that he is the propitiation for our sins, by whose blood all our stains are washed out; that he has pacified all things by the blood of his cross; that he, by that only sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, hath perfected all things, and therefore when he breathed out his soul, he said, IT IS FINISHED; as if by these words he would signify now the price is paid for the sins of mankind.' He afterwards guards against the abuse of this doctrine, by showing that 'true faith is a living faith, and cannot be idle.'

The Lord restore to us the gospel purity of the founders of the English Church!

In Bishop Wilson's Introduction to the Lord's Supper, the new covenant made with our first parents is thus described, as more fully explained in the Gospel —

'That on condition of their sincere repentance and sincere obedience, afterwards they should be restored to the favour of God, and after death to that life and happiness which in their state of innocency was promised them without tasting of death, which favour they had forfeited by their disobedience.' Page 7.

After speaking suitably of the death of our Lord as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the Bishop goes on 'By this worthy sacrifice all mankind are restored to the favour of God and put in a way and state of salvation, God having for his Son's sake promised to pardon all such as shall repent and forsake their sins, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, as also to give his Holy Spirit to all such as shall sincerely desire him; and lastly, to make them eternally happy after death, if during this short state of trial, which is designed to mend our corrupt and disordered nature, they endeavoured to observe the rules which he has given them, and which are absolutely necessary to make them capable of heaven and happiness.

'Stop here awhile and adore the infinite goodness of God who did not overlook lost mankind, but sent his Son to redeem us. He might in strict justice have required me to live to the law of nature and reason, given in that state of innocence, on pain of being forever separated from his presence: but instead of that, he has been graciously pleased to accept of our sincere though imperfect obedience, and of our sincere repentance, when we have done amiss, and return to our duty.'

Bishop Wilson does make scriptural mention of faith in other parts, but the faults of this part of his statement are, (1.) faith is left out; (2.) corrupt nature is to be mended instead of the old man being put off and the new man being put on; and (3.) man is rather viewed as the giver than as the receiver. The very excellence of the Bishop makes it more needful to point out the errors.

Compare these statements with the Decrees and Canons of the

Who are now seeking to bring back Reformation principles into that Society. But one grand leading cause

Council of Trent, and contrast them with our Articles and our Homily on Salvation, and say whether these tracts have not gone into something of the spirit of Popery.

They completely escape indeed the papal anathemas of the 9th Canon of the Council of Trent, 'Whosoever shall affirm that the ungodly is justified by faith only, so that it is to be understood that nothing else is to be required to co-operate therewith in order to justification, and that it is on no account necessary that he should prepare and dispose himself by the effect of his own will, let him be accursed.'

They completely escape the anathema of the eleventh canon of the Council of Trent.—'If any one shall say that men are justified either by the alone imputation of Christ's righteousness, or only by the remission of sins, excluding grace and charity, which is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, and inheres in them, or that the grace by which we are justified is only the favour of God, Let him be Anathema.'

They completely escape the anathema of the twelfth canon.—'Whosoever shall affirm that justifying faith is nothing else than confidence in the divine mercy, by which sins are forgiven, for Christ's sake, or that it is that confidence only, by which we are justified, let him be accursed.'

They are in the spirit of the London Vicar Apostolic's Sermon, given in the Laity's Directory, of 1825. In this Sermon, near the commencement, the Popish Preacher states—

'The fundamental disposition, by which man is prepared for the grace of justification, is divine faith. Faith is the principle and the root of the other dispositions of hope, love, repentance, and obedience, by which the preparation of the soul for this supernatural effect is perfected. To those who are thus disposed and prepared by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the graces of justification are communicated through the channels of the sacraments instituted by Christ for that purpose.'

The author, in his sermon on Justification, wrote the following remarks on this. Alas! that they should apply to Protestant writings!

It is a most erroneous and dangerous statement. On this plan, the grace of the gospel, and the freedom of the promise are really lost; and though the merits of Christ Jesus had been before mentioned, and the Holy Ghost is named, yet, in the place of Christ and his salvation, our own obedience is in truth substituted; we are accepted for that, and not simply for the sake of Jesus Christ. We are not here justified by faith, but faith is preparatory to hope, love, repentance, and obedience, by which we are not even then justified, but only prepared for the sacraments, in which justification is communicated. O miserable exposition of the text! O miserable doctrine extinguishing all the light and consolation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and removing far away from afflicted consciences the hope of justification! How manifestly erroneous that doctrine by which we are first to be made righteous by our works, and then the grace of justification is to be conferred upon us! Rom. xi. 6. Where this doctrine prevails, it excludes and prevents real holiness and obedience, to which (so far from their being the cause of our acceptance or righteousness before God) we can never attain till we are accepted in Christ, and accounted righteous through him. Ephes. ii. 8—10. How contrary is this statement, to the full consolation, the simplicity, and plainness of the scriptural doctrine: and how can a burdened and distressed conscience here find its way to peace and joy? Let Protestants then

of the progress of Popery being our loss of Protestant principles, that loss is distinctly marked in the publi-

with love, but with zeal and firmness, maintain and widely make known, the invaluable scriptural truths, for the defence of which our martyred reformers willingly gave their bodies to the flames - and may our God give abundant testimony to the word of his grace.

In the same spirit Bishop Balnes, a leading Roman Catholic bishop of the present day, in his sermon on Faith, Hope and Charity, after mentioning repentance and confession to a priest as necessary, says - 'Nor even is this all. The sinner must moreover submit to make such atonement to his offended God by prayer, by fasting, by works of self denial, and the like, as may be required; and if he has injured any neighbour in his good name, his property, or his person, he must, to the utmost of his ability, resolve to make full and ample satisfaction. Without such a resolution, no Catholic priest in the world could, or would, consider himself authorized to give absolution to any penitent, and if he did presume to give it, his religion teaches, as an article of faith, that his absolution could be of no avail in the sight of God, but to add to the guilt both of the giver and the receiver.'

-Now let me ask, is this a doctrine which relaxes the Christian morality, which encourages guilt, and facilitates the commission of crime? What then must those doctrines be which admit the sinner to reconciliation upon the simple condition of 'repentance, and confession made to God alone?'—This is just the reasoning of the carnal mind, supposing that law, and requirement, and exaction, can produce in fallen man those good works which the scriptures set before us as the fruit of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

Let, also, the reader open his Prayer Book and contrast these things with Articles x. to xviii. or with the Homily on Salvation, and see how far the principles of the Reformation have been departed from, in works authoritatively and widely circulated. And who that loves the truth as it is in Jesus, can but heartily pray that the servants of Christ, in the Christian Knowledge Society, may be strengthened amidst the many difficulties of putting away the accumulating evil of a century distinguished by decays of the pure faith of Christ, to restore to the tracts of that influential society, all the simplicity of the gospel, as set forth in the holy scriptures, and as drawn from them by the first Protestants.

These human statements fall far short of the truth of God both in principle and in practice.

AS TO PRINCIPLE, how marked the difference between them and the word of God, in the little use which they find for FAITH in God's testimony. In the word of God, from first to last, unbelief is the grand cause of man's condemnation; (Gen. iii. 1; Numb. xiv. 11, xx. 12; Deut. i. 22, 2 Kings xvii. 14; Psalm lxxviii. 22, cvi. 24; Mat. xiii. 58; Mark xvi. 14—16; John iii. 18, 19. The Epistles every where. Rev. xxi. 8) and, on the other hand, belief in God's testimony is every where the turning point of our recovery, (Heb. xi.; John iii. 14—16, v. 24; Gen. xv. 6; Dan. vi. 23; Acts xvi. 31; Rom. iii. 21—28; Ephes. ii. 8; 1 John v. 13, and indeed throughout the Bible.) This is so much the case that the gospel is called simply by the name of *faith*, (Gal. i. 3.) *the law of faith*, (Rom. iii. 27.) *The word of faith*, (Rom. x. 8.) *the hearing of faith*, (Gal. iii. 2.) Man fell by unbelief, he is restored by faith, the gift of God. Infinite wisdom marks this distinction of faith, both as it makes salvation wholly of grace, and as it brings all divine principles into our heart. A man is as his principles are. Faith wrought in our hearts by the Spirit, gives us all those divine principles, which God has revealed as infallibly true in his

cations of the Christian Knowledge Society. O that we had been more jealous for God's honour, and

word. Thus God's views, unchangeable and altogether pure and right, become ingrafted in our mind and in our heart. We have one mind with the great God, as far as faith receives his word; and our conduct corresponds to his views of things. Thus the heart is purified, the world is overcome, the soul is filled with love, Satan's lies are rejected, and we are made meet, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, for God's presence and joy through eternity. Faith too eminently honours God. (Rom. iv. 20.) It gives glory to all his attributes, his reality, though unseen by mortal eye; his power, though unself by outward senses; his truth, though yet unaccomplished; his mercy amidst our present sufferings and trials; his love under all the afflictions of this life. Faith glorifies God in every thing, and stands firm on his truth amidst the shaking of all things. This blessed principle is either kept in the back ground, as in the extracts from the Bishop of Sodor and Man; or it is changed into a virtue by which we are pardoned, contrary to the express statement of our Homily on salvation, "as great and godly a virtue as the lively faith is, yet it puts us from itself, and remits or appoints us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of sins."

As to PRACTICE, there is also a marked difference in the lowered scale of devotedness and practical godliness. Love to God with all the heart and soul, love to our neighbour as ourselves; entire surrender of ourselves to God! having one will with his; his glory our end and our happiness, this is the state which the gospel sets before us as our standard, and the effect of its provision of mercy and grace in Christ Jesus. True it shows us, in the present life, *the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh*; but it distinctly points out the Christian as "through the Spirit mortifying the deeds of the body; I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I but Christ liveth in me, and the life I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." It shows us the Christian becoming more and more like his heavenly Master here (2 Cor. iii. 18; iv. 16. Rom. viii. 29.) and soon to be perfectly like him in glory (1 John iii. 2. 1 Cor. xv. 49.)

Human perversions of the gospel are marked by a lower scale of motive, the love and glory of God being left in comparative obscurity, his holiness inadequately developed, and the selfish motive of our own interest being made the leading principle to influence our conduct. On this principle, scriptural godliness cannot be effectively enforced, nor really attained. And then to make up for our imperfections, sincerity of obedience, and even a strictness of outward and ceremonial righteousness, beyond what God has required (as we see abundantly in popery), are set before us and enforced. Thus God's law is made void as well as his gospel; and the heart is left cold, dark, dead, in bondage and helpless misery. O what a tax does the carnal mind thus pay for its pride and unbelief, for its self-righteousness and indulgence in evil; at the very time that God shows us in his gospel he would have us, by simply believing his own loving-kindness and holiness, as manifested in the death of Christ Jesus for our sins, basking in the warm beams of his love, and evermore, with holy joy, delighting in him! While love to God, through our great blindness, corruption and sinfulness, though it be our clear duty, has become impracticable to us sinners in our natural state, till we see his continued and free love to us; yet in the bright blaze of that love, shining so powerfully in the free salvation of the guilty, by the stupendous sacrifice of his own son, we do indeed love God. (1 John iv.

more alive to the purity of his truth! Nor is this stated without a humbling sense of personal fault, by one who has been, for nearly a quarter of a century, a member of that society, and may therefore be justly chargeable with a portion of the blame of circulating what he has never adequately protested against; his only excuse being indeed ignorance of their real character.

The great snare and danger of this false doctrine, is the extraordinary mixture of truth and error. When you are ready to think you have got on the solid rock of the most blessed truths of the gospel, in a free salvation, you are plunged at once into the mire of your own doings, as necessary to complete your salvation; the leaven is so mixed up with the

19.) Where can the sinner see love to himself with such an overwhelming blaze of glory, as in free salvation by the blood of Jesus? This, brought home to the heart by the Spirit, fills him with entire confidence in, and with intense love to, the HOLY GOD. The propitiation of Jesus is God's remedy, both for the guilt and the power of sin. (1 John ii. 1, 2.)

The following specimen is given from 'Admonitions for Sunday Schools,' p. 45.

'Eternal life is the gift, the free undeserved gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Here you have all the clearness of the gospel, but the very next words overthrow it all. 'It is his merits and perfect obedience that must recommend our imperfect services to God. There is, therefore, no room for boasting on our part. Far otherwise. But if, with faith and humility, we do the best we can to serve and please God, we may be sure that our services, however imperfect, will be accepted, and that, however undeserving, we shall not lose our reward.' This is in reality that antinomianism as well as self righteousness, which it professes to renounce. If it be asked what should have been added to the apostle's statement, to guard against these fearful evils, I reply just what the apostle himself adds where he speaks on this subject. *This is the record that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life; or just what our Lord adds He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit.* One grand fault of an adulterated gospel is, that it takes away the main springs of real love to God, and good works among men.

The conflicts with the early Protestants produced some degree of caution, respecting the doctrine of human merit, even in framing the Canons of the Council of Trent;—but their sophistry having been exposed, Satan who is full of subtilty in his efforts to pervert the grace of God, seldom attempts now to bring in human merits, and will in words disclaim them, as a part of the cause of our salvation. But the very same principle without the name of man's merits, and even with the outward renunciation of that idea, is one grand cause of all misstatements of the gospel. Men suppose God loves them, not because he gave his Son for their sins, but because they think that there is some good in them. Their hopes are founded on some fancied good of their own, and not on Christ Jesus, the

meal that it cannot be separated. To a superficial eye, it appears to be every thing you could wish, and yet the bitter root of death is in it. How decisively the apostle Paul speaks of those who professed Christ, and yet sought something else to be added to him; *Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* O that the blessed Spirit may himself teach us that we may know the things that are freely given to us of God, 1 Cor. ii. 12; and stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

If any of my readers are disposed to think that such statements as these respecting a very valuable Protestant institution, are, at the very best, unseasonable, and that it is peculiarly rash, at this critical period, to find fault with so useful and venerable a society, let them for a moment remember, how useful, how venerable a servant of Christ, St. Peter was; and what a critical time the conflict with judaizing Christians and the whole of Paganism was; and yet that St. Paul withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed. On a point, where the purity of God's truth, and his honour and glory, therefore, were concerned, he gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour. O that all ministers and servants of Christ may drink deep into the same spirit. Where only our personal concerns are at stake, being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer, and being defamed we entreat. Where the word of God is at stake, and that the truth of the gospel may continue, it is to make no matter to us whoever opposes. (Gal. ii.) We are to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. (Jude 3.)

The situation of the present conductors of the Christian Knowledge Society, is full of difficulty, and has many peculiar intricacies and perplexities. They have inherited the accumulation of tracts of nearly a century and a half;—one part, and that the

unspeakable gift. Hence there is so much doubtfulness, darkness, and anxiety in their minds. They say they doubt themselves. The reality is, they do not give God credit for the truth of what he says, or in the words of St. John, *they make him a liar.* This is denying the Father, this is Anti-christ, this is popery, whether spoken by a Papist, or a nominal Protestant.

greater, of which time was distinguished by an extensive decline from the pure principles of the gospel and of the Reformation; and another part also was distinguished by extravagancies connected with the revival of those principles. Thus they have now tracts which on the one hand, partake of that decline, and on the other, meet those extravagancies, not with the pure light of gospel truth, but rather with the wisdom of man, and the self-righteous system which marks declining churches. But to reform all this, of however great necessity such a reform unquestionably is, yet also it is a work of very great and self-denying Christian wisdom and holy courage. It requires peculiar singleness of eye and of heart for our Divine Master to be *valiant for the truth*, though it bring reproach on honoured names, by amending or ejecting their writings. To these difficulties must be joined the varied minds of good men discerning truth in very different degrees of light and distinctness, and yet having to concur in producing one result, and the many dangers to be dreaded from the strong current of sweeping reform and reckless innovation flowing in on every side. Consider these things and it will not perhaps be surprising that the progress of tract emendation is slow. The greatest help to this work will be the frank, repeated, and constant testimonies, in a spirit of real kindness and sound judgment, to what the members see erroneous in the tracts, and the willing and candid reception of such testimonies, which, I believe, has already been manifested by the tract committee. The effect of this may be a far greater diffusion of the simple truth of the gospel, than if the society had never published any thing which could have been really objected to. Men's minds will thus be led to investigate divine truth, to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good.

We have very watchful, zealous and active enemies on every side. The ardour with which the new voluntary-church principles are pursued, may be seen in the lectures on church establishments published at Glasgow, by dissenters of no mean name or ability. The author believes these principles to be destruc-

tive of the real welfare of our country, and not according to the gospel of Christ. But men of great powers of mind, and whose conscience seems engaged in their own views think otherwise, and views like theirs are so suitable to the democratic and infidel spirit of the age, that they are likely to spread widely. Now it is the part of true wisdom, in these days, to keep *within* those scriptural lines which our church has so distinctly marked.

The great means of extricating ourselves from our difficulties is to press every where, as the Reformers Tyndal, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewell, Becon, &c., (not to say even Knox and Bale) did,— simply the pure, faithful gospel message of God's love to the world in salvation, by Jesus alone, and through faith in his blood. This is the foundation; let this foundation stand prominent and distinct. The wood, hay and stubble of man's inventions will never stand the fiery trial that is coming. Let this be our distinguishing characteristic as a Church; a full, free, distinct, constant proclamation of the saving name of Jesus Christ. The church of England, in its accredited formularies, has this foundation clear and manifest, and while we bend our strength for the maintenance of this, God will be with us, and support us in, and carry us through all our difficulties, and his people will be drawn around us and multiplied. This again makes it of immense importance, that the Christian Knowledge Society should have no doubtful doctrine respecting this foundation, but be a faithful witness for God's holy gospel.

It is painful to read in the accounts given of a late meeting of the Society, a statement which it would be pleasant to think was unfounded: that when a desire had been expressed for the republication by the Society of Fox's Book of Martyrs, it had been refused, not on account of the expence, (the present protestant feeling of the country is such, that there is no risk on that point) but on some other grounds not explained to the public. Believing that those grounds were not merely fears of provoking the papists by that faithful exhibition of their cruelty, nor an un-

willingness now to confess the truths stated in Fox, still let not the Society thus give occasion to suspect any departure from the principles of the Reformation. We gain nothing by a timid course. When we remember that the Government in Queen Elizabeth's days publicly enjoined this work to be set up in all the parish churches, together with the Bible and Bishop Jewel's Defence of the Apology, to be read at all suitable times by the people; when we remember how triumphantly it has withstood all the attacks of papists, and come out the more fully justified from every attack; it would be a most desirable step for that Society, now publishing valuable writings of the Reformers, to establish its own character for adherence to the principles of the Reformation, by sending forth, as a giant refreshed, that inestimable defender of the protestant faith in his 'main work.' 'Numerous attacks' says Mr. Soame, 'have been levelled at the honest chronicler of Romish intolerance, but they have ever fallen harmless from the assailants' hands.'

When it is considered that the income of this Society is upward of £70,000 a year, and that 1,891,428 of its books and tracts were circulated in the last year, the immense importance of the purity of scriptural doctrine in them, will be manifest. Who can bear the thought of the guilt of helping in any way to turn men from Christ and his salvation from the guilt, love, and power of sin, to their own doings as the ground of their hopes.

May the Father of lights, the only giver of heavenly wisdom, largely bestow on the leaders and conductors of this great Institution heavenly wisdom, to guide them through the difficulties of their present situation! If once the evil of erroneous doctrine was adequately seen and felt, and the existence of this evil in its publications manifested, the Society possesses, among the members of its Committee, men of practical wisdom, integrity, and firmness to devise methods to throw out every thing contrary to the

¹ See Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 1. 375 380, iii. p. 1. 737, and the lives of Cranmer and Grindal. See also Soame's history of the Reformation. vol. iv. 721, 722.

purity of the Gospel of Christ, and so to enable it to stand out, bold and prominent, a firm confessor and witness of the truth as it is in Jesus.

In the Scotch church there seems to the writer to have been a similar falling away from the protestant principles of the early Reformers. He confesses that when he looks at the earlier confession of faith of 1560, at Craig's Catechism of 1590, and the Geneva confessions received early in Scotland, and compares them with the present Westminster confession of 1647, he sees in the former a simplicity of Gospel truth, which is wanting in the more apparently accurate but refined and more artificial statements of the later Creed. The difference is the simple statement of faith in the divine testimony, and the elaborating by the human intellect of a complete system of doctrine. The description given by each, of the doctrines of Redemption, may shew the writer's meaning more clearly. The Statement of the confession of 1560, Article nine is simple and scriptural. 'He suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, which sinners had deserved, but yet we avow that he remained the only well-beloved and blessed Son of his Father even in the midst of his anguish and torment, which he suffered in body and soul to make the full satisfaction for **THE SINS OF THE PEOPLE.**' So in Craig's Catechism, 'What is faith in Christ? A sure persuasion that he is the only **SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD**, but ours in special who believe in him,' (John vi.) So in the Geneva confession; 'Of his free mercy without compulsion, he offered himself as the only sacrifice to **PURGE THE SINS OF ALL THE WORLD**, so that all other sacrifices are blasphemous and derogate from the sufficiency hereof.' Who can compare these with the limited statement of the Westminster confession of 1647, without seeing a departure from the simplicity of Scripture? 'They who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ.—**NEITHER ARE ANY OTHER REDEEMED BY CHRIST**, effectually called, justified, adopted, and saved, but the elect only.' There is here a want of that marked difference of statement respecting redemption and election, which

we find so generally runs through the Scriptures, and which the Church of England, in its catechism formed nearer the Reformation, has so brielly, and yet so fully and beautifully expressed. 'I learn to believe in God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind; and in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.'

Another cause of the progress of Popery has been OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE BIBLE AS THE ONLY STANDARD OF DIVINE TRUTH. The testimony of the Reformers to this is very distinct. How plain our sixth article! How beautiful the language before the Scotch Confession of Faith of 1560! 'If any man will note in this our confession any article or sentence, repugning to God's holy word, that it would please him, of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, admonish us of the same in writing, and we upon our honour and fidelity, do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, (that is, from his Holy Scriptures,) or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss. For God we take to record in our consciences, that from our hearts we abhor all sorts of heresy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine, and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Christ's gospel, which is the only food of our souls, and therefore so precious unto us that we are determined to suffer the extremest of worldly danger, rather than we will suffer ourselves to be defrauded of the same.' This zealous adherence to the word of God was the glory of the Reformation, and the great means of its purity. The departure from this has been in some degree checked, by the vastly enlarged distribution of the pure word of God, through all the societies engaged in that work. But it was a fearful mark of this departure, that the circulation of the Bible alone was so greatly objected to by leaders in Protestant Churches, without what was so improperly called by one of them the safeguard of a Prayer Book. Human names have also such credit, that even protestants have too much sunk to this state, judging of sound doctrine by what man says, rather than by what God says. Each class has its *human standard*, rather than the pure *infallible*

standard of the word of God. We have all fallen into this serious error. Neither the Fathers, nor the Reformers, nor their successors, nor the revivers of evangelical doctrine in modern days, must for a moment be our standard, instead of God's truth.

A highly respectable, learned, and devout class of men has risen up at one of our Universities, the tendency of whose writings is departure from Protestantism, and approach to papal doctrine. They publish tracts 'for the times;' and while they oppose the most glaring part of popery, the infallibility of the Pope,—the worship of images,—transubstantiation and the like,—yet, though the spirit of the times is marked by the opposite fault, the very principles of popery are brought forward by them, under deference to human authority, especially that of the Fathers: overvaluing the Christian ministry and the sacraments, and undervaluing justification by faith. With much learning and study of the Fathers, with great apparent and doubtless in some cases real devotion, and a devotedness ascetic and peculiar, they seem to the author, as far as he has seen and known their course, to open another door to that land of darkness and shadow of death, where the Man of Sin reigns.

THE STATE OF OUR PUBLIC JOURNALS is another cause of this progress.

The principle avowed and gloried in by one of our leading public journals, especially on this point, is *to let men's creeds alone*; another leading journal defies any to shew, that the *purely doctrinal errors* of the Roman Catholic church have been treated with disrespect, by the most valuable Protestant advocates. But we have not so learned the word of God. Her doctrinal errors are the very spring head of all her evil practices. If the fountain be bitter, the stream must be so; if the tree be bad, the fruit must be bad. We must not let the poison work, till it produces disease and misery. It is true that human laws can only *punish manifested evil*, but it is the glory of the divine law, that it goes to the very springs of evil, and the glory of the gospel of Christ, that it sets forth a full remedy for all those springs of evil,

and it is the blessedness of real Christians to know and possess this, and to tell of this far and wide. How manifestly do the sentiments expressed in our journals shew, that they *savour the things that be of men, and not the things that be of God!*

The clear testimony which the Reformers gave against popery, as being Babylon, is NOT NOW SUSTAINED with equal firmness and clearness. The statement that the pope was antichrist and the man of sin, was powerfully instrumental in bringing about, and establishing the Reformation. It was the main reason given for actual separation from the church of Rome, founded on the express direction of God himself. (Rev. xviii. 4.) The testimony of the reformers on this point was uniform.¹ It was with this sentiment they

¹ *Testimonies of English Reformers and others against Popery as Antichrist.*

PUBLIC TESTIMONY.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE ARTICLES of the Church are almost one series of testimonies against Papal doctrines. In THE HOMILIES, sanctioned by these Articles, the following testimonies appear respecting the Pope as antichrist, Babylon, and the Man of Sin.

In the Homily of Obedience, Part iii. 'The Bishop of Rome teaches, that they that are under him are free from all burdens and charges of the commonwealth, and obedience towards their prince; most clearly against Christ's doctrine and St. Peter's. HE OUGHT THEREFORE RATHER TO BE CALLED ANTICHRIST, and the successor of the scribes and pharisees, than Christ's vicar, or St. Peter's successor; SEEING THAT, not only on this point, but also in other weighty matters of christian religion, in matters of remission and forgiveness of sins, and of salvation, HE TEACHETH SO DIRECTLY AGAINST BOTH ST. PETER, AND AGAINST OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST.'

In the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, Part iii., speaking of the worship of images, and the miracles of the Papists, the Homily says—

'The scriptures have for a warning hereof shewed, that THE KINGDOM OF ANTICHRIST shall be mighty in miracles and wonders to the strong illusion of all the reprobates.' And again, 'Such sumptuous decking of images with gold, silver, and precious stones, be a token of ANTICHRIST'S kingdom, who, as the prophet foreshows, shall worship God with such gorgeous things.'

Sermon against Wilful Rebellion, Part v.—

'After this ambition, [to be head of all the church, and lord of all kingdoms,] the Bishop of Rome became at once THE SPOILER AND DESTROYER both OF THE CHURCH, which is the kingdom of our Saviour Christ, and of the Christian empire, and all Christian kingdoms, as an universal tyrant over all.'

'In king John's time, the Bishop of Rome, understanding the brute blindness, ignorance of God's word, and superstition of Englishmen, and how much they were inclined to worship THE BABYLONIAN BEAST OF ROME, and to fear all his threatenings and causeless

departed from, in modern days. Grotius and Hammond led the way, and several Protestants since

Bishop Hooper has many cautions and solemn warnings against a peculiar temptation in Mary's reign, for those, in principles Protestants, to conform to Popery in practice, and attend the mass. He compares it to a wife's adultery. He says, 'Beware of foolish and deceitful collusion to think a man may serve God in spirit secretly to his conscience, although outwardly, with his body and bodily presence, he cleave, for civil order, to such rites and ceremonies as now be used contrary to God and his word. Be assured that whatsoever he be that giveth this counsel, shall be before God able to do you no more profit than the fig leaves did unto Adam.'

Bishop Hooper also frequently gives the name of Antichrist to Popery, speaking of 'the synagogue of Antichrist,' 'Antichrist's tyranny,' and 'Antichrist and his damnable religion,' 'the Pope the capital enemy of Christ and his religion.'

FAITH, annexed to a work, called 'The Revelation of Antichrist,' an antithesis contrasting the acts of Christ and the Pope, in seventy-seven Particulars.

TYNDALE,—

'The Jews look for Christ, and he is come fifteen hundred years ago, and they not aware: we also have looked for antichrist, and he has reigned as long, and we not aware: and that because either of us looked carnally for him, and not in the place where we ought to have sought. The Jews had found Christ verily, if they had sought him in the law and the prophets, whither Christ sendeth them to seek. John v. We also had spied out antichrist long ago, if we had looked into the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, where, because the beast sees himself now to be sought for, he roars.'

FULKE,—

'Paul, (2 Thess. ii.) speaking purposely of antichrist says expressly, that he shall sit in the temple of God, which is the church of Christ. Now the pope sits in the midst of the temple of God, and boasts himself to be God, challenging unto himself such authority as is proper only unto God, and usurping such honour as is peculiar unto God. Therefore not in heathen emperors, nor in Mahomedans, is the prophecy accomplished.'

TESTIMONIES BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THE WALDENSES (from the Testimony of Reinerius Saccho, in 1254,) asserted 'that the Romish church is not the church of Jesus Christ, but a church of malignants and that it apo-tatized under Sylvester—and that the Church of Rome is the harlot in the apocalypse.'

THE ALBIGENSES (from the testimony of the Book of Sentences, or Register of the Proceedings of the Inquisition from 1307 to 1323, from the sentence of Peter Auterius, an eminent Albigenian).—'The Roman church you impudently call the mother of fornication, the church of the devil, the synagogue of Satan, which is in fact the mother and mistress of all the faithful; all whose degrees and orders, and its laws and statutes, you malign by your impertinent falsehoods. And on the other hand, you call all those who hold its faith heretics and misled persons, and wickedly and impiously teach, that none can be saved in the faith of the Roman Church.'

I am indebted to Mr. Maitland's Facts and Documents for these extracts.

The Reformers referred to the Fathers, as strengthening their testimony; thus—

have avowed it. It appears to me a serious departure from the principles of the reformation, and as will be seen by the note below, from the principles of the church of England, as set forth in our Homilies, and from other Protestant churches.

Another great principle brought out at the reformation was A DECIDED TESTIMONY TO THE IDOLATRY OF POKERY. One of our own Homilies is a noble monument of learning and testimony against this idolatry. If the second commandment be the word of God, and testifies what is idolatry, and every Christian believes

MUSCULUS, referring to Bernard's calling a pope the 'Man of Sin,' says, 'No man can charge us that we be the first that have referred the same unto the head of the most corrupt clergy, I mean Simon of Rome.'

MARTYR also states—

'Pope Gregory says whosoever will arrogate this title of Universal Bishop, or Head of the Church, to himself, is Antichrist. But the pope challenges unto himself this title, wherefore the Papists must bear it with an indifferent mind if we call the pope Antichrist.'

TESTIMONY OF FOREIGN REFORMERS.

LUTHER—

'Whosoever is seriously affected with piety will fly most swiftly from that Babylon, and will dread even hearing the name of the papacy. For so great is its impiety and abomination, that no one can reckon it up in words, nor can it be seen but with spiritual eyes.

'The vicar is in the place of an absent chief,—what is such a vicar but Antichrist.

'I know and am certain that the papacy is the kingdom of Babylon.'

ZUINGLIUS, on 2 Thess. ii. (answering the papal application of it to the Protestants,) says—

'Let our doctrine be examined, and it will appear that they are false. We preach Jesus Christ and him crucified, and that he is the only Reconciler and the only succour of man, but the Papists preach the Pope, the Antichrist, whom here Paul so accurately describes.'

MELANCTHON—

'Since it is most certain that the pontiffs and monks have forbidden marriage, it is most manifest, and without any doubt true, that the Roman pontiff, with his whole order and kingdom, is the very Antichrist.'

CALVIN—

'The Papists have imagined an Antichrist who would harass the church for three years and a half. But all the notes by which the Spirit of God designates Antichrist clearly appear in the pope; but that three years Antichrist keeps the foolish Papists engaged, lest seeing they should see.

ECOLANPADIUS—

'God is jealous and suffers not that his servants should draw in the yoke with Antichrist. He has no part with Belial and with darkness. Now we learn that through fear of persecution, you so dissemble your faith and conceal it, as to communicate with the unbelievers, and to partake in the abominations of the masses, in which you are aware that the death and passion of Christ are blasphemed.'

this, nothing can be plainer than the fact that the worship of images and pictures of our Lord, and of the Virgin, and of the saints, and of the host is real idolatry. Bishop Stillingfleet has fully proved this, in his work on the idolatry practised in the church of Rome. A few years back, not only the king and members of corporations, but every member of parliament had to testify that 'the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass as they are now used in the church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous.' This protest has been given up, this testimony against idolatry has been relinquished, and it is a departure from the principles of the reformation.

To have brought upon our country troubles and afflictions from the papists, and to have endangered the established church of these realms, that noblest monument of wisdom and piety, that firmest earthly bulwark of the protestant faith through the world, that most scriptural public confession of Christ on the earth, confirmed with the blood of witnesses, realizing in their simple faith and love unto death in the flames of persecution, the primitive martyrs of the Church, are serious evils. But there is a more serious evil still. The ruin of immortal souls without number may be connected with perverting the gospel. And while souls are ruined, O how tremendous to have occasioned that ruin! The awful anathema, not of a mere assembly of earthly carnal men, like that of Trent, whose *curse causeless shall not come*, but of the great God himself, is distinctly pronounced against those who preach another gospel, seeking the favour of men and not of God. (Gal. i. 7—10.) May God Almighty awaken all our minds to an adequate sense of the evil of a sinful departure from God's truth, by which we are not only bringing down his judgments on ourselves and our country, but dishonouring his great name, and being unfaithful to souls bought with the blood of his Son. The first step in our recovery is to be deeply sensible of these evils, and to acknowledge them before God and man; and then to seek from God that large gift of his Spirit which will first discover to us personally the

things of Christ for our own salvation, and thus enable us to testify them effectually to others.

The peaceful, almost unprotected against, and enlarged circulation, for a series of years, of such un-sound and anti-protestant works as those which have been noticed, furnishes a painful token that the doctrine there given, has been too much in accordance with the general sentiments of the most influential persons in our country; and leads to the sad conclusion which indeed may be gathered from a variety of sources, that we have, as a protestant church, departed largely from the standing of our protestant forefathers, on the grand doctrine of revelation—salvation only in the name of Jesus.

If there has been then in our avowed instruction, as manifested in leading societies and influential bodies of men, such a decay of protestant principles; if it may hence reasonably be estimated that our noblèmen and our senators; our great landed proprietors and our freeholders, have not had fully and generally brought before them that which was the glory of the Reformation, the distinct announcement of the pure und unadulterated “good tidings of a free salvation in Christ Jesus,” are our present difficulties to be wondered at? That there is no general adequate sense of the value of the pure principles of our protestant establishment, and that our legislators are easily induced to withdraw our former barriers and securities against popery, and even to give actual support to papal institutions, are natural consequences of our ceasing fully to announce the everlasting gospel.

These may be considered as the principal causes and indications of the progress of popery. But there are various lesser causes which derive, indeed, their chief power to be injurious from our loss of Protestant principles.

The removal of the disabilities from papists, has taken the national brand from popery, and given up the legislative confession of Protestantism. It has brought the papists into our legislature, and has so gagged and restrained Protestants that their mouths are necessarily shut, as to a frank, open and full

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declaration of the apostacy. Whether it be from refinement of manners, unwillingness to hurt the feelings of others, from infidelity, or its daughter liberalism, Protestants have their mouths closed on popery, as antichristian and idolatrous.

The influx of foreign papists into this country, as a refuge from the revolutions and convulsions of papal kingdoms has been very considerable. In France there has been a double revolution, from both of which the Roman priests fled to England. In Spain and Portugal again and again commotions and revolutions have driven the priests away; many have remained here, and we received them kindly as we ought to have done, but they have diffused their peculiar tenets among us.

The increased intercourse which we have had with the Continent in the last twenty years' peace, has led to much of this evil. English families have been settled in papal countries, children have been sent to foreign schools, travellers have attended papal worship, and continued familiarity has diminished that disgust which the first sight of the pageant and idolatries of Rome so justly excited. Error and vice are naturally contaminating and diffusive in our fallen world; truth and holiness require for their origin and maintenance divine power.

While popery is thus progressive, let us survey also OUR SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES IN CONTENDING WITH IT, in this day. There are difficulties from without, and difficulties from within.

Those from without arise from ITS INTIMATE CONNECTION WITH THE POLITICS OF THIS WORLD. It is so interwoven with State matters, that it is difficult to bear testimony against it without being suspected of political motives. Popery wonderfully adapts itself to every kind of Government. It can be monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic: despotic or conservative, liberal or radical, just according as circumstances require for its advancement in the countries where it is situated. In this country, if we attack popery, we are supposed to be defending one party in politics and attacking another. The

state of Ireland, and the designs respecting the Established Church, favoured by the papists and carried on by one party in politics as their line of action, have increased the difficulty of shewing our disinterestedness as Christians,¹ and the high and spiritual motives affecting only the glory of God, and the salvation of souls which actuate real Christians.

Its intimate connection in this country also with men of democratic or Infidel principles is a serious difficulty. The master monster of the last days appears to be democratic infidelity, the beast without crowns on the horns, (Rev. xvii.) *blasphemers*, (2 Tim. 3.) *walking after the lusts of the flesh, despising governments, speaking great swelling words of vanity, promising liberty while they themselves are the servants of corruption, scoffers*, (2 Peter iii.) *mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts*. (Jude 18.) On this beast the Harlot rides, to her last triumph when she is *drunken with the blood of the saints*. (Rev. xvii. 3.) We appear to be opposing the *enlightened* spirit of the age, and the freedom of our country, when we are opposing the power and influence of Antichrist; and we must be content to be evil spoken of, leaving ourselves *to him that judges righteously*.

Another difficulty is, that some of those, once at the greatest distance from popery, have joined with papists for the overthrow of the Established Church: I mean our dissenting brethren. Some of them have so mingled themselves up with politics, as to fancy now, that it is a part of true religion to overthrow a protestant Established Church, and that they are justified in uniting with Antichrist for this purpose. While they charge Establishments with bringing the Reformation to a stand, and being the grand cause of the corruption of the religion; a Dissenting

¹ The Christian sentiment of the Archbishop of Canterbury on this point at the meeting, December 3, 1835, should be generally known.—

‘It is my earnest desire that on the present occasion we should allow no political feeling to mix itself up with our sympathy for the afflictions of our brethren. At the same time I must say, that as a Protestant and a Protestant deeply responsible, I cannot but regard the Clergy of Ireland as men who are suffering on account of the faith which they profess. It is natural that this consideration should have great weight on our minds, and operate as a stimulative to our liberality.’

deputation, will go to a leading papist to solicit his help in promoting what they call religious liberty. O that those who love Christ among the dissenters, may every where feel the strength of the Bible testimony against popery as the great whore, seated on the seven hills, *that great city, which in the days of the Apostle reigned over the kings of the earth*; and not confound lesser differences and evils, with *the mystery of iniquity and the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.*

But the greatest difficulty in contending with popery, is, its extreme adaptation to the corruption of our fallen nature. It has that wherewith it can meet every desire of the natural man, and soothe every anxiety about the soul; for the literate it has prodigious stores of learning; for the illiterate it has its images, pomps, and shews; for the self-righteous, it has its innumerable ways of external service—for the most devout it has its unceasing prayers; for the musician, it has the most exquisite chaunts and anthems; for the painter the most splendid efforts of human art; for the imaginative, all the visions of fancy, its gloomy cloisters, lights, and processions, and incense, and beautiful churches with painted windows: and priests with splendid garments and varied dresses. To quiet the conscience, it has doctrines of human merit and works of supererogation; to alarm the indifferent it has fears of purgatory; to raise the priesthood, they can make a little flour and water into a god, and will themselves worship what they make. To give ease to the conscience of the man of the world, and the lover of pleasure, each sin has its indulgence and penance. All men at times are under fears of God's wrath; their conscience is touched, they are in anxiety, and at such times popery comes in and gives them a sop, that satisfies for the moment, and sends them into the sleep of death. It covers every lust, it calms every fear. It is the devil's cunning device of twelve hundred years' growth, for leading countless myriads to perdition. *Let us not be ignorant of his devices.*

Such are our difficulties from without, in contending with popery. The difficulties FROM WITHIN are

principally what have been noticed as the causes of the growth of popery. Of these the chief is *Corrupted Protestantism*. Though there has been an extended revival of real religion, we have very far fallen from our original standing as protestants. Were the church of England, everywhere, in its ministry, as clear in preaching the glorious gospel of the grace of God, as it is in its articles, prayer-book, and homilies, and the writings of its first reformers—were we raised above the world, and sensitive of the glory of God and the purity of his truth as they were—had we that remarkable spirit of faith, realizing God's love and rejoicing in him, which he gave to them—were salvation by grace our theme as it was theirs—then our chief internal difficulties would be surmounted; but it is far otherwise. We have got deeply seated in our very principles of modern theology, that bitter root of popery, salvation by works; we are greatly secularized and settled in worldly habits; we have fiercely contended among ourselves about minor points; we have forgotten the state of the church of Christ as a despised, suffering, afflicted state, and that the portion of God's elect is bearing the cross now, that we may wear the crown hereafter. The providence of God seems likely speedily to awaken us effectually out of this day-dream of worldly prosperity, and as usual the cross is coming to prove and manifest the truth of the revival which God has also mercifully given.

It is remarkable how exactly Satan has sought to establish his empire and overthrow the truth by the like means in all ages. Luther in speaking on Gal. vi. 6,—*Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things*,—speaks of his once 'wondering why the apostle should thus command the churches so diligently to nourish their teachers, seeing in popery all men gave abundantly; but since the pure faith had been preached, he knew the cause why they had such abundance of good things heretofore, and now the pastors and ministers of the word do want, and the professors of the gospel are as rich as sometimes Christ and his apostles were. This is the lot of the gospel when it is

preached, that not only no man is willing to give anything for the finding of ministers and maintaining of scholars, but men begin to spoil, to rob, and to steal, and with divers crafty means one to beguile another.' And then, as almost with a prophetic eye, in a past history, giving us a type of what we have seen in our day, in Ireland, he goes on—

' Now we begin to understand how necessary this commandment of Paul is, as touching the maintenance of the ministers of the church. For Satan can abide nothing less than the light of the Gospel. Therefore when he sees that it begins to shine, then he rages, and goes about with all main and might to quench it. And this he attempted two manner of ways ; first by lying spirits and force of tyrants, and then by poverty and famine. But because he could not hitherto oppress the gospel in this country, (praised be God) by heretics and tyrants, therefore he attempts to bring it to pass the other way, that is, by withdrawing the livings of the ministers of the word,—to the end that they, being oppressed with poverty and necessity, should forsake the ministry, and so the miserable people being destitute of the word of God, should become in time as savage as wild beasts. And Satan helps forward this horrible enormity by ungodly magistrates in the cities, and also by noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who take away the church goods, whereby the ministers of God should live, and turn them to wicked uses. These goods, says the prophet Micah i. 7, *were gathered out of the hire of the harlot, and therefore to an harlot's hire shall they return.* It is impossible that such as are godly indeed should suffer their pastors to live in necessity and penury. But forasmuch as they laugh and rejoice when their pastors suffer any adversity, and withhold their living, or give it not with such faithfulness as they ought, it is a plain token that they are worse than the heathen. But they will feel, ere it be long, what calamities will follow this unfaithfulness, for they shall lose both temporal and spiritual things ; for this sin must needs be grievously punished.'

The FALSE SECURITY in which the Protestant

Church has been resting, is a most serious difficulty to which we are by no means yet awake. The victories over popery at the Reformation and the Revolution,—the complete exposure of its idolatry—the display of it as the antichrist at the reformation; and of its contradiction to the scriptures and to all just reason at the revolution,¹ and a century's quiet since, have occasioned this false security. Our various legislative protections one after another have been removed, and still we have not yet awakened from our false security. And on what does this imagined security rest? On the enlightened spirit of the age? surely we have not yet to learn that *the world by wisdom know not God*. On the substantial good sense of the mass of the nation? surely we have forgotten the lesson—*cease ye from man—put not your trust in the son of man in whom there is no help*. But if we think our security rests upon the word of God deposited with us, and his people residing among us, let the history of Israel speak volumes. When were there holier men than when Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel lived? yet were the Jews carried captive to Babylon. When had the church a greater revival than in the first spread of the gospel from Jerusalem? yet was Jerusalem destroyed by the Romans, because in both cases of the abounding iniquity of the mass of the people.

Our difficulties from papists will most probably very greatly increase. As the papists increase, they will get more political power, and they are very subtle to use it. Already they very extensively hamper and restrain the efforts of true Protestants,

¹ Keach, in his *Treatise on Antichrist*, published in 1689, has marked a difference between the early and later defenders of the Reformation. He begins his treatise thus: 'It is evident to all men who are of any reading, that most of our eminent Protestant ministers, both ancient and modern, do affirm, without the least doubt, that the Church of Rome is the great whore spoken of Rev. xviii. called Mystery, Babylon; yet we find that most worthy men, who have of latter times so well defended the gospel, have not so much bent their study this way, as to detect divers or most of her erroneous principles and detestable practices; which is rather to lop off some of the branches of this evil and cursed tree, than to dig it up by the root; for if it be clearly proved that she is the Great Whore, viz. Mystery, Babylon the Great, Mother of Harlots, the whole falls at once.'

and, where they can, injure and annoy them. In Ireland what a bitter spirit they have manifested in depriving the Protestant clergy of their legal income! How easily, if the Lord permit, may this spirit of persecution rise and grow, and bring on all the sufferings, through which the church may have to pass in these last days.

But having stated so distinctly our difficulties, let us also notice the great **ADVANTAGES** which God has given us in these days for our Christian warfare: The open manner in which the struggle is now commencing, diminishes our difficulty. We know who yet remains the implacable enemy of God and man. His proceedings are such that we can make no mistake. Had popery gained the advantages which it now has, in the days of the 1st, 2nd, or even 3rd George, there would not have been a spirit of religion diffused through the land to meet the enemy. But now there is a manifest revival of religion through our land; there has been such a large circulation of God's pure word, and such a diffusion of that true spiritual light, that popery has to make its way in a modified shape, and by very crooked paths. Its stir is the reaction of an attack; the lion has been roused in its lair by the hunters, and compelled to sally forth; but what injury he may yet do, we know not. It is a mercy that it is still permitted to us to testify openly and act decisively against this long-lasting foe of the gospel.

Another advantage is, that the removal of all political disabilities from the papist, has served to manifest the real character of popery, and allows us also to speak with more openness and freedom than we perhaps ought to do towards a manacled opponent. One after another of political disadvantages and brands have been removed from popery in this empire; they have had a freedom given them perhaps unprecedented, not merely in protestant, but in papal countries: and what has been the effect? not corresponding returns of gratitude, but unceasing efforts to supplant and overthrow the religion of that country in which they gained these advantages, even though there be the express oath, 'I do hereby

disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church-establishment as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion or protestant government in the United Kingdom.' The conduct of many of the papists since, in unceasing agitation, and the system carried on by them for depriving the Irish clergy of their incomes, furnish a just illustration of what popery is, and tells us most distinctly to make no peace with Rome. The Bishop of London forcibly proved in his address of Dec. 3 last, that the object of the papists was to starve protestantism out of Ireland: he said, 'That is palpably the policy of those who have withheld their just dues from the clergy of the protestant church. I say, Gentlemen, that it is clearly their policy; and I have a right to say so, because they have themselves avowed it. They have avowed it, not through any unauthorized organs, but through the most accredited channels; and it is from day to day declared, by those who have a right to speak on behalf of large bodies of people in Ireland, that it is their determination to drive protestantism out of one of its—strong-holds, I was going to say, but the expression seems to be now scarcely applicable;—and yet I will call it a strong hold; for every branch of the catholic church, which holds the pure faith of the gospel, and dispenses it through an evangelical ministry, is a strong-hold of the truth; and such is the church in Ireland: and therefore, as far as we can prevent it, under Divine Providence, protestantism shall not be driven out of Ireland by a system of blockade and starvation.'

A conflict, more arduous than the church of Christ has yet passed through, seems then rapidly hastening on. Our advantages may hasten the last struggle. May we remember, that we conquer by suffering. Bad men's minds are too excited by evil principles on every side to rest; and God forbid, that there should ever cease to be among good men, those who will, at the extremest hazard, yes, and at the loss of fortune, worldly reputation, ease, and life itself, proclaim the

only saving name of Jesus to dying men, and the vanity of every other foundation of hope.

What then are THE DUTIES to which God now calls us as Protestants, at this time when we see so manifestly that he is permitting popery to advance again amongst us? We shall see those duties more clearly, if we can ascertain the mind of God as to this foul corruption of his gospel, and the character of those who protest against it. It appears from the Scriptures, as if there would be some last success before its fall, and then its final destruction.

With regard to this LAST SUCCESS, many think the faithful witnesses have not yet been slain as predicted, Rev. xi. But without entering into questionable prophecy, it is clear from various predictions, that sufferings, some of which are connected with Popery, precede the latter day glory of the Church. The last view of popery before its fall, is in the attitude of triumph; *the whore is riding on the beast arrayed in purple and scarlet, decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hands*, Rev. 17. In Daniel xii. 10, we read among the last things, *many shall be purified, and made white, and tried, but the wicked shall do wickedly*. In Rev. vii, the saints are described as coming to their glory, out of that which is emphatically *the great tribulation*. In Rev. xiv. 12, 13, *the patience of the saints and the dead in the Lord*, are mentioned in immediate connection with the fall of Babylon, and the gathering of the harvest to the heavenly garner. In Rev. xvi. 14, *the gathering to battle* is connected with the coming of the Lord *as a thief*. In Rev. xvii. 14, the horns *make war with the Lamb*.

The beast on which Popery rides, had been mentioned twice before, and with a remarkable difference each time. The 1st, With the crowns on the heads, pointing out the first or Pagan state of the Roman Empire;—The 2nd, with the crowns on the horns, pointing out the second or papal state of the empire, and the 3rd, without crowns, either on heads or horns, pointing out the democratic form of that empire. On the beast, in this state, popery rides, directing it for a season in its last work;—and how

awful is the description of the whore in this attitude, *drunken with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus!* We may yet have from popery and democracy in union, a more fierce persecution than the Church of Christ has yet endured : one, as Cecil puts it, 'general, bitter, purifying, cementing.'

But popery with all its allies and followers, is doomed to FINAL AND SPEEDY DESTRUCTION. It has long been consuming by the word of God, but it has yet to receive its final overthrow. There are two parts of this overthrow;—

First, DEMOCRACY ; the ten horns without crowns, or the kingdoms of the Roman Empire in its last state, are described as making her desolate. *The ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.* Something of the beginning of this we have probably already seen in France, Spain, and Portugal.

But the great and final destruction is at THE COMING OF THE LORD. The testimony of St. Paul here is above all exception ; (2 Thess. ii. 8.) speaking of the Man of Sin, he says, *then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming.* That coming, in the writer's view, can be nothing less than *the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him,* mentioned in the first verse of the chapter, and *the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus,* mentioned in the former chapter. It is the time, in short, when *he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe.* O awfully glorious, and quickly approaching day of Christ ! infinitely desirable to his people ! infinitely terrible to his enemies ! the Lord himself prepare us and make us ready for it.

But what, in the mean time, are the duties of the FAITHFUL WITNESSES FOR CHRIST ? He will ever have his faithful witnesses, *the gates of hell shall*

not prevail against his church. Their character is, that they have the *Father's name written on their foreheads*; the divine likeness is imparted to them by the Holy Spirit; this likeness marks their love, purity, holiness, mercifulness, and righteousness; they are *not defiled with women*, they are free from that spiritual whoredom or idolatry, which marks the papacy, and they follow the *Lamb whithersoever he goes*,—not swayed by human authority, but by the leadings of the Divine Redeemer: they hear his voice and they follow him; his word is their law, and his Spirit their guide. O how difficult to attain this character amidst all the temptations of this evil world!

The duties of the faithful witnesses by which they approve their fidelity to Christ our Lord, in these trying times, are GENERALLY such as follow:

PRAYER AND WATCHFULNESS. The scriptures very much insist on these things, with reference to these very days. Matt. xxiv. 42; xxv. 13. Mark xiii. 33—35. Luke xxi. 16. *Watch ye, therefore, and pray that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.* The Reformers were eminently men of prayer. How striking the testimony to Luther, 'Not a day passes in which he does not employ in prayer, at least three of his very best hours.' Similar is the testimony to Latimer—'In prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein, oftentimes, he continued so long kneeling that he was not able to rise without help.' Here was the secret of their firmness in stemming the flood of wickedness, and the root of that success which God gave them over popery.¹

Entire DEVOTEDNESS TO GOD, as it is the genuine effect of the Protestant principles of our free salvation, truly received through the gift of the Holy Spirit, so it is the special duty and safety of these days; I say safety, on that statement of our Lord, *Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever*

¹ In the Litany of Edward the Sixth's days, this clause was added, after *privy conspiracy*, 'From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.'

will lose his life for my sake shall save it. Gospel principles bring us to a complete surrender of ourselves as a *living sacrifice unto God.* (Rom. xii. 1.) Nothing short of this is Christianity, and nothing but believing the death of God's only Son for our sins, can really raise the heart in joyful love to this state. This was the spirit of our Reformers. When Ridley was told, by his renegade chaplain, West, he must 'either agree or burn,' he wrote (8th April, 1554) an answer of beautiful simplicity and devotedness. (See *Godly Letters of Martyrs*, page 40, 41.) In this he says, 'It is a goodly wish that you wish me, deeply to consider things pertaining unto God's glory, but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should hinder me from MAINTAINING GOD'S WORD, AND HIS TRUTH, WHICH IS HIS GLORY AND TRUE HONOUR, it would have liked us well. * * * I esteem nothing available for me which will not further the glory of God. * * * I know the Lord's words must be verified in me; that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him for all my former life, And although the hope of his mercy is my sheet anchor of eternal salvation, yet I am persuaded that whosoever wittingly neglects and regards not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy.' It is an affecting fact, that West's apostacy (though covered over with pretended religion) could give him no peace. After receiving the bishop's letter, he pined away with grief and remorse, and presently died. (See *Ridley's Life of Ridley.*) There is no lasting safety but in God's love being so believed as to lead us to entire devotedness; and, blessed be God, this is our happiness as well as our safety. It is the loss of genuine Protestant principle that has occasioned the loss of this devotedness, and has made formal Protestantism, wherever it be, a dead letter as to any power and influence. The Holy Spirit gives us, in a believing view of God's glory, as displayed in the death of Jesus on the cross for us, the same mind that God has; we love what he loves, hate what he

hates, have one end with him, and are wholly his : thus to know him, to be like him, to glorify him, and to enjoy him, is our happiness, now and for ever. *Beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.*

KNOWLEDGE OF THE PECULARITIES OF POPERY, and of THE SCRIPTURAL ANSWERS to them is another duty in this day. The great peculiarity is the artfully sustained system, salvation by works of man, under the mask of salvation by grace through faith; all other parts of the apostacy flow from this evil fountain. Cramp's 'Text-book of Popery,' will shew you their accredited principles; and to meet all that they can bring, you will find ample materials in Bishop Jewell's Defence of his Apology, in Archbishop Usher's Answers to a Jesuit (just republished, at the Cambridge University Press), Bedel's Letters to Wadsworth, Bishop Hall's No Peace with Rome, and Bp. Gibson's Preservative against Popery, and above all, as full of the sweet spirit of the gospel of Christ, in Fox's Book of Martyrs. The Protestant memorial, by my friend Hartwell Horne, is also a most valuable little compendium of information. A full knowledge of the Bible, and especially of the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Timothy, and the Thessalonians, and of the Revelation, will furnish the infallible answer to all that popery can say. Let us never be drawn from the main bulwark of Protestantism, the sufficiency of the scriptures. (2 Tim. iii. 15—17.) The selections from the works of the Reformers, given in the volume to which these remarks are introductory, may shew you the scriptural foundations of Protestantism.

CONFESSION OF CHRIST is a duty at all times, *whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Matt. x. 32, 33. O may this awakening and encouraging motive powerfully impress all our minds at this time. May we ourselves be taught, by the Spirit, the things of

Christ, and have thus clear views of salvation by grace in all its riches, freeness, fulness, and extent; a salvation for sinners as ample as the world, treasured up in Jesus for all men, and received and enjoyed by simple faith in the divine testimony, a faith filling us with joy and peace in the very act of believing God's precious promises concerning Christ our Saviour. The first Christians *overcame* the pagan persecutors, *by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony*, and we shall overcome, in these days, by similar means. "Witnesses" is the very name of our character and office till our Lord returns, and our testimony is, *We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.*

STRICT OBSERVANCE OF GOD'S HOLY LAW is another duty of these days. True doctrinal statements without corresponding practice, is an evil which gives much room for popery and infidelity. Not only may the law be turned into self-righteousness, but the grace of God also into licentiousness, and this is a special evil of these days; when men hold in many things the form of godliness but deny the power. O how sad it is when the truth is contended for in a bitter, uncharitable, unloving and unholy spirit! O how sad it is when error is exposed, but in doing it there is a making ourselves judges of the motives of others, and there is a total want of the humility and contrition of a true Christian, and the meekness and gentleness of Christ. There is much reason to fear that the law in its right use has been far too much lost sight of, as the standard at which we must continually aim, obedience to which is connected with the richest promises, and strength for the performance of which obedience is given us in Christ Jesus.

COMMUNICATING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION TO THE IGNORANT is a primary duty now. Most awful is the present state of gross ignorance of God's truth among immense masses of our countrymen, in the midst of the blaze of religious light which shines in our land. They are just left a prey for popery and infidelity. Our population has amazingly increased, and religious zeal has not been awake to provide means for their instruction. The note below may

speak for itself.¹ We owe much to those Dissenters who from love to Christ have laboured to supply our lack of service; but the necessity is yet most urgent. Why, O why! is there one impediment in the way of building churches, to be occupied by regularly ordained ministers, holding the doc-

¹ The following statement is taken from Gilbert's Clerical Guide for 1836.

Parish.	Population.	Church Room.	Patron.
London—			
St. Andrew, Holborn, & St. Peter, Saffron Hill	35,599	3,800	Duke of Buccleugh.
St. George in the East.	38,605	1,000	Brasenose College.
St. Giles in the Fields.	30,432	1,200	The Lord Chancellor.
St. James Clerkenwell.	47,361	5,200	The Parishioners.
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	33,000	1,200	Archdeacon of London.
St. Luke Old Street, and St. Barnabas.	46,642	3,800	Dean & Ch. of St. Paul's.
St. Mary-le-bone.	122,206	14,434	The King.
St. Pancras.	103,458	8,575	Dean & Ch. of St. Paul's.
Whitechapel	90,000	2,000	Brasenose College.
Lambeth.	55,983	5,800	Archp. of Canterbury.
Southwark—			
Christ Church.	13,704	750	
St. George	39,769	2,000	The Lord Chancellor.
St. Saviour.	18,066	2,000	
Birmingham	188,252	14,927	
Birstall	24,103	800	{ Archbishop of York { (Improp. Trin. Coll. Camb
Liverpool	102,095	9,438	
Manchester	142,026	15,400	Manchester College, &c.
Rochdale	34,277	793	Archbp. of Canterbury.

If the gospel had been adulterated by legal writers, the law in practical conformity to all its holy directions and the strength for obedience has by no means been adequately developed and enforced as our privilege in Christ Jesus by evangelical writers; and thus a great part of God's own word has been left in useless obscurity. Though not insensible of the value of such writings as *Romaine*, in shewing one part of divine truth, namely, the power of faith, another large part of divine truth of which the Bible is full, has by no means in such writers been proportionately brought out. The author has felt in his own experience how difficult it is to see our own error, without going too far and so getting into error on the opposite side. The comprehensive mind of God, surveying the whole, provides in the Bible the whole needful truth for us, and we cannot safely lose sight of any part, or place any part in a form, different from that perfect form which he has given us. Our departure from this has been no slight evil. The whole modern system of political economy,—the hardness of our dealings with the poor,—the driving every thing to its cheapest form as a part of our wisdom,—the prosperity of a nation;—supposed to be in its large capital,—and the undue honour every where put upon money even by professors of godliness,—may be all traced to the neglect of the holy law of God, especially as it is developed in the Pentateuch. O how many a modern principle is there clearly shewn to be contrary to the mind of God! Do, reader! study Deuteronomy in this view.

trines and adhering to the discipline of our church? The only real reason is, (for all others may be easily met.) we do not see in the light of God's word the immense evil of ignorance of God's truth. No rights are superior to the plain rights of Him who is King of Kings, and says, "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*" Does not our neglect of this imply, that we do not really believe in the Majesty of Him who has issued the command, and see not the true blessedness of the gospel of Christ. If there be selfish ends which impede the building of churches, how aggravated must be the guilt of letting them influence us! To love a little power, or money, or ease, more than we love the will of God and his glory, and the salvation of our fellow-men, is far indeed from the mind of Christ! The Lord awaken us all, whether patrons or incumbents, ministers or laymen, to a sense of the view in which God regards these things, and to the share we thus have in introducing infidelity, popery, and democracy, and helping in bringing on the ruin of our country and the everlasting ruin of countless myriads of immortal souls. In the meantime, let *all* do what they can, by District Visiting Societies, Church Pastoral-Aid Societies, and similar institutions, for conveying truth to the uninstructed. Nothing but simple gospel truth will, however, at all meet the wants of the people. Large churches may be built and left empty, not for a few early years only, but always,—even in a thick population,—if Christ be not preached as the light, life, and joy of man, with zeal and unction from a personal experience of his grace. God will show the vanity of every thing but his own truth.

TO TAKE HEED TO THE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY, is another general duty of these days. The command is given positively; *ye have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed.* The neglectors of it are called *scoffers*, saying, *Where is the promise of his coming?* the evil servant is described as thinking *my Lord delayeth his coming.* The blessing on a due regard to prophecy, is repeated at the beginning and the end of the most difficult book of

prophecy. (Rev. i. 3 ; xxii. 7.) O what Christian dare then throw slight and ridicule upon this study ! Say you it has led to all sorts of enthusiasm and extravagance of error ? But is it not one of Satan's devices, to discredit that which most tends to his overthrow ? It is our light in the darkness, (2 Peter i.) it is our comfort in the hour of sorrow. (1 Thess. iv. 14—18.) Hope, clearly developed in prophecy, is the very helmet of salvation in the battle, (1 Thess. v. 8.) and the anchor of the soul in the tempest. (Heb. vi. 19.) Attend then to prophecy.

Prophecy at this era, points out three SPECIAL duties as incumbent on the Church of Christ, under the sublime imagery of three angels going forth from God. (Rev. xiv.) Let us notice the office of these angels.

The first duty, is, to SEND THE GOSPEL THROUGH THE WORLD. *I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, fear God and give glory to him : for the hour of his judgment is come : and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.* (Rev. xiv. 7, 8.) In our day, and within the recollections of many yet surviving, we have seen this great work going on from small beginnings to a state that gives hope that Christians may yet awake to an adequate sense of their duty to the heathen. Without excluding the great work of the Reformers from Wickliffe downwards, in translating the Scriptures, and giving them to the people ; and the earlier efforts in Christian Missions of Eliot and Brainerd, the Christian Knowledge, Gospel Propagation, Scotch and Moravian Missions ; it is, still, in our day, contemporary with the beginning of the judgments on papal kingdoms in the first French Revolution ; that efforts corresponding to the largeness of the terms of the prediction, open, conspicuous, and universal, have been made. This work, remember, precedes the hour of judgment on Antichristian kingdoms. It will be little aided by dead, nominal Christianity, but it is an enlarged means of confessing

Christ through the world. This is the work in which, whatever mixture of human infirmities they may have had, our chief Religious Societies are now engaged; and blessed be God, it is a work year by year increasing,¹ and which he has owned with the highest success, gathering his elect from every land into her Church.

But let us see to it, that it be THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL that we carry and make known both at home and abroad. A protestant Minister asked a papist Why she did not attend the protestant church? She replied, for three reasons; because she heard nothing of Jesus Christ, found no worshipping congregation, and saw no connection between the Minister and people. It is too true, this has been the awful state of many a nominally Protestant parish Church in our country, and we see in it why popery has so grown:—and popery which does hold truth, though it be leavened, is better than such a formal dead Protestantism. Let us then take care what gospel we make known; remembering the solemn, twice repeated curse, *though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* What that gospel is, is clear from repeated testimonies in the same epistle. *The Lord Jesus Christ gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world,* is its main doctrine; and this is clearly laid out in that most distinct statement of our free justification in him, *knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we*

¹ The following statement, (taken from the Missionary Register, a truly valuable work, which all who love the progress of the gospel should read,) exhibits the progress of the income of the known Religious Societies in the Protestant churches in the last thirteen years. About nine-tenths of this income is British. To God be all the glory!

	£		£		£
1823,	367,373	1828,	533,340	1832,	604,672
1824,	406,426	1829,	601,267	1833,	655,468
1825,	474,060	1830,	627,381	1834,	686,134
1826,	494,039	1831,	619,645	1835,	778,035
1827,	502,072				

have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law ; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. Surely it must be felt, that a very different gospel to this has been preached extensively, and destructively, over decayed protestant churches.

And let us see to it, that this gospel is connected with that awful sanction *the coming judgment*, in which the Lord will discriminate between those who have received his grace, and the unbelieving and fearful of this world ; between those who serve him, and those who serve him not.

The second duty is, TO PROCLAIM THE FALL OF BABYLON. *And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.* (Rev. xiv. 8.) Here is the next important work of the Church, to which it is of vast moment that its energies should be now directed. While we feel,—while we in every way shew love to the papists, and because we love them, therefore hate so much the chains which imprison them, the poison which destroys them, the unsound ship in which they are sinking,—let us testify irreconcilable enmity to popery as man's bitterest foe, and doomed of God to certain and speedy destruction. Let us more distinctly shew that Rome is Babylon ; that it shall surely, (twice is the fall mentioned to indicate the reality,) suddenly, (Rev. xviii. 8—10.) swiftly, (Rev. xvi. 19,) and for ever fall ; as a mill-stone cast into the sea, *thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.* (Rev. xviii. 21.) This is that offensive weapon, the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, that can alone meet all the sophistries of popery. Soft and polished words, arguments from reason, and powerful eloquence displaying its inconsistency and absurdity, are valuable in their place ; and very thankful we have to be for such advocates : yet these no more penetrate the skin of the dragon, than straws do that of the crocodile. It is the word of the living God that is irresistible. May not God withhold his full blessing from all that which, however

it may be courteous to man, yet does not rise to the full testimony of his word? Nor must we be stopped by unbelieving notions of charity. It is very remarkable how the heavenly Host are described as praising God for the fall of Babylon. *I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Hallelujah, salvation and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornications, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand; and God commands his people to rejoice in it, rejoice over her thou heaven, and ye holy Apostles, and prophets, for God hath avenged you of her.* The causes of this joy are the removal of reproaches against the gospel, the dishonour put on our Lord, and the darkness, misery, and sin, entailed on men by this apostacy.

The mode in which this duty is to be fulfilled is very varied. There are RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES by which something may be done. And even the extravagance of rash zeal is better than the lukewarmness of modern protestants on this point. (Rev. iii. 15.) The Reformation Society is now active and useful, and has nothing to do with the politics of this world. Its 'Protestant Journal,' should be encouraged, and its useful short tracts and hand-bills enable ministers to meet the like methods of papists seeking to spread popery. The French Protestant Tract Society, and the European Missionary Society, furnish us with doors of access to foreign papists, and justly claim support from us.

SERMONS AGAINST POPERY well become us as ministers of the church of England. We are under that discipline which states in its very first canon, 'All ecclesiastical persons having care of souls, and all other preachers and readers of divinity lectures, shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge and learning, purely and sincerely, without any colour or dissimulation, teach, manifest, open and declare, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations and lectures, that all usurped and foreign power (forasmuch as the same has no establishment nor ground by the law of God) is for

the most just causes taken away and abolished.'¹ The preaching of Tercentenary Sermons, on the 4th of October 1835, was a commencement of a practice too important and too useful to be discontinued. Let

¹ The following circular of the Venerable Bishop of Salisbury suggests a suitable method of fulfilling this canon.

To the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury.

Reverend Brethren,—Most cordially and readily do I assent to the justice of the call which has lately been made upon us, as ministers and members of the Church of England, by some zealous friends of the Reformation, to co-operate with the members of a foreign Protestant Church, in expressing our gratitude to God, by commemorating the blessing of the Reformation, and especially by distinguishing and celebrating, on our part, the completion and publication of the first English translation of the Bible, on the 4th of October, 1535. There is another day, which evidently deserves to be celebrated by us as the birth day of our Reformation—the day on which was completed our emancipation by law from the foreign supremacy of the Pope—the 20th of March, 1534, on which the act passed, by which the power of the Pope in this country, and all connexion with Rome, were forever abolished, and the supremacy of the King, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, within his dominions, was re-established. I say re-established, because, before the eleventh century, the English sovereigns rejected with indignation the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome. The supremacy of the King you are required, by the first canon of the church, publicly to declare and maintain to your congregations four times at least in every year. The 4th of October, therefore, and the 20th of March, may well be appropriated as two of the days for our observance of the canon. There are, besides, two other days in the year distinguished by events intimately connected with the great Protestant interests of our country, and consecrated in our Liturgy by special forms of prayer,—*the King's accession and the 5th of November*—the former relating to the commencement of our present Protestant dynasty, and the latter to an indelible evidence of the hostility of Popery to our Protestant religion and establishment—that religion and establishment, which the three powers of the realm are bound, by the most solemn oaths and engagements, to protect and maintain.* There are, therefore, *four days in the year*, on which you may so fulfil the first canon of our church, as to combine with the observance of it, in your discourses, subjects of the deepest interest to us, as Christians, as Protestants, as ministers of the Church of England, and as loyal subjects, by inculcating to your congregations the truth of scripture, and the vanity of traditions,—the deliverance of our country from a Popish dynasty,—the inextinguishable hostility of Popery to our national institutions,—and the emancipation of our church from

At the commencement of every Parliament, the members are summoned to their legislative duty by the king's writ, and are expressly convened to 'defend the church,' as well as 'the state,' against imminent perils.' If certain persons are now, by a very strange anomaly, admitted into Parliament, from whom 'peril' to the church is especially to be apprehended, they must feel themselves bound in conscience (if they consult their conscience), by the tenor of the King's writ, to 'defend the church' of England and Ireland; and, by their own declaration, to do nothing to its detriment or loss!

our parishioners and congregations understand what the bitter root of popery is, that they may all join in the dying prayer of good King Edward the VIth, 'O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry and maintain the true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.'

PUBLICATIONS AGAINST POPERY may be multiplied. O what a reproach is it to the protestant church of England that the vast body of information and evangelical truth, full of the savour of Christ and the spirit of his gospel, Fox's book of Martyrs, should not have been republished since 1684. Nine editions appeared in the course of the preceding 120 years, and not one full edition in the 150 subsequent years! It is hoped that this reproach will soon be rolled away. But a series of other publications are greatly needed now, adapted to the present state of the world, such as HISTORICAL Tracts, giving authenticated accounts of the Inquisition all over the world. The martyrdoms recorded in Fox, Leger, &c.; the history of Bartholomew's Day in France, the cruelties of D'Alva in the Low Countries, furnish painfully ample materials. To this evidence of fact, may be added modern information respecting popery, the difference between protestant and papal countries, even where contiguous, as in Switzerland; a just display of the present state of Irish superstition, and contrasting it with Scotland. With these might be given facts

subjection to a foreign bishop, and from the idolatry, apostacy, and anti Christianity of his Church.

The Protestant religion, the Protestant people, and Protestant wealth (whatever Papists may assert) are still the ascendants in the empire: and nothing but indifference to the blessings we enjoy in the profession of our Protestant faith, and ingratitude to that gracious Providence which restored it in the sixteenth century, can ever enable Popery to regain in this country the domination which it once possessed here. Let *Commemorative and Conservative Associations* multiply; be active, co-operative, and united, and it never will regain it. Let us be true to the Protestant faith that we profess, and faithful to the Church of which we are members, and "the gates of hell," with all the powers of darkness, of error, and idolatry, "shall not prevail against it," or its doctrine.

I am, Rev. Brethren,

Your faithful Friend and Brother in Christ,

T. SARUM,

Palace, Salisbury, July 1, 1835.

shewing the effects of the pure protestant faith, and the present activity of protestant missions. To these historical facts, tracts containing DOCTRINAL statements drawn from the word of God, are now wanted; such as popular expositions of the predictions in Daniel, 1 Tim. iv., 2 Thess. ii., and in Revelations respecting popery; its true character exhibited from its own canons and catechisms, and their manifest opposition to the good tidings of great joy brought to us through Christ Jesus.

To COUNTERACT THE machinations of the PAPISTS in our colonies is an immense duty lying upon this country. What is the real fact? a tide of population is pouring from these countries into our colonies, partly uneducated English, partly Irish catholics, generally with but little religion; they go away from all the means of grace and the scriptural light of this country, and no provision, or most inadequate provision, is made for their instruction. The papists are fully alive to this state of things, and are sending forth their missionaries east and west, north and south. Protestants should preoccupy the ground, and fill the field with wheat, that the enemy may be less able to introduce the tares.

The third duty is to DENOUNCE GOD'S WRATH ON ADHERENCE TO POKERY. *And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.* (Rev. xiv. 9—11.) Observe who it is denounces this. An angel from the Lord! Look at the strength of the statement, and say not in the spirit of modern infidelity, (miscalled liberalism, when men denounce God's wrath on adherence to the beast and his image) 'how can you be so uncharitable as thus to denounce wrath on millions of your fellow-creatures, and sol-

low subjects ! ' The more they are, the more necessary it is to speak openly ; and the real charity,—the true love to them is, to believe God's word, and not man's word, and to forewarn them most plainly of their danger and ruin, while in their present state. The Roman Bishop Milner may, with all sincerity, say, when speaking of our calling Rome the great harlot, ' I shudder to repeat these blasphemies, and I blush to hear them uttered by my fellow Christians and countrymen ! ' But if our eyes have been opened to the enormities of popery, the shuddering will be at the danger of supporting such enormities, and the blushing at belonging to them, and it will be found to be no blasphemy but the very truth, to testify this scriptural character of popery. The first enemy was so CHARITABLE as to say, *Ye shall not surely die.* O false charity, which brought ruin into our world ! The real love was the love of the Creator, expressed in the words, *In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*

The Reformers felt this wrath so strongly, that hundreds of them cheerfully yielded their bodies to the burning flame rather than consent to popery. They wept over those who, rather than undergo papal cruelties, went to mass with their bodies, though they abhorred the idolatry of its worship in their consciences. They put the wrath of God against the terrors of man, and willingly went through their suffering and fiery trial, that we might have the gospel. The Lord give us, their successors, grace, if called thereto, to be equally *faithful unto death.* All the strength of this warning of the third angel, may soon be needed in this country ; and nothing but the strong meat of the Bible and its powerful denunciations, can sustain the soul in the agonies of conflict with the powers of darkness.

In conclusion, let us contemplate the GLORIOUS REWARD of the faithful witnesses for Christ. It is the joy to be attained hereafter, that will make us endure the present cross ; it is *the prize of our high calling*, that will stir us to run with undiminished ardour and unwearied patience, *the race that is set before us.* Read the glowing account of the faithful who have been sealed

the Holy Spirit; and grant such grace to them, that they may boldly and constantly testify the word of thy grace, and that all their sufferings may work for thy glory, their good, and the furtherance of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Seeing, also that thou hast commanded us not to render evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing; knowing that we are thereunto called, that we should inherit a blessing,—we pray for those who have injured us, that thou wilt have mercy upon them also; and turning them from the error of their ways, bring them to see and rejoice in the light of thy truth, that with one accord we may together praise thy holy name.

Deliver, O thou chief Shepherd of the sheep, thy flock every where, from its many enemies. O thou God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, enable us to glorify thy name in all our afflictions, and after we have suffered, make us perfect; stablish, strengthen, and settle us through Jesus Christ, to whom with thee O Father, and thee O Holy Spirit, three persons in One God, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. *Amen.*

PRAYER SUITED TO THESE TIMES.

ALMIGHTY Father, whose name is love, and who hast so shewn thy love to the world, that thou gavest thy only begotten Son for our salvation; we come to thee in the name of Him, who ever liveth to make intercession for us.

O Lord, we have been most unbelieving in thy word, and most unthankful for that great benefit—the good tidings of thy grace in Christ Jesus; and now we see thine enemies and ours, endeavouring to darken that glorious light, and to keep far from us all the comforts of thy great salvation. We deserve to lose that blessing which we have so greatly neglected. But, O God of all grace, pity us, spare us, and help us in our necessities. Pardon our sins, which are many and great, and for thine own name's sake, turn us again O God of Hosts, and cause thy face to shine, that we may be saved.

And, O Lord, seeing all things around us are disquieted and troubled, and there is no sure standing for our feet but on that word which endureth for ever ; we pray thee to set our feet upon that rock. O let the word of Christ dwell in us richly in all spiritual wisdom and understanding ; and grant, that we may meditate therein day and night. Guard us thereby from all error, and guide us thereby into all truth ; and may we shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.

O Lord, deliver us from all false doctrine, heresy and schism ; take away from us all unbelief, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word. Raise up every where faithful ministers, revealing thy love in Christ Jesus to them, and enabling them, boldly, freely, and constantly, to proclaim the gospel of thy grace.

Bless all societies formed for this end. Give grace to all who conduct them, that nothing may be dearer and more precious to them than thy truth, and that they may ever have wisdom to discern, faith to receive, love to embrace, and steadfast courage to maintain that truth, against all the assaults of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Grace be with all them that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Unite their hearts together as the heart of one man. May the enemy no longer prevail over us, to lead us to envy, vex, or harrass each other ; but whereunto we have already attained, may we walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.

O Lord, bring thy people out of Babylon, before thy judgments descend upon it. May the warnings which thou hast given in thy holy word, be more distinctly and loudly proclaimed, till all thy people separate themselves from that Man of Sin, whom thou wilt destroy with the brightness of thy coming.

Every where may thy church be like the wise virgins, ready and prepared for the return of their Lord. May we take heed lest our hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon us unawares. Give us grace to watch and pray always, that we may be accounted worthy to escape those

things which shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.

Lord, gather in thy people Israel from every land : take away their sins, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob, that the receiving of them may be as life from the dead, and their fulness be far more the riches of the world than their casting away was ; and so every where the Gentiles may fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.

Thus may all the rich promises of thine own word be speedily accomplished, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ ; and the kingdom, and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him. Hear us, O hear us, for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

PRAYER FOR INFIDELS.

O THOU who hast called thy people to make supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings for all men, for thou wouldest have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, I come unto thee in behalf of those who are denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction,—who are treading under foot the Son of God, and counting the blood of the covenant, wherewith they were sanctified an unholy thing, and doing despite to the spirit of grace. O thou Father of mercies and God of love, forgive them ; for they know not what they do. Thou hast opened my eyes to see thy love towards me when an enemy to thee, and a rebel against thee : thou hast led me to see in the death of thine own Son, that thou lovest me a sinner with intense love, whilst thou hatest sin with unutterable abhorrence ; and so I see thy glory in the face of Jesus, and return unto thee who hast redeemed me, and delight in thee my most holy and most loving Father. O open their eyes to

see thy love to them in Christ Jesus; for thou so loved the world that thou gavest thine only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life. In this day of rich, free, abounding grace, where sin abounds, O let grace more abound, and reign in their salvation unto eternal life through Jesus Christ; that multitudes may be snatched as brands from destruction, and become everlasting monuments of thy loving kindness to the chief of sinners. Hear, O hear me for Jesus' sake. *Amen.*

PRAYER FOR PAPISTS.

O LORD, known unto thee are all thy works from the beginning of the world. Thou, hast foretold that the day of Christ should not come, except there came a falling away first, and the man of sin were revealed. We have seen that falling away, and we now behold millions calling themselves by the name of Christ, partaking of the sins of Babylon, and in fearful danger of receiving of her swiftly-coming plagues. I now earnestly then call upon thee to have mercy upon them. Long hast thou delayed thy threatened judgments, by thy goodness leading men to repentance: O exalted Prince and Saviour, bestow repentance and remission of sins on the papists. Open their eyes, O heavenly Father, to see the wrong which they do to him, who is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and, having been once offered, hath put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. Open their eyes to see the speedy ruin coming upon all who belong to Babylon,—who shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb. Open their ears, in this day of grace, to hear thy loving invitation to them, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. O LORD, may multitudes every where in this accepted time hear thy word and flee out of Babylon. May thy people every where lift up their voice as a trumpet, and point them to the only Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world; and may all the ends of

the earth look unto thee and be saved. And speedily come, O Divine Redeemer, and put an end to the days of sin and sinning, and reign triumphantly King of kings, and Lord of lords over the whole earth. Hear and answer, O heavenly Father, for Jesus' sake. *Amen.*

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REMARKS

ON THE PRESENT SELECTION.

IN pursuance of the original design in planning the Christian's Family Library, the following volume of selections from the writings of our English reformers, is presented to the reader. They consist of those works which were either publicly acknowledged and sanctioned, as Jewell's Apology, and Edward the Sixth's Catechism, or such portions of the other reformers as seemed specially adapted for practical usefulness, and to give a general view of their sentiments on the most important doctrines of the gospel. Should the present volume be so favourably received as to justify the publisher in giving a second series of selections, there are ample and most valuable materials in the writings of Bradford, Latimer, Becon, Knox, Fox, &c.

On the selections in the present volume the following remarks will enable the reader to peruse them with more interest and intelligence.

1. Jewell's Treatise on the Holy Scriptures, is a

fine specimen of the eloquence, perspicuity, and evangelical simplicity which characterize this reformer's writings. It was printed in 1569, by Dr. Garbrand, and is included in the folio collection of his works.

2. The design of Cranmer's 'Unwritten Verities,' was to shew the divine authority of the Scriptures, and the difference between them and traditions called Unwritten Verities. It was published in English in 1548. It is not given in the Religious Tract Society's selection, and is here taken from Strype's Memorials.

3. Edward the Sixth's Catechism, published in 1552, the seventh year of his reign was so called, being enjoined by him on all schoolmasters and teachers of youth. It is supposed to have been written by Dean Nowell, and to have been enlarged by him afterwards in the catechism published under his own name.

4. Jewell's Apology will ever be an interesting document to the English Protestant. It was originally published in Latin in 1562, as a Defence of the Reformed Churches against the Papists. It was soon translated into most of the European languages, and was highly esteemed by foreign Protestants. No Englishman ought to be unacquainted with it.

5. Cranmer's Homily on Salvation is so clear and striking an account of the way of justification, and so pointedly referred to in our articles on that doctrine, that it seemed very desirable to include it in this volume.

6. Tyndale on Justification is extracted from a larger work—an answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, published in 1530. It will show our readers how the reformers defended that vital doctrine.

7. Becon's works are eminently useful. Speci-

mens of them are given in his 'sermon on faith in Christ;' and his 'sermon on the second coming' now first reprinted. Few of the works of the reformers would be more generally useful if reprinted than those of Becon, if a judgment may be formed from a volume of Postils, in the editor's possession, and the selection given by the Religious Tract Society.

8. Philpot on Infant Baptism, will give the reader the ideas of the reformers on that important ordinance. It is one that the Religious Tract Society, as including all denominations, could not adopt: but it shows how much the reformers lived up to the rich promises of scripture.

9. The treatise of Ridley on the Lord's Supper, is a simple, scriptural, and able defence of the Protestant doctrine on that sacrament, confirmed by three principal Greek and three Latin fathers. His farewell letter to the prisoners is a beautiful specimen of the spirit of our reformers.

10. Bradford on the Fear of Death is a little tract of constant value to those living in a world where they are ever exposed to the sudden attacks of that last enemy.

A considerable part of the selections are taken from the collection published by the Religious Tract Society. After a careful comparison of some passages with original editions, the present editor found those of the Tract Society edited with such judgment and fidelity, as gave him great confidence in taking his extracts from that very convenient and useful edition, and adopting many of the notes there appended. It is hardly sufficiently yet known what a treasury of valuable documents of the reformers the twelve volumes of the Religious Tract Society contain. The other selections are made from Rich-

mond's Fathers, and from Strype's, and Becon's Works.

These works contain the testimony of the faithful witnesses for Christ, against the corruptions of Popery; and amidst the struggling efforts of that Antichristian church, to recover its lost influence in our day, and its often fatally seductive temptations, the tracts of the present volume will hold up a clear mirror to show the reader what true Protestantism is, and what that apostacy was and is, from which we have most scripturally separated.

EDWARD BICKERSTETH.

*Watton Rectory,
January 30, 1836.*

**THE TESTIMONY
OF THE REFORMERS.**

A TREATISE
OF
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS WHICH BISHOP
JEWELL PREACHED AT SALISBURY, A. D. 1570.

This treatise, Of the Holy Scriptures, was printed by Dr. Garbrand with another work of bishop Jewell's called 'A View of a seditious Bull sent into England from Pius V. bishop of Rome, 1569.' In the preface to the reader, he says,

'In the Treatise of the Holy Scriptures is showed the authority, and the profit, and the pleasure, and the necessity of the word of God.

'If thou learn to humble thyself before God, and to seek wisdom of him; if thou search the scriptures, and make them thy guides to lead thee through the desert and wide sea of this life, thou shalt soon espy the danger of all practices towards disloyalty and rebellion whereto the Bull driveth thee. For it is not only said by the wise man, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," Prov. I, but also set down by the prophet, "They have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is there in them?" Jeremiah viii. That is, men become foolish and do such things as are unmeet, because they care not for the word of God; and therefore David in his experience so confided, that by the commandments of God he was made wiser than his enemies, and had more understanding than all his teachers; because the testimonies of the Lord were ever with him, and he did meditate upon them. Psalm cxix.'

A TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

AMONG all his creatures in heaven or earth, God hath not made any like unto the sun in the firmament, the beams whereof are beautiful and pleasant, and give comfort in all places, to all things. It rejoices the whole, and relieves the sick ; it causes birds to sing, fishes to play, cattle to stir, worms to creep, grass to grow, and trees to bring fruit ; it renews the face of the whole earth.

Yet a blind man has no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blind, and cannot see it ; yet a dead man has no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead, and feels it not.

Adam was placed in paradise in perfect estate, and in the company of God's angels. God walked and did talk with him. He heard the voice, and beheld the presence of God. The rivers yielded waters abundantly, the trees brought him food of life. He had plenty without travail, he had pleasures, joy, and his heart's desire.

But Adam was unthankful ; he knew not God, the worker of his happiness ; he knew not the place in which he was ; he knew not his own state and bless-

edness ; therefore the wrath of the Lord grew against him : he fell into the snares of the devil, he became mortal, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the world so happy as Israel ! They were delivered by a mighty hand out of Egypt, from the tyranny of Pharaoh, from servage and villainy.¹ Their children were no more slain before their faces. They passed through the bottom of the sea, as upon dry land. When they were hungry, there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought them quails from the sea, and manna was given them from heaven to eat. When they thirsted, the rocks opened and poured out water, that they and their beasts might drink.

In battle they were mighty and strong ; no power was able to stand against them. The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way ; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light. When they called upon the Lord, he heard them. When they trusted in him, they were not confounded.

But they grew unmindful of all these mercies, and murmured against the Lord, and against his servants ; therefore God raught² forth his hand against them. He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. He sent his angel, and destroyed them in the wilderness.

Even so fares it with all such as regard not the word of their salvation ; because they have ears and hear not, nor will understand with their hearts, the fury of the Lord shall be kindled against them. The prophet saith in the name of God to Israel, Jer. vii. " I have sent unto them all my servants the prophets, yet would they not hear me, nor incline their ear."

Samuel tells Saul, 1 Sam. xv. " Thou hast cast

¹ Slavery, villain formerly meant a serf or bondsman

² Stretched.

away the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath cast away thee." Again, Jeremiah saith, chap. vi. "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? They have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them?" Again, "Unto whom shall I speak, and admonish, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken; behold the word of the Lord is unto them as a reproach, they have no delight in it; I will cause a plague to come upon this people, even the fruit of their own imaginations; because they have not taken heed unto my words, nor to my law, but cast it off."

After this manner God shows the cause why his word takes not place in us; because we are wilful, and will not hear it, nor receive it, nor take delight in it, nor let the fruit thereof appear; but reject it, and make it a reproach, and cast it away from us. And therefore is it that the Lord doth cast us away; that we are unwise; that we please ourselves with our own devices, and follow our own imaginations, and perish, because we have not understanding to hear the instruction of the Lord's word, but, like ignorant men, disallow it, and cast it behind the back.

The consideration hereof moves me to say somewhat of the *holy scriptures*, which are the bright sun of God; which bring light unto our ways, and comfort to all parts of our life, and salvation to our souls; in which is made known unto us our estate, and the mercy of God witnessed in Christ our Saviour.

That we may the better see the path which we have to walk in; my meaning is, truly, and plainly, and shortly, to show you what authority and majesty the word of God beareth; then, what profit we may reap by it; also, how needful it is, that we be well instructed in the holy scriptures; and what pleasure and delectation a christian conscience may find in them; and lastly, whether they are dark and doubt-

ful, or plain and easy for your understanding: that when we know the majesty and authority of the word, and what comfort and profit God giveth us by it, we deprive not ourselves thereof by our unthankfulness, nor close up our eyes that we see it not; but hear it in reverence and in fear, that it may be fruitful in us, and we receive it not in vain.

The scriptures are the word of God. What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say, "The Lord hath spoken them? that they came not by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" 2 Peter i. At the word or proclamation of an earthly prince we stand up and vail our bonnets, and give good heed to it: we are bound so to do, it is our duty; such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule over us; for they are ordained of God. And whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God. *

If we should have a revelation, and hear an angel speak unto us, how careful should we be to mark, and remember, and to be able to declare the words of the angel! yet an angel is but a glorious creature, and not God. And what is a king? great and mighty, yet mortal and subject to death; his breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he and his word, his power and his puissance, shall have an end.

But the word of the gospel is not as the word of an earthly prince. It is of more majesty than the word of an angel. The apostle saith, Heb. ii. "If the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?"

God saith by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lv. "My

word shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." And the same prophet saith, chap. xl. "The word of God shall stand for ever." And, "It is more easy that heaven and earth pass away, than that one tittle of the law should fail," saith our Saviour. Luke xvi. For it is the word of the living and almighty God, of the God of hosts, who hath done whatsoever pleased him, both in heaven and in earth.

By this word he maketh his will known. "I have not spoken of myself, saith Christ," John xii. "but the Father which sent me, gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." And again, John xv. "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now have they no cloak for their sin. No man hath seen God at any time." He is invisible, no eye can reach unto him. "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath declared him;" he hath showed us the throne of grace, that we may seek for mercy, and find grace in time of need; he hath disclosed unto us the will of his Father; he hath left unto us, and ordained, that we should hear his holy word.

This word the angels and blessed spirits used when they came down from heaven to speak unto the people; when they came to the blessed virgin, and to Joseph, and to others, they spake as it was written in the prophets, and in the scriptures of God; they thought not their own authority sufficient, but they took credit to their saying, and authority to their message, out of the word of God.

∕ This word the prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mother's womb; albeit God had endued them with his heavenly Spirit; although a seraphim came unto one of them and touched his mouth with a hot coal; albeit he saw the Lord sitting upon a high throne; yet they would not speak as of themselves, but only

in the name of the Lord; for thus they used to say, "The Lord hath spoken—This is the word of the Lord—Hear what the Lord saith." Saint Paul, albeit he was taken up into the third heaven, and into paradise, and heard words that are not lawful for man to utter, yet he wrote not his own words to the churches of Rome, of Corinth, and of Thessalonica, and of other places, but delivered those which he had received, and taught them according to the scriptures.

This word is the true manna; it is the bread which came down from heaven; it is the key of the kingdom of heaven; it is the savour of life unto life; it is the power of God unto salvation. In it God sheweth unto us his might, his wisdom, and his glory. By it he will be known of us. By it he will be honoured of his creatures. Whatsoever truth is brought unto us contrary to the word of God, it is not truth, but falsehood and error; whatsoever honour done unto God, disagrees from the honour required by his word, it is not honour unto God, but blasphemy.

As Christ saith, Matt. xv. "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." By Isaiah God saith, "Who hath required this at your hands?" And by Jeremiah, chap. vii. "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices: But this commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways which I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."

Again, Jer. xxiii. "What is the chaff to the wheat?" saith the Lord. What are your dreams to be weighed with the truth of God? Search the scriptures. In them ye shall learn to know me, and how you should worship me; in them ye shall find ever-

lasting life. The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in the furnace; there is no filth nor dross remaining in them; they are the storehouse of wisdom, and of the knowledge of God; in respect whereof, all the wisdom of this world is but vain and foolish.

Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans, Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmon, and Minos, king of Crete, were wise men, and of great government; they devised laws to rule the people, and made them imagine that they were taught by revelation, that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for ever. But where are they now? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus? Where are their books? What is become of their laws? They were unwise, and had no knowledge nor understanding of God; they and their laws are dead, and their names forgotten. But the law of God came from heaven indeed. God wrote it with his finger; it is the fountain of all wisdom, and therefore shall it continue for ever, and never have an end.

Here let us behold the great power and work of God. When Moses received the law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of angels; the air was darkened at his presence, the mount stood all covered with fire, the earth shook, the heavens thundered, the people stood afar off, and fled for fear, and said unto Moses, "Talk thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God talk with us, lest we die." This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the law; such force and credit God gave to his word, and warranted himself to be the Lord.

Since that time, many thousand years are already passed. In the mean time, the people of Israel were oppressed by tyrants, were spoiled and chased out of their country; first, by Nebuchadnezzar into Babylon; after that, by Antiochus into Syria; and

lastly, they were as vagabonds driven from country to country.

Their city Jerusalem was sacked, their houses overthrown, their temple rased, and not a stone left upon a stone; their library destroyed, their books burnt, the tabernacle lost, the covenant broken. No vision, no revelation, no comfort for the people left; nor prophet, nor priest, nor any to speak in the name of the Lord:

In all those times of decays, of sackings, of darkness, and of misery, what was done with the word of God? It was wickedly burnt by Jehoiakim, king of Judah; and Antiochus burnt the books of the law, and cut them in pieces. No man durst be known to have them, and avouch the having; so thought they utterly to deface the glory of God, and to abolish all remembrance of his laws.

Then came the Pharisees; they drowned the word of God with their traditions; they took away the key of knowledge, and entered not in themselves, but forbade them that came in. After them came heretics; they denied, some one part, and some another part of scripture. They rased, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God; of the word of God they made it their own word, or, which is worse, they made it the word of the devil.

By the space of so many thousand years, the word of God passed by so many dangers of tyrants, of pharisees, of heretics, of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth until this day, without altering or changing one letter. This was a wonderful work of God, that having so many and such great enemies, and passing through so many and such great dangers, it yet continueth still, without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter.¹ No creature was able to do this, it was God's work.

He preserved it, that no tyrant should consume

¹ So as to alter the sense, or change the doctrines taught therein.

it; no tradition choke it; no heretic maliciously should corrupt it. For his name's sake, and for the elect's sake, he would not suffer it to perish; for in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh covenant with them for life everlasting. Tyrants, and pharisees, and hereticks, and the enemies of the cross of Christ, have an end; but the word of God hath no end.

No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Cities shall fall; kingdoms shall come to nothing; empires shall fade away as the smoke; but the truth of the Lord shall continue for ever. Burn it, it will rise again; kill it, it will live again; cut it down by the root, it will spring again. "There is no wisdom, neither understanding, nor counsel against the Lord." Prov. xxi.

Let us behold the nations and kingdoms which sometimes professed Christ, and are now heathenish; Illyricum, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others. Again, let us behold such kingdoms and countries, which were in times past heathen, and knew not God; as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and divers others.

They were all without the gospel, without Christ, without God, and without hope of life. They worshipped idols, even the work of their own hands. To them they appointed priests for their service, days and places for the people to resort together to worship them.

Here in England, Paul's church in London was the temple of Diana; Peter's church in Westminster was the temple of Apollo. In Rome they had the temple of the great god Jupiter, and in Florence the temple of Mars; and in other places they had temples dedicated to other idols.

Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana were unclean spirits and filthy devils; yet they gave thanks to

them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in war and in misery, and commended unto them their wives, their children, themselves, the safe keeping and custody of their souls. They built gorgeous churches and chapels; set up images of silver and gold to them; prayed, lifted up their hands, did sacrifice, and offered up their children to them.

A horrible thing to say, yet true it is, the darkness of those times was such, that men slew their own children, and offered them up to idols. They said, Great is Jupiter, great is Apollo, and great is Diana of the Ephesians. These are the gods of our fathers; our fathers trusted in them; they made us, and have defended us, and have given us victory against our enemies. Whosoever denied them were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the kings, and the princes, and the people persuaded; and so continued they by the space of some thousand years, without controlment or contradiction. They had great props of antiquity, universality, and consent—antiquity of all times; universality of all places; consent of all the people. So strongly and so mightily were they founded; who would think such a religion, so ancient, and so universal, and so defended by common consent, should ever possibly be removed?

But when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his word, and all was changed. Error fell down, and truth stood up; men forsook their idols, and went to God. The kings, and priests, and people were changed; the temples, and sacrifices, and prayers were changed; men's eyes and hearts were changed. They forsook their gods, their kings, their priests; they forsook their antiquity, customs, consent, their fathers, and themselves.

What power was able to work these things? What emperor by force ever prevailed so much? What strength could ever shake down such mighty idols

from their seats? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world, and make such mighty nations confess they had done amiss? This did the Lord bring to pass by the power of his word and the breath of his mouth.

This it was that led captivity captive, and threw down every high thing that lifted itself up against the Lord, and brought all powers under subjection unto the Lord. It is the image, the power, the arm, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and virtue, of authority and majesty, because it is the word of God; therefore the glory thereof is great.

Now let us stand afar off, and humble ourselves, and in reverence and fear learn to take the fruit and comfort of the same; for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers of his glory. But where shall we find entrance into this matter? And how shall we be able to come to land? For this is the sea, and the depth of all the works, of the judgments, and mercies, and of the kingdom of God. This is a sea that hath no shore, a pit that hath no bottom.

The holy scriptures are the mercy-seat, the registry of the mysteries of God, our charter for the life to come, the holy place in which God showeth himself to the people, the Mount Sion where God hath appointed to dwell for ever. The more comfort there is in them, so much the more greedily let us desire them; the more heavenly and glorious they are, with so much the more reverence let us come unto them.

For consideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by his word, what may we better call to mind than what is recorded by St. Paul, Rom. xv. ? "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope."

All that is written in the word of God is not written for angels, or archangels, or heavenly spirits, but for the sons of men, for us, and for our instruction; that by them we may receive strength and comfort in all adversities, and have hope of the life to come. It is the word of God. God openeth his mouth and speaketh to us, to guide us into all truth, to make us full and ready in all good works, that we may be perfect men in Christ Jesus; so rooted and grounded in him, that we be not tossed to and fro with every tempest.

The profit which the word of God bringeth shall best appear, if we first take a view of our estate, what we are, in what place we stand, and what enemies make force against us. We are the sons of Adam, stubborn children, the children of vanity and of wrath; the children of those fathers who forsook God, and have erred in their hearts, and were deceived.

God who created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, saith, Gen. viii. "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Such are we, even by the judgment of God, and his judgment faileth not. What error, what idol, what wickedness ever hath been heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man?

We can neither do, nor speak, nor think the thing that is good; our understanding is heavy, our will froward, our eyes blind, and our heart unclean. We go astray through the world as lost sheep, every man after his own way. Even as a leaf is carried up and down with a blast of wind, so are we easily driven into error; in ourselves we find no stay, no succour, nor help. Such are we, and so weak of ourselves.

But where are we? In the world. And what is the world? Some think it to be a place full of all delights and pleasures, a goodly, strong, and gor-

geous palace, and a paradise of joy. Let no man deceive us, nay, rather let us not deceive ourselves: the world is a shop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkness, a pot full of poison, a ship full of leaks, a way full of snares: it blinds our eyes, beguiles our senses, and helps us forward into all dangers. We are blind ourselves, and the place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.

Whercunto may I resemble our case? Jeremiah the prophet was cast into a dungeon: there he sat without light, and without comfort. His case was miserable, and the place loathsome; yet he knew where he was, he knew what he lacked; he cried unto the Lord, and was delivered.

Daniel was cast into the den of lions, there to be torn in pieces and devoured: but he saw his misery, and the danger in which he stood; he saw the lions, the paws which should gripe him, and the teeth which should tear him. His case was miserable, yet is ours more miserable. We are in the deep dungeon of hell, and think we are in safety; we are in the midst of darkness, and think it to be light; we are compassed with lions, with dragons, and with scorpions, yet think not of our misery.

Who hath not heard of the story of Jonah? Jonah was in a whale's belly. The place was very dark, the waves beat on every side; he was drowned, yet touched no water; he was swallowed up, yet not consumed; he lived without any sense of life; the fish was death, the sea was death, and the tempest was death; yet he died not, but lived in the midst of death; he could not see, he could not hear, he knew not to whom he might call for help; he was taken and carried away, he knew not whither.

Let us mark well this story; it is a true pattern of our estate, and shows what our life is in this world. We are beset with like dangers; we are driven with tempests; we are drowned in like floods; we live in

the midst of horrible darkness ; we are carried we know not whither.

The philosopher tells us, truth and falsehood are nigh neighbours, and dwell one by the other ; the outer porch of the one is like the porch of the other ; yet their way is contrary ; the one leads to life, the other leads to death ; they differ little to the show, save that ofttimes the door of falsehood is fair, painted, graven, and beautifully adorned ; but the door or forefront of truth is plain and homely.

Thereby it happens that men are deceived ; they mistake the door, and go into error's house, when they seek truth. They call evil good, falsehood truth, and darkness light ; they forsake that which is good, deny the truth, and love not the light. This moved St. Paul to say of his brethren the Jews, Rom. x. " I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge ; " they have the care and fear of God ; they are zealous in their doings ; they have devotion ; they pretend conscience ; they think they do well, and that they please God. " When they professed themselves to be wise, they became fools," Rom. i.

They knew not what they did ; for if they had knowledge, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. But they know not the truth of God ; they know not God ; they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart ; their prayers are no prayers ; the truth they hold is falsehood ; their faith is no faith ; they are sheep without a shepherd. Thus we have heard what we are, and in what place.

Now let us see what enemies bend their force against us. We fight against the gates of hell, with the devil, the prince of darkness, the father of lies ; with the devil, who hath power over the children of disobedience, by whose malice death came into the world. Even that devil bends his force against us, who deceived Adam in Paradise, who deceived the

learned philosophers, and beguiled the princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world; who abuses and entices our hands, our eyes, our learning, our understanding, and our own hearts to deceive us.

He rampeth as a lion, and rangeth over the world, seeking whom he may devour. This is his delight and study. He hath been a murderer from the beginning. If this were ever true at any time, our times have found it most true. We are they upon whom the ends of the world are come.

Now is the scripture fulfilled in our ears. Now see we the days whereof Christ warned his disciples so earnestly. Matt. xxiv. They shall say, "Lo! here is Christ," and there is Christ. This is truth, that is truth. There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall deceive many; they shall betray the truth. Many shall be offended by them; if it were possible, the very elect, they whose names are written in the book of life, should be deceived. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.

The sun is the word of God, the moon signifies the church. The powers of heaven shall be moved; all the kindreds of the earth shall mourn; abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place. Let him that reads, consider it. This is the mystery of iniquity, of which St. Paul speaks to the Thessalonians, which worketh among them that perish, 2 Thess. ii. "Thus are we forewarned. God has given us his word to advise us, that we be not cast away unawares."

They that walk in the dark know not whither they go. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. He that is ignorant, shall not be known. Christ shall say unto him, "I know you not; depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." Their

worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out.

In this case, what shall a godly-disposed simple man do? How shall he settle himself? to which side may he safely join himself? If he make reckoning of learning, there are learned men on both sides. If he make reckoning of virtue and godly life, there are virtuous men and of godly life on both sides. If he make reckoning of zeal, either side is zealous in the religion they hold. If he make reckoning of the name of the church, they take it as well to the one side as to the other. If he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side, but neither side has so many as the Turk.

Whither then may a man turn himself, and to which side may he safely join? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case, St. Paul tells us, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, are written for our learning," to lighten our eyes, to resolve our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to lighten them that sit in darkness. Except he had left a spark of this light we had perished, and become like to Sodom and Gomorrah.

David saith, "Thy word is a lantern to my paths, and a light to my feet. By it I may see the way which is before me; by it I can escape danger, and by it I can keep the path wherein I ought to walk." When Christ perceived that the Capernaïtes and the Jews disliked his doctrines, and went back and walked no more with him, he said to the twelve, John vi. "Will ye also go away?" You are my disciples, whom I have chosen out of this world; will ye also go away? Simon Peter answered him, "Master, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." If we forsake thee, who shall instruct us? Thy word is the word of eternal life.

With this word Christ confounded the scribes and

pharisees, and put them to silence. "Ye reject," saith he, Mark vii. "the commandment of God, that ye may observe your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; whosoever shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to father or mother, Corban, that is, by the gift that is offered by me thou mayest have profit, he shall be free."

With this word he confounded them, for misusing the temple by buying and selling, Matt. xxi. "It is written, my house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every fault, Matt. xix. "From the beginning it was not so." With this word he confounded the devil, and chased him from him, Matt. iv. "It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And again: It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And again: It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

This word confounded the Arians, and all sects of heretics. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches and others? They are blown away as smoke before the wind. The word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell, and brake his hands and neck, and could not stand in the presence of the ark of the Lord, even so shall all falsehood fall and hide itself in the presence of the truth of God. As the rod of Moses devoured the rods of the charmers; as the beams of the sun drive away and consume darkness,—so shall the word of God chase away errors.

When the two disciples walked by the way with Christ, they said between themselves, after their eyes

were opened, so that they knew him, "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and opened to us THE SCRIPTURES?" Luke xxiv. His words possessed all our senses; his talk was not like common talk; we felt it forcible in us as the word of God.

Israel heard Peter declare unto them at Jerusalem by proof of the scriptures, that Christ was come. They were not able to resist the word of God, but were pricked in their hearts and "said unto Peter and the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Acts ii. We acknowledge our error: the words which you speak are most true; they are the words of life; teach us and instruct us what we shall do. They felt the force of it, and yielded unto it; they did acknowledge it was the word of God.

Augustine, after he had continued long in error, and had withdrawn himself into a secret place, where he might make his prayer, and bewail his ignorance, heard a voice say unto him, 'Take up and read, take up and read.' And he forthwith took up the epistles of Paul, and opened them, and secretly read the chapter which he first lighted on, even these words: "Not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of the same." Rom. xiii.

'I would read no further,' saith he, 'for I needed not. For when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart.' It was as if it had been said, O man, acknowledge thy misery; thou art naked, cover thy filthiness; put on Jesus Christ. And forthwith I felt a fire within me, my heart was lightened; the scales fell from mine eyes, I was able to see. Thus he was comforted and stayed by this the word of God.

This profit of the word Cyprian declares: If we return to the head and the beginning of the Lord's traditions, all error of man must needs give place. Theophylact, writing upon these words in the gospel by St. John, "He that entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber," saith, 'He entereth not in by the door,' that is, by the scriptures; for he doth not use the scriptures nor the prophets as witnesses. For indeed the scriptures are the door by which we are brought to God, and they suffer not the wolves to come in; they keep off heretics, that we may be in safety; and they teach us the reason of any thing wherein we would be instructed; therefore he is a thief which entereth not into the sheepfold by the scriptures. And by the scriptures it appears he is a thief that climbeth up another way, that is, makes himself another way, a way which was not known, nor beaten: such a one shall antichrist be. What greater profit? They bring us to God, teach us the truth, and give us reason of all things: they keep us in safety, suffer not wolves to devour us, keep off heretics, bewray a thief, and make known who is antichrist.

Therefore, upon the gospel by St. Luke, he expounds these words, "Let your lights be burning;" that is, have not your being in the darkness, and be not void of judgment; but take unto you the light of God's word, which will teach you what things you should do, and what things you ought not to do.

And as the word of God is the light to direct us, and to bewray errors, so is it also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood. Chrysostom, writing upon the 24th of Matthew, shows it were impossible for a man to stay himself, and find out which is the true church, but by the word of God. 'For it could not be tried by working of miracles; because the gift of working miracles is

taken away, and such false miracles as carry some show, are rather to be found among false Christians; nor yet by their conversation and life, because Christians live either as ill or worse than heretics.' There can be no trial of true Christianity, and Christians which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, have no other refuge, but to try and learn this by the scriptures. For, saith he, heretics have the counterfeit and likeness of those things which are proper to Christ; they have churches, they have the scriptures of God, they have baptism, they have the Lord's Supper, and all other things like the true church; yea, they have Christ himself. He therefore that will know which is the true church of Christ, how may he know it, but by the scriptures?

Therefore our Lord, knowing that there should be such confusion of things in the latter days, commandeth that Christians, who live in the profession of Christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselves upon a sure ground of faith, should go to no other thing but the Scriptures. Otherwise if they had regard to other things, they should be offended and perish, and not understand which is the true church.

The master of a ship, when he is on the main sea, casts his eye always upon the load-star,¹ and so directs and guides his ways. Even so must we, who are passengers and strangers in this world, ever settle our eyes to behold the word of God; so shall no tempest overblow us; so shall we be guided without danger; so shall we safely arrive in the haven of our rest.

The prophet David therefore saith, "Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart. Their faces shall not be ashamed, they shall not be confounded, which have respect unto his commandment. Blessed is the man, whose

¹ The pole star.

delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night. The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple."

This is the rule of our faith. Without this, our faith is but a fantasy, and no faith; for faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Therefore Christ saith, John v., "Search the scriptures; they are they that testify of me." There shall ye find testimony of my doctrine; there shall ye know what is the will of my heavenly Father, and there shall you receive the comfort for everlasting life.

Again, John viii.—"He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. If a man keep my word, he shall know the truth, he shall never see death." Therefore Baruch said, 'O Israel, we are blessed, for the things that are acceptable unto God are declared unto us.' This is thy blessedness; herein hath God showed his favour unto thee, he hath revealed the secrets of his will unto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. He showed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

Therefore the prophet David teaches us to pray unto God for the knowledge of his word. "Show me thy ways, O Lord, and teach me thy paths; take not thy Holy Spirit from me, and incline my heart unto thy testimonies. Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments. Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law." And, "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death:" that I may discern between safety and danger, that I may know truth to be the truth, and error to be error."

Thus I have declared part of that profit which grows to us by the word of God; but it not only directs our judgment in the trial of truth, it also

grafts in us a boldness and constancy in the defence of the truth. It is also said in the book of Ecclesiasticus, "A fool changeth as the moon." He is always unstable and inconstant, he knows not what to do, nor what to believe; he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty, and turns and changes as the moon; he builds, and lays his foundation upon the sand, therefore his house falls to the ground; he halts on both sides, sometimes he worships God, and sometimes Baal; he is neither hot nor cold; he ebbs and flows like the waves of the sea; he doubts and staggers, and rests in nothing; he knows not the truth, he knows not that the scriptures are the word of God, so he wanders in the dark, and knows not the way in which he walks. He has no feeling, no heart, no understanding; he is unfaithful towards God, and keeps no faith towards man; he is wavering in all his ways. And why? Because he knows not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and stedfast as the sun. He builds his house upon a rock, and that rock is Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Therefore his house is never shaken down. Be the storm or tempest ever so rough, yet it shall stand fast like mount Sion, because his trust is in the name of the Lord. He knows that his name is written in the book of life; he knows that he belongs to the Lord's sheepfold, and that no man can take him away out of the Lord's hand.

In this boldness David saith, Psalm xxiii.,—"Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." And again, Psalm xxvii., "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?" And again, Psalm cxix., "Except thy laws had been my delight, I should now have perished in mine affliction."

When Hezekiah heard the proud message of Sen-

nacherib, sent to him and his people by Rabshakeh, that they should not obey Hezekiah, nor trust in him when he said, "The Lord will deliver you;" and, "Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest: he went up into the house of the Lord, and prayed unto the Lord to save him and his people out of their hands, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that he is God alone," 2 Kings xix.

Even so the apostle, Romans xiv., "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." And in this boldness our Saviour Christ settled himself to bear their reproaches, and to carry his cross, Luke xxii., "Father, if thou wilt, take away this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." Thus they that are taught by the word of God to put their trust in the Lord, and are thereby rooted and settled in him, cannot be removed by any practice of Satan, but stand fast, and continue for ever. Which shall more plainly appear, if we look back into the times of persecution, and behold the boldness and constancy of the saints of God. They were brought before magistrates, cast into prison, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered; some were hanged upon gibbets, some run through with swords, some torn with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire. They were hated of all men for the name of Christ, they were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth; yet they continued faithful and constant; they armed their hearts with the comfort of God's word; **THEREBY** were they able to resist in the evil day; they were faithful until death, therefore God gave them a crown of glory.

When they were called before kings and princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they took in the truth, they answered in this manner, 'O my gracious lord, I would fain do your com-

mandment; I am your subject; I have done you faithful service with my body and with my goods, but I cannot serve you against God. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords; he is my Lord, before whom I stand; I have put my life in his hands; he hath forbidden me to do this which you command, therefore I cannot do it. Judge uprightly whether it be meet to obey you rather than God. My living, my wife, my children, and my life, are dear unto me. I am a man like others, and have my affections; yet neither living, nor wife, nor children, nor my life, is so dear unto me as the glory of God. I am but a poor worm, yet am I the work of his hands. God hath put his word in my mouth; I may not deny it; I may not bear false witness against the Lord. My life is not dear unto me in respect of the truth. I know if I should deny him to save my life, I should lose it; and if I lose my life for his sake I shall find it.

‘That which your authority shall lay upon me is not done without his will. All the hairs of my head are numbered. I owe you obedience; I will not resist your power; for if I should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God. I am subject to you for conscience sake. I will forsake my country, my goods, my children, and myself, at your commandment; I will say to mine own flesh, I know thee not; only I cannot forsake my Lord God.

‘Dear sir, you fight not against me. Alas! what am I? what can I do? You fight against God, against the Most Holy, against Him who can command your life to go out of your body. It is a hard thing for you to kick against the spur; it is no hard matter for you to kill me, for so mighty a prince to kill so wretched a worm. But this I declare to you, that my blood which you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your hands.

‘It may please God to give unto you repentance,

and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may be a mean thereto, if my blood may open your eyes, if my blood may soften your heart, it could never be spent in a better cause; blessed be the name of God, which hath made me his instrument for your so happy conversion. This is the only thing wherein I cannot yield. The Lord hath spoken unto me; I have heard his voice; my heart has felt it; my conscience knows it; I cannot deny it; no sword can cut me from it; no water can drown it; no fire can burn the love I bear unto it; there is no creature in heaven or earth, that can carry me from the blessed hope I have conceived by his word.'

No constant is he that hath learned the word of God, and hath set his delight upon it, and through it is assured of the will of God. Heaven shall shake, the earth shall tremble, but the man of God shall stand upright. His feet shall not fail, his heart shall not faint, he shall not be moved; such a ground, such a foundation, such a rock is the word of God.

Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord. He shall build upon a sure place; he lays his foundation upon the corner-stone; he needs no army to make him strong; he needs no friends to comfort him in adversity; his strength is within; the gates of hell shall not prevail against him; his comfort is inwardly within his heart; he speaks to God, and God unto him; his eyes behold the kingdom, and power, and glory of God.

But what say we of the fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, &c.? What shall we think of them, or what account may we make of them? They are interpreters of the word of God; they were learned men, and learned fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God, and vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reverence them, and give thanks unto God for them.

They were witnesses unto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience; we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord.

And thus are we taught to esteem the learned fathers of the church, by their own judgment; by that which they have written, either for the credit of their own doings, or of the authority which they have thought due to the writings of others.

Augustine said of the doctors and fathers of his time, 'Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they ever so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical scriptures; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear. Such an I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine. Some things I believe, and some things which they write, I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy and canonical scriptures.'

Cyprian was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Jerome was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Augustine was a doctor of the church, yet he wrote a book of retractations; he acknowledged he was deceived. God did therefore give to his church many doctors, and many learned men, who all should search the truth, and one reform another, wherein they thought him deceived.

Augustine saith, 'Take away from amongst us any of our own books, let the book of God come amongst us; hear what Christ saith, hearken what the truth speaketh.' He is the Wisdom of his Father, he cannot deceive us. Again, he saith, 'Hear this, The Lord saith: hear not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincent, or Hilary, or Ambrose, or Augustine

saith.' All these were learned, most of them were holy; yet, saith Augustine, we may not yield to that which is said by learned men, but we must yield our full consent and belief to the word of God.

Origen saith, 'We must needs call to witness the holy scriptures; for our judgments and expositions without those witnesses carry no credit.' Mark well; our words, and expositions, and constructions, unless they be warranted by the scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit. Augustine saith, 'We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any of his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the holy scriptures.'

Thus speaks Augustine, a doctor of the church, of Cyprian, another doctor of the church. Cyprian was a bishop, a learned father, a holy man, and a martyr of Christ; yet, saith Augustine, his word is not the gospel, his word is not the word of God; there is no wrong done to him, though his writings carry not like credit as the holy scriptures.

I could shew many like speeches of the ancient fathers, wherein they reverence the holy scriptures, as that to which only they give consent without gain-saying! which can neither deceive, nor be deceived. In this sort did Origen, and Augustine, and other doctors of the church speak of themselves, and of theirs, and the writings of others—that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. This kind of writing is to be read, not with a necessity of believing them, but with a liberty to judge of them.

St. Paul saith, Gal. i. "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you otherwise than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Out of which place Augustine speaks thus, 'Whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any thing else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith, I will not say if I myself, but, if an

angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than ye have received in the books of the law, and in the gospels, hold him accursed.'

Now to conclude this matter, the same father saith, 'The judges, or doctors of the church, as men, are often deceived.' They are learned, they have pre-eminence in the church, they are judges, they have the gifts of wisdom and understanding, yet they are often deceived. They are our fathers, but not fathers unto God; they are stars, fair, and beautiful, and bright, yet they are not the sun; they bear witness of the Light, they are not the light. Christ is the Sun of Righteousness.

Christ is the light which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. His word is the word of truth. He is the day-spring which hath visited us from on high; he came down from the bosom of his Father; he shall guide our feet into the way of peace. Of him God the Father spake, Matt. iii. "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him."

He is the Lamb without spot; out of his mouth goeth a two-edged sword. This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed; hear him; give heed to his saying, embrace his gospel, believe his word. Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be given to the writings of the ancient fathers.

St. Paul, speaking of the word of God, saith, 2 Tim. iii. "The whole *scripture* is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness." To teach the truth, to reprove falsehood, to correct all vice, to instruct in all virtue. Again, Rom. i. "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."

Basil saith, 'The scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts,

that every man may there choose a convenient medicine for his disease.' There are salves and ointments to cure all maladies: whosoever cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is grown desperate, and past cure.

Many think the apostle's speech is hardly true of the whole scriptures, that all and every part of the scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of genealogies and pedigrees, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c. These seem to have little profit in them, but to be vain and idle. If they shew vain in thine eyes, yet the Lord hath not set them down in vain. "The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in a furnace of earth, fined seven times." Psalm xii. There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction; there is not one jot, but it is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lamb. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain; there is no idleness, no vanity, in the word of God.

Those oxen and goats which were sacrificed teach thee to kill and sacrifice the uncleanness and filthiness of thy heart; they teach thee, that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast; they lead thee to believe the forgiveness of sins by a more perfect sacrifice, because, "It was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins." Heb. x. The leprosy teaches thee to know the uncleanness and leprosy of thy soul. Those genealogies and pedigrees lead us to the birth of our Saviour Christ. So that the whole word of God is pure and holy. No word, no letter, no syllable, no point or tittle thereof, but is written and preserved for thy sake.

Art thou a king? Read the scriptures; thou shalt find who hath established thine estate, and what duty thou owest to God. God there telleth thee, Prov. viii. "By me kings rule, and princes decree jus-

tice." I have given thee authority ; thou carriest my sword, I have put a crown upon thy head ; thou art my servant ; walk before me ; let thy heart be perfect in my sight.

Art thou a subject ? Read the scriptures ; they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, " Give tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour is due." Ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but for conscience sake. For he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doeth evil." Rom. xiii.

Art thou a minister ? Read the scriptures ; they will teach thee thy duty. The prophet saith to thee, " Cry aloud, spare not ; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions," Isaiah xlvi. The apostle saith unto thee, 2 Tim. iv. " Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season ; watch in all things ; do the work of an evangelist ; make thy ministry fully known. Thou shalt give an account for the souls of the people ; their blood shall be required at thy hands."

Art thou a father ? hast thou children ? Read the scriptures ; they will teach thee : If thou hast sons, instruct them. Eli the prophet, by sparing his wanton children, cast away himself and his children ; they were slain, the ark of God was taken, and old Eli fell down, and brake his neck. 1 Sam. ii.

Art thou a child ? hast thou a father ? Read the scriptures ; they will teach thee : " Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right ; honour thy father and mother" (which is the first commandment with promise), " that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth." Eph. vi. And again, " Children, obey your parents in all things, for it is well pleasing unto the Lord." Col. iii. The wise man warns thee ? " The eye that mocketh his father and despiseth the instruction of his mother,

let the ravens of the valley pluck it out, and the young eagles eat it." Prov. xxx.

Hath God blessed thee in wealth? art thou rich? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "Be not high-minded, and trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy." 1 Tim. vi. Again, Trust not in oppression and robbery; be not vain; if riches increase, set not your heart thereon. Thou shalt depart and leave them behind thee: they shall forsake thee. Thou shalt die, thou knowest not how soon. Solomon sheweth thee, "Riches avail not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death." Prov. xi.

Art thou poor, and sufferest scarcity in this world? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee. Say with Job, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return again." Learn of Solomon, "Better is little with righteousness, than great revenues without equity." And again, "Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that perverteth his ways, though he be rich." Prov. xvi. and xxviii. St. Paul saith, "Godliness is great gain, if a man be content with that he hath; for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we can carry nothing out." 1 Tim. vi. And again, "Let him that is poor, labour, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

Art thou a merchant? usest thou to buy and sell? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "This is the will of God, that no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter." 1 Thess. iv. "Thou shalt learn, that divers weights and divers measures are abomination unto the Lord, and deceitful balances are not good." Prov. xx.

Art thou an usurer? Thy case is hard, yet hear the scriptures; they will teach thee: "God commands thee

thus, "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him; ye shall not oppress him with usury." Exod. xxii. Again, "If thy brother be impoverished, and fallen into decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him; thou shalt take no usury of him, nor vantage; thou shalt not lend him thy victuals for increase, but thou shalt fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." Levit. xxv. And, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them." Matt. vii. And, "He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Psalm xv.

Art thou a fornicator, and livest in adultery? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "He that committeth fornication," saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. "sinneth against his own body." Know you know that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? "Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid. As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation," saith St. Peter. 1 Peter i. The reason is set down by St. Paul. 1 Thess. iv. "For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that you should abstain from fornication, that you may be holy both in body and in spirit." And, Heb. xiii. "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. They shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God."

Art thou a servant? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, in all things, not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men," Col. iii. Again, "Please your masters, not answering again; not puffing, but shewing all good

faithfulness, that ye may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things," Tit. ii.

Art thou proud? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "Be not high-minded, but fear," Rom. xi. "What hast thou, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou as though thou hadst not received it?" 1 Cor. iv. And, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart," Matt. xi. And, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble," James iv. 6.

Art thou in adversity? Read the scriptures: "Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver him out of them all," Psalm xxxiv. And, Psalm xci. "He shall call upon me, and I will hear him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and glorify him." And St. Peter telleth thee, 1 Pet. iii. "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers. God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able, but will give the issue with the temptation, that ye may be able to bear it." "The Lord is near unto all them that call upon him, yet, to all that call upon him in truth." Psalm cxlv.

Art thou a sinner? hast thou offended God? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "Hate the evil, and love the good," Amos v. And again, "Fly from evil, and do good, and dwell for ever," Psalm xxxvii. Rise up, and go to thy father, and say unto him, "Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son," Luke xv.

Dost thou despair of the mercy of God? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: Christ telleth thee, Matt. ix. "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Again, chap. xi. "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you." At what hour soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all

his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. Again, Ezek. xxxiii. "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." And, Psalm cxlv. "The Lord is good to all, and his mercies are over all his works."

Art thou going out of this life? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee: "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." John xi. Say with St. Paul, Phil. i. "Christ is to me both in life and in death advantage; I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ."

What should I say more of THE SCRIPTURES? how profitable and comfortable they are in all cases and parts of our life! In adversity, in prosperity; in life, and in death; they are our especial comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword; if we hunger, they are meat; if we thirst, they are drink; if we have no dwelling-place, they are a house; if we be naked, they are a garment; if we be in darkness, they are light unto our going.

They are comfortable to kings, to subjects, to old men, to young men, to man and to wife, to father and to child, to master and to servant, to captain and soldier, to preacher and people, to the learned, to the unlearned, to the wise, and to the simple.

They are comfortable in peace, in war; in heaviness, in joy; in health and sickness; in abundance, in poverty; in the daytime, in the night season; in the town, in the wilderness; in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousness, and all godliness. **THEY TEACH US TO LIVE, AND THEY TEACH US TO DIE.**

Therefore hath Paul said well, "THE WHOLE SCRIPTURE IS PROFITABLE"—it is full of great comfort; it makes the man of God absolute and perfect unto all

good works; perfect in faith, perfect in hope; perfect in the love of God and of his neighbour; perfect in his life, and perfect in his death. So great, so large, and ample, and heavenly, is the profit we reap by the word of God.

Now it follows, that we consider how necessary and needful it is, for us to be guided by the word of God, in the whole course of our life. The word of God is that unto our souls, which our soul is unto our body. As the body dieth when the soul departeth, so the soul of man dieth, when it hath not the knowledge of God. "Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Deut. viii.

"Behold, saith God, 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. Their tongue shall wither, their heart shall starve, they shall die for hunger. They 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. They shall stumble at noon-day, as at the twilight: they shall grope for the wall like the blind; and truth shall fall in their streets." Amos viii. Isaiah lix.

"For how shall they be saved, unless they call on the name of the Lord? And how shall they call on Him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Romans x. Chrysostom therefore saith, 'Neither can it be; I say it cannot be, that any man shall attain to salvation, except he be always occupied in spiritual reading.' The wise man saith, Prov. xxix. "Where there is no prophecy, the people deny."

When the scriptures are not opened, when there

is none that can edify, and exhort, and comfort the people by the word of God, they must needs perish. For they know not the way in which they should walk; they know not whom to honour, nor upon whose name they should call; they know neither what to believe, nor what to do. Hell hath enlarged itself, and hath opened his mouth without measure; and they that are wilful and ignorant, and the children of darkness, go down into it.

They become thrall and captives unto Satan; their heart is bound up; they understand nothing; their eyes are shut up; they can see nothing; their ears are stopped up, they can hear nothing; they are carried away as a prey into hell, because they have not the knowledge of God.

So doth Christ tell the Sadducees, Matt. xxii. "Ye are deceived, because you know not the scriptures, nor the power of God." Thus he teaches, that error is the child of ignorance. The cause why you are so deceived, is because you know not the scriptures; you have hated the light, and loved darkness, you have neither known the Father nor me. He that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God.

Herein, in this case there is no plea of ignorance. Ignorance will not excuse us. Chrysostom saith, 'Thou wilt say, I have not heard the scriptures. This is no excuse, but a sin.' Again he saith, 'This is the working of the devil's inspiration; he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches; therefore he counsels us, that it utterly avails us nothing to hear the laws of God, lest that upon the hearing he may see our doing follow.

Gregory saith, 'Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord, are not known of the Lord.' Origen also gives reason of this practice of Satan; 'Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torment, and a pain above all pains, if they see any

man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries and secrets of the scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils; in this fire they are tormented, for they are seized and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance.'

Carneades, a philosopher, was wont to say of his master and reader, Chrysippus, 'If it had not been for Chrysippus, I never had been any body; he was my master and teacher; he made me learned; whatsoever I have I have it of him.' How much better may we use the like words of the scripture, and say, Unless it were for the word of God, our wisdom were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing. Whatsoever we have, we have it by the word. Without it, our prayer were no prayer; without it, our sacraments were no sacraments; our faith were no faith; our conscience were no conscience; our church were no church. Take away the light of the sun, and what remaineth but darkness? heaven and earth are darkened; no man can see his way, nor discern the things about him: even so, if the word of God be taken away, what remains but miserable confusion and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the hairs of Samson, they fell upon him, took him, bound him, and plucked out his eyes; they danced about him, and made scorn and games of him. We are Samson; the strength of our hairs is the knowledge of the will of God; it is laid up in our heads, in the highest and principal part of us; if that be shorn off, if we be kept from hearing, reading, and understanding of the word of God, then will error, superstition, and all wickedness, get the upper hand, and fall upon us, and bind us, and pluck out our eyes, and make scorn of us, and utterly destroy us.

When the people of Jerusalem were besieged, and wanted food to eat, they fed on rats and mice, and

many unwholesome and filthy things. A woman was driven for want of meat to do a cruel part upon her own child; she took her own babe, which was the fruit of her own body, killed it, cut it in pieces, dressed it, and fed upon it—a loathsome meat, especially for a mother to eat her own child! But she was driven to it by extremity and hunger; it was so cruel a thing to lack wherewith life might be preserved. Even so fared it with us and our fathers, after it pleased God to take away his gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the word of the Lord. We were driven to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold; we were driven to feed upon our own children, even the fantasies and vanities of our heart. There was no substance in them, they could not feed us!

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the word of God, and left the ordinances set down unto them. God had no pleasure in them, their prayers and sacrifice were not accepted. “I cannot suffer, saith the Lord, (Isaiah i.) your new moons, or sabbaths, or solemn days. Who hath required this of your hands?”

In such case were the scribes and pharisees, when they forsook to be guided by the word of God, and took away the key of knowledge. They fed upon their own devices, they neglected the commandments and will of God, and followed their own traditions; therefore Christ reproveth them, Matt. xv. “O hypocrites, Isaiah prophesied well of you, saying. This people draweth near unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines men’s precepts.”

Therefore, if we seek to know the sacraments of the church, what they are; if we would be instructed in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; if we would learn to

know our Creator, and to put the difference between the Creator and the creature; if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come; if we would believe in God, and call upon the name of God, and do worship unto God; if we would be settled in perfect zeal and true knowledge; if we would have an upright conscience towards God; if we would know which is the true church of God, it is very needful that we hear the word of God. There is no other word that teaches us unto salvation.

Now it remains that we speak of the delectation and pleasure which the word of God giveth. The word of God is full of serious and grave counsel, full of the knowledge of God, of examples of virtues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things, say you, are great and weighty of themselves; there is no vanity or pleasure in them.

They are great and weighty, I grant; and because they are so weighty, they are the more worthy that we hear them. But we must take a delight and settle our fancy, that it may like the weight and greatness. They were unto the prophet David more sweet than honey and the honeycomb. If we taste them with such an affection as he did, we shall feel and see the great, and weighty, and heavenly pleasure which is in them.

Many are delighted with the stories of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the Great, of mighty and victorious princes; they have pleasure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphs; and many take their pleasure in travel to far countries, to see the divers fashions and behaviour of men.

If it were possible that we might stand upon a hill, from which we might at once see all parts of the world, the cities, and towns, and mountains, and

forests, and castles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the kings and princes of the world, in their princely estate; if we might see the variety of the whole world, how some live quietly in peace, others are turmoiled in war, some live in wealth, others in poverty and misery; some rise, others fall; to see and behold such great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight us.

Such a hill, from whence we may take views of such great variety; such a story in which we may read of noble princes, of their wars and victories, is *the word of God*. Upon this hill you may at once behold all the works of his hands, how he made heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the sea and floods, the fishes in the water, the fowls in the air, and the beasts in the field. Upon this hill you may stand and see his angels, and his archangels, and blessed spirits; how some of them fell, and some continued in glory; how God hath sent them in message, how they have come down from heaven to serve the sons of men.

Here you may read of the wars of the God of hosts; how he hath pitched his tents in the midst of his people, and hath gone out before them, and fought for them; how the Amorites and Canaanites were rooted out; how the Amalekites were overthrown by the lifting up of Moses's hands in prayer; how the wall of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of a trumpet, and the shouting of the people; and how one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians were slain in one night by the hand of one angel, when God rought out his hand from heaven, to give victory to his people.

Here may you see how God plagued and overcame his enemies; how he drowned Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and his horses, and men, and chariots, all together. Here may you see Nebuchadnezzar, a mighty prince, so bereft of his wits, that he forsook his

palaces, and the company and order of men, and lived in the fields after the manner of beasts. Here may you see how God struck king Herod with filthy diseases, and caused lice to eat his flesh; how he sent down fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins; how he made the earth open, and swallow up Dathan and Abiram; how king Uzziah was stricken with leprosy, and carried from the temple, and cut off from his kingdom.

What stories of any princes or people in any age can report unto us such strange battles, such mighty conquests, such wonderful deliverance in extremities, such dreadful subduing of the enemies, as the hand of God has wrought, and the story of the scriptures declare unto us?

This word also showeth the goodness and mercy of God towards the people who put their trust in him; how he made them terrible to their enemies; how he made their enemies their footstool; how he led them safe through the Red Sea; how he sent his angel to go before them, and guide them; how he gave them water out of a rock, and rained down bread from heaven; how he brought them into a land that flowed with milk and honey, and swore unto them, that he would be their God, and they should be his people.

In this word are to be seen wonderful and strange works of God, such as are beyond the course of nature, and pass the reason of man—that the sea parted, and stood on both sides as a high wall; that at the word of Joshua the sun stood still, and went not on his course. Hezekiah spake the word, and required it, and the sun went back ten degrees. At the word of Elias, fire came down from heaven to consume his sacrifice.

Here may you see an ass open his mouth, and speak and reprove his master; three servants of God

walk in a hot burning furnace without hurt; Daniel in the den among lions, and not devoured; Peter in the raging sea, and not drowned; lepers cleansed, the lame to go, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the dead to rise out of their graves and live; simple and unlearned men to speak in strange tongues; the devil to go out of the possessed, and to say, I know thou art Christ the Son of God.

Here may you see twelve poor simple men, without spear, or sword, or force, make conquest and win the whole world! No power could repress them, no might could withstand them! It is reckoned a great matter for a king or a nation to yield submission unto another king or nation. It must therefore be a matter of great wonder to see all kings throw down their sceptres, and all people to yield before men so few, so simple, so unarmed; and to acknowledge they had embraced lies, and lived in ignorance; and that these twelve are the servants of the Highest; and to see how God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, to overthrow the wise; and the weak things of this world, to confound the mighty things: such force God gave to their words. He made them the sons of thunder; they shook the foundations of the world; they threw down whatsoever stood against them.

Here you may see the fight of God's elect children, how they patiently suffered afflictions in their bodies, rather than they would deny the truth of God; they gave their backs to the scourge, their necks to the sword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacings, no rack, no torment, no sword; no death could remove them from the love of the gospel which they had received.

The more of them were cut down, the more did spring up; the more were killed, the more were left alive. Augustine saith, 'They were bound, and

shut up, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increased.' This is the victory that hath overcome the world. For the Lord answered St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii., "My power is made perfect through weakness." It liveth in death; it is made whole and sound by wounds and stripes; it is increased by those means whereby men destroy it.

Jacob saw a ladder stand upon the earth, and the top of it reach up into heaven, and the angels of God go up and down by it. This was but a dream and vision in his sleep; yet when he awoke, he took pleasure and comfort of this vision. We have not only the delight of this with Jacob, but we have other far greater visions. We see Isaiah beholding the Lord as he sat upon a high throne; we see Paul taken up into the third heavens: we see the glory of God appear, and hear the voice which came out of the cloud, Matthew xvii., "This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him."

We see Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of a virgin, and how he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto man, and was found in shape as a man; that he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Phil. ii. We hear him cry with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" We hear him say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And, "Father, into thine hands I commend my spirit," Luke xxiii.

Here we may see the sun to be darkened, that the moon giveth no light; the earth to shake, the rocks to cleave asunder, the vail to rend, the graves to open, and Christ rise from the dead, and go up into heaven, and sit at the right hand of his Father.

Here may we see the overthrow of that Babylon, which made all nations to drink of the wine of the

wrath of her fornication, Rev. xiv., how she is destroyed with the breath of God's mouth. Here we behold the resurrection of the dead, and four-and-twenty elders sit before God on their seats, and the Ancient of days sit upon his throne; and the judgment-seat, and the books opened, and all flesh appear before him; and how some are taken into everlasting life, and some are sent into everlasting death.

What tongue is able to express these pleasures and delights which are laid open to us in the word of God? We buy images of men, and pictures of divers things, and maps of countries; but what image, map, or picture can show us the like variety and change of things?

We purchase lands, and have liking so to do. Here we are taught how we may come to that land which shall stand with us, and in which we shall continue for ever.

To see any one of these, it were great pleasure; either the creation of heaven and earth, or the angels and archangels, and blessed spirits; or the battles of the God of Sabaoth; or Amalek dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel; or the walls of Jericho blown down with the sound of a trumpet; or Pharaoh drowned in the sea; or Nebuchadnezzar eating grass among the beasts; or Herod smitten from heaven; or Sodom and Gomorrah burnt with fire and brimstone; or the earth to open and swallow up the wicked; or the sea to stand like a wall; or water to come out of a stone; or bread to come from heaven; or the sun to stand still, or to change his course; or an ass to speak, and teach his master; or fire to be extremely hot, yet not burning; or lions hungry, yet not eating their meat; or the sea tempestuous, yet not drowning; or the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the dead to rise; or ignorant men to speak in languages they never learned; or the devil to roar, and confess Christ; or God sitting

in his majesty, and Christ at his right hand; or Babylon thrown down, and become a tabernacle of foul spirits, and a den for the devil; or Christ to sit in judgment, and give sentence upon the quick and the dead—to see any one of all these wondrous works of God, it were great pleasure.

How can it be then, but that we rejoice and take delight to see so many, such great, such marvellous, so heavenly, and such glorious wonders in one heap all together! Here is to be seen the triumph of God, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings; how he made the name of his Son triumph over principalities and powers, and over the whole world. How far would we ride or go, to see the triumph of a mortal king! Here is a paradise full of delights; no tongue is able to speak them, they are so many; no heart is able to conceive them, they are so great.

Here is a shop wherein is set out the wisdom and knowledge, the power, the judgments, and mercies of God. Which way soever we look, we see the works of his hands; his works of creation, and preservation of all things; his works of severe justice upon the wicked, and of gracious redemption to the believer.

If we desire pleasant music, or excellent harmony, it speaks unto us the words of the Father, and the consent of the Son; the excellent reports of the prophets, apostles, angels, and saints of God, who have been all taught by the Holy Ghost.

If we would learn, it is a school; it giveth understanding to the simple. In it there is that which may content the heart, the ear, the eye, the taste, and the smelling. "It is a savour of life unto life. O taste and see how gracious the Lord is," saith the prophet David, Psalm xxxiv. So manifold and marvellous are the pleasures which are given us in the word of God; God hath made them and wrought them all for the sons of men.

Thus have I performed promise, and simply and in homely manner opened those four things which I took in hand. I have declared what weight and majesty the word of God beareth; what huge harvest of profit we may reap by it; how needful it is for us travelling through the wilderness of this life; and what repast and pleasure we may find in it.

But all this notwithstanding, some take exception, and say, The scriptures are dark and doubtful, the matters are deep, the words are hard, few can understand them. One takes them in this sense, another in a sense quite contrary. The best learned cannot agree about them; they are the occasion of many great quarrels. John sees this book sealed with seven seals, and an angel preaching with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?" Rev. v. "No man can open it, no man can read it," St. Peter saith, 2 Peter iii. Among the epistles of Paul, some things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do all other scriptures, unto their own destruction. And St. Paul saith, 1 Tim. vi. "God dwelleth in the light that none can attain unto; whom man never saw, neither can see." Therefore, although the majesty be ever so weighty, the profit, the necessity, and the pleasure ever so great, yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls must not be cast before swine, nor the bread of the children unto dogs. Thus they say. But indeed the word of God is pearls, yet the people are not swine.

They may not read them, say some; they are not able to wield them; the scriptures are not for the people. Hereof I will say something, and a word or two of the reverence and fear, with which we ought to come to the hearing of them.

They say the scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. So said the Pelagian heretic, Julian, whom Augustine therefore reproveth: 'Ye

enlarge and lay out with many words, how hard a matter the knowledge of the scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men.' You say the scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no evidence or trial to be taken by them; they are fit only for a few learned men: they are in no wise fit for the people. Thus said Julian, a heretic.¹

But God himself, and the ancient fathers of the church, said otherwise. God saith, Deut. xxx. "This commandment which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off." It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it. Thou needest not run hither and thither, nor wander over the sea, nor beat thy brains in searching what thou shouldest do, or by what means thou mayest live uprightly. The word and commandment of God will teach thee sufficiently.

The prophet David saith, Psalm xix. "The commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes." And Psalm cxix. "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths." Thy word is not dark, it is a light unto my path, it giveth light unto the eyes. What is clear, if the light be dark? or what can he see, who cannot see the light?

Human knowledge is dark and uncertain. Philosophy is dark, astrology is dark, and geometry is dark. The professors thereof oftentimes run a-muck; they lose themselves, and wander they know not whither; they seek the depth and bottom of natural causes, the change of the elements, the impressions in the air, the causes of the rainbow, of blazing

¹ See History of the Church of Christ. Cent. v. ch. 3.

stars, of thunder and lightning, of the trembling and shaking of the earth, the motions of the planets, the proportion and the influence of the celestial bodies. They measure the compass of heaven, and count the number of the stars; they go down, and search the mines in the bowels of the earth; they rip up the secrets of the sea. The knowledge of these things is hard; it is uncertain; few are able to reach it; it is not fit for every man to understand it.

But the Holy Spirit of God, like a good teacher, applieth himself to the dulness of our understandings; he leadeth us not by the unknown places of the earth, nor by the air, nor by the clouds; he astonisheth not our spirits with natural vanities; he writeth his law in our hearts; he teacheth us to know him and his Christ. He teacheth us, Titus ii. that we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world; he teacheth us to look for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This matter is good, and it is plain; the words are plain, and the utterance is plain.

Chrysostom saith, 'Therefore hath the grace of the Holy Spirit disposed and tempered them so, that publicans, and fishers, and tentmakers, shepherds, and the apostles, and simple men, and unlearned, might be saved by these books; that none of the simpler sort might make excuse by the hardness of them; and that such things as are spoken might be easy for all men to look on; that the labouring man, and the servant, the widow woman, and whosoever is most unlearned, may take some good, when they are read. For they whom God ever from the beginning endued with the grace of his Spirit, have not gathered all these things for vain glory, as the heathen writers use, but for the salvation of the hearers.'

Some things in the scriptures are hard; I deny it

not. It is very expedient that somewhat should be covered, to make us more diligent in reading, more desirous to understand, more fervent in prayer, more willing to ask the judgment of others, and to presume the less on our own judgment.

Gregory saith, 'The hardness which is in the word of God is very profitable; for it causes a man to take that profit by pains, which he could not take with negligence. If the understanding were open and manifest, it would be little set by.'

Cyril saith, 'All things are plain and straight to them that have found knowledge; but to such as are fools, the most easy places seem hard.' And again: 'Those things which are plain, are hard unto heretics; for how can wisdom enter into a wicked heart?' It is true which St. Peter hath said, Some things are hard to be understood.

But it is also true, that they which pervert them unto their own destruction are unlearned and unstable; that is, they to whom they are hard, have not their eyes opened that they may see the light of the word; or they are wicked, and turn the truth of God into lies, and abuse the scriptures to their own damnation. The owl seeth not by the brightness of the sun, not because the sun-beams are dark, but for that his eyes are weak, and cannot abide such clear light. It is therefore but a pretence and colour for their ignorance, and a means to deceive the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkness and hardness.

For how many hundred places are there as clear as noonday? God saith, *Exod. xx.* "I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other Gods before me; thou shalt make thee no graven images, neither any similitude of things that are in heaven above, neither that are in the earth beneath, nor that are in the waters under the earth; thou shalt neither bow down to them, neither serve them."

Again, Psa. xcvi. "Cursed be all they that worship carved images, and delight in vain gods." This is the word of God. What darkness is in these sayings?

God saith, Exod. xxii. "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him, ye shall not oppress him with usury." Again, Ezek. xviii. "If a man hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, &c. he shall surely live;" but "he that hath given forth upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? He shall not live."

And, Rom. vi. "The wages of sin is death." And, Ezek. xviii. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." And again, Eph. v. "This ye know, that no whoremonger, neither unclean person, nor covetous person, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for, for such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." These are the words of God; and what darkness is in them?

St. Paul saith, Rom. xii. "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, have peace with all men. Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good; avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath." Again, chap. xiii. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; there is no power but of God. He is the minister of God for thy weal; but if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought." These are the words of God; what darkness is in them?

St. John saith, chap. i. "Christ is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And, 1 John i. "The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sins." St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. ii. "His own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live in righteousness."

Christ saith, Luke xi. "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek; and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." And again, Matt. xi. "Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you." The prophet saith, Joel ii. "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." These are the words of God; what darkness is in them? What eye is so simple, but it may see them?

The ways of the Lord are straight, and his words plain even unto the simple. Chrysostom saith, 'All things are clear and plain in the holy scriptures. Whatsoever things there are necessary for us, are also manifest.' Some things are covered, as men cover precious stones and precious garments; they are covered, and yet we see them; we see them, and yet they are covered; yet all things that are necessary are plain and open.

Clemens saith, 'The word of God is hid from no man; it is a light common unto all men; there is no darkness in God's word.' Mark, it is a common light, and shines unto all men; it is as bright and beautiful as the sun—there is no dungeon or darkness in it. So saith Irenæus: 'The scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men.' All men may hear them, even all sorts of men without exception.

Where be they then which say it is not lawful for the people to have the word of God, and that the scriptures are not meet for their reading? They are bread; they are drink; they nourish unto everlasting life. Great cruelty it is to starve God's people to death. Are they unfit to have the scriptures, because they be poor? Christ saith, Matt. xi. "The poor receive the glad tidings of the gospel." And, Matt. v. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" they want riches, and worldly glory, but God giveth his fear and grace to them, as well as to the rich.

Are they unfit to read the scriptures, because they are not bred up in other learning? St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. ii. "I determined not to know any thing among you, but Jesus Christ and him crucified." The prophet David saith, Psa. xciv. "Blessed is the man, O Lord, whom thou teachest in thy law." And Christ saith, Matt. xi. "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes." The apostles were sent into all the world, to preach the gospel unto every creature, to learned and unlearned, to poor and rich. There is no man too poor, none too rich, none too young, none too old. Whosoever hath ears to hear, he hath learning enough to be a hearer.

As for the wisest and most learned men in matters of this world, they have not always proved the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God—they have not been the meetest scholars for this school. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the servants of God? Not the people, but the wisest and best learned in Egypt. Who were they that stood against Elias? Not the people, but the learned and wise men, and the prophets and priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the prophets? Not the people, but the chief and wisest in Israel.

Who were they that resisted Christ and his gospel, and sought to deface the glory of God? Not the people, but the scribes, and pharisees, and high priests, and all the troop of their clergy. They called Christ a deceiver and Beelzebub, a companion of publicans and harlots; they laid in wait every where to entrap him, they sued him to death.

St. Paul saith for conclusion in this matter, 1 Cor. i. "It is written, 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? For, seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believed. Brethren, you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty things, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen."

Mark, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you. Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the gospel with you, or join with you in faith, or keep you company. God hath let them be deceived in their wisdom; they take themselves to be wise, and yet are become fools, and contrary to worldly judgment. God hath made you, who were weak and simple, and of no reputation, wise and righteous, and sanctified and redeemed in Christ Jesus. And Christ saith, Matt. xviii. "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Therefore the godly father Chrysostom calls upon the people to read and hear the scriptures. 'Hear me, ye men of the world; get ye the BIBLE, that most wholesome remedy for the soul; if ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the new testament, St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts, that they may be your continual and earnest teachers.' And again, 'Hearken not hereto, only here in the church, but also at home; let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and both to and fro; let them both enquire, and give their judgments; and would God they would begin this good custom.'

In like sort saith Origen: 'Would to God we would all do accordingly as it is written, "Search

the scriptures.” It were a token that we do love Christ. Then would the Father love us, Christ would love us, and show himself unto us; he and his Father would come unto us, and dwell in us.

Chrysostom saith, ‘This is the cause of all ill, that the scriptures are not known.’ ‘To know nothing of God’s laws, saith he, in another place, ‘is the loss of salvation: ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life, ignorance hath turned all things upside down.’

Jerome, expounding those words of the apostle, “Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously,” saith, ‘Here we are taught, that the lay-people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another.’

And now to conclude what the learned fathers and ancient doctors have said in these matters. Theodoret saith, ‘Ye may commonly see, that our doctrine is known not only of them that are the doctors of the church, and the masters of the people, but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also of women; and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and sempsters, and servants, and hand-maids; not only the citizens, but also the country folks do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea, even the very ditchers, and delvers, and cow-herds, and gardeners, arguing of the Holy Trinity, and of the creation of all things.’

Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the church, and got the upper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and dark, and doubtful; when children, and women, and servants, and men of the country, had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the works of God. Then went it well with them; they could not easily be deceived, because they had that word which be-

wrayeth the thief; they carried with them, like good exchangers, the weights and touchstone; and were able to try coins whether they were true or false. Such were the people, such was the state of God's church in those days!

Gold, and silver, and lands, and possessions, are the portions of but few; they are not common to all alike. The wise man saith, Prov. xix. "House and riches come by inheritance of the fathers." But the word of God, the law and the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the gift of the Spirit, and the knowledge of God, are given unto all men, they are made common for all men.

If the word were ordained but for a few, then Christ was given unto the world but for a few; the heaven was made but for a few; the mercy and love of God was but for a few. But the mercy of God is over all, and upon all, and for all. All have right to hear the word of God, all have need to know the word of God. "All have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God." Rom. iii.

Therefore Christ calleth all, Matt. xi. "Come unto me all ye that be weary and laden." Young men and old men, men and women, rich and poor, come to me. "God is no respecter of persons," Acts x. 34. "It is not the will of your Father, which is in heaven," saith Christ, Matt. xviii. "that one of these little ones should perish." "Who will that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, 1 Tim. ii. "God will look to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his words," Isa. lxvi. God will regard such a one, and make him a fit vessel to receive his truth. Upon him that is such shall the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God, rest.

Not only upon the rich, the wise, and the learned, but upon him that is poor, and of a contrite heart, and trembleth at his words; upon him that humbleth

himself under the mighty hand of God; he is the temple and the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He that is humble in heart shall be saved; God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.

Therefore Christ said, Matt. xi. "I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes," even to such as have no learning, which rejoice in nothing but in Thee. The wise and learned of the world cannot hear them, cannot see them; but they to whom it pleased Thee to give understanding. It is thy mercy. Flesh and blood cannot reach the knowledge of thy will. The Spirit of the Father hath revealed it.

Christ saith, John x. "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;" they will not follow a stranger. My people are simple as sheep, they are rude, and know not what they do; yet they know my voice and follow me; they know their shepherd from a thief; they follow not the call and voice of a stranger. So we see that God chaseth no man away from hearing his word; he leatheth not the poor because of his poverty; he refuseth him not, for he is the God of the poor; they are his creatures.

Augustine saith, 'Almighty God, in the scriptures, speaketh as a familiar friend, without dissimulation, unto the hearts both of the learned and of the unlearned.' He abaseth himself, and speaketh to their capacity; for his will is, that all should come to a knowledge of the truth, and be saved.

Now let us consider with what fear and reverence we ought to come to the hearing or reading of the word of God. The angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush, Exod. iii. "When Moses turned aside to see, God said unto him, Come not hither, put thy shoes off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy

ground." Again, when God appointed to speak unto the people from mount Sinai, he said to Moses, "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and let them be ready on the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai." Exod. xix.

The word of the Lord is the bush, out of which issues a flame of fire. The scriptures of God are the mount, from which the Lord of hosts doth show himself. In them God speaks to us; in them we hear the words of everlasting life. We must be sanctified, and wash our garments, and be ready to hear the Lord. We must strip off all our affections; we must fall down before him with fear; we must know who it is that speaketh; even God the Maker of heaven and earth; God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; God who shall judge the quick and the dead, before whom all flesh shall appear. His word is holy. Let us take heed into what hearts we bestow it. Whosoever abuses it shall be found guilty of high trespass against the Lord. We may not receive it to blow up our hearts, and wax proud with our knowledge; we may not use it to maintain debate and contention; we may not use it to vaunt ourselves, or to make show of our own wisdom. The word of God teaches lowliness of mind; it teaches us to know ourselves. If we learn not humility, we learn nothing. Although we seem to know somewhat, yet we know not in such sort as we ought to know.

The scriptures are the mysteries of God. Let us not be curious; let us not seek to know more than God hath revealed by them. They are the sea of God; let us take heed we be not drowned in them. They are the fire of God; let us take comfort by their heat, and warily take heed they burn us not. They that gaze over-hardly upon the sun, take blemish in their eye-sight.

When the people of Israel saw the manna in the desert, they said, 'Man hu?' what is this? So they reasoned of it when they took it up in their hands, and beheld it. They asked one another what good it would do. THE SCRIPTURES are manna, given to us from heaven, to feed us in the desert of this world. Let us take them, and behold them, and reason of them, and learn one of another what profit may come to us by them. Let us know that they are written for our sake, and for our learning, that through patience and comfort of the scriptures we may have hope. They are given us to instruct us in faith, to strengthen us in hope, to open our eyes, and to direct our going.

If we withhold the truth in unrighteousness; if we know our Master's will, and do it not; if the name of God be ill spoken of through us; the word of God shall be taken away from us, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. God shall send us strong delusions, that we believe lies; our own heart shall condemn us, we shall be beaten with many stripes. Therefore we ought diligently to give heed to the things we hear; we must consider them, we must chew the cud. "Every beast that cheweth not the cud is unclean," Levit. xi. and not fit for the sacrifice. Let us be poor in spirit, and meek in heart; let us be gentle, as becometh the lambs of Christ, and as his sheep; let us hear his voice, and follow him; let us be of a contrite spirit, and tremble at the words of God; let us, when we know God, glorify him as God. So shall God look upon us; so shall the Spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and of counsel, and of knowledge, and of the fear of God, rest upon us; so shall we be made perfect to all good works; so shall we rejoice in his salvation, and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S
TREATISE OF
UNWRITTEN VERITIES.

IN the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles and disciples of Christ, they received such grace and ghostly knowledge, that they had forthwith the gift of the understanding of scripture, to speak in the tongues of all men; and also that upon whomsoever they laid their hands, the Holy Ghost should descend upon them; and thereupon, they, by their preaching and good doctrine, converted in a short time great multitudes of people unto the faith of Christ. And after that, divers blessed men, in strength of the faith, wrote the life, miracles, doctrine, passion, death, and resurrection of our Master, Christ: but four of these writings were only received by all the whole church of Christ, that is to say, those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. And they received them to be of such authority, that it should not be lawful to any man that would confess Christ, to deny them. And they were called the four gospels of Christ. And the epistles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles that be called *Canonical*, and the Apocalypse, were

received to be of like authority as the gospels were. And thus by assent, as well of the people as of the clergy, was the New Testament affirmed to be of such authority as it is now taken to be of, and as it is indeed: so that it is not lawful to deny any thing that it affirmeth, nor to affirm any thing that it denieth. And it is no marvel that it be taken to be of such strength; for it was authorized, when the people that were newly converted to the faith were full of grace and of devotion, replenished with virtues, desiring always the life to come, and the health of their own souls and of their neighbours. There also were blessed bishops, blessed priests, and other blessed persons of the clergy. And what such men ask of God right wisely, that should be denied them? And who may think, but that they, and all people, at the said authorizing of the scriptures, prayed devoutly for the assistance of the Holy Ghost, that they may have grace to authorize such as be to his honour, to the increase of his faith, and to the health of the souls of all his people?

The time also that this authorizing of the New Testament, and the gathering it together was made, was, as I suppose, the time of the most high and gracious shedding out of the mercy of God into the world, that ever was from the beginning of the world unto this day: and I mean the time that was from the incarnation of Christ until the sacred authorizing of the New Testament was accomplished. For in part of that time our Lord was here himself in bodily presence, preaching and teaching his laws, gathering and choosing his apostles and disciples, that should teach and preach his laws, when he was gone: which they did not only by word, but also by good examples, that yet remain unto this day: so that all that time may in manner be called *the golden time*. And not only the New Testament was then received, but also the Old Testament: and

by preaching and teaching of these Testaments was the faith of Christ marvellously increased in many countries. After all this, by a common speaking among the people, the bishops, priests, and other of the clergy, which were as lanterns unto the people, and the special maintainers of the Christian faith, were called the Church, or men of the Church: and under the colour of that name Church, many of the clergy in process of time pretended that they might make expositions of scripture, as the universal church of Christ; that is to say, as the whole congregation of Christian people might. And thereupon, when covetousness and pride somewhat increased in many of the clergy, they expounded very favourably divers texts of scripture, that sounded to the maintenance of their honour, power, jurisdiction, and riches: and over that, took upon them to affirm, that they were the church that might not err, and that Christ and his apostles had spoken and taught many things that were not expressly in scripture; and that the people were as well-bound to love them, and that under like pain, as if they had been expressed in scripture, and called them *Unwritten Verities*. Whereof I shall, as for an example, recite part.

First. That Christ after his mind, and after he had washen the feet of his apostles, taught them to make holy cream for ministration of the sacraments; and that they have as full authority to do the same, as if it had been contained in scripture, that Christ had given them power to do it. That it is a tradition of the apostles that images ought to be set up. That the apostles ordained that all faithful people should resort to the church of Rome, as to the most high and principal church of all other: and yet it cannot be proved by scripture, nor by any other sufficient authority, that they made any such ordinance.

Also that the creed, which is commonly and universally used to be said by the common people, was

made by the twelve apostles; and though the articles thereof are firmly and stedfastly to be believed of every Christian man, as articles sufficiently proved by Scripture, yet that they were gathered together by the twelve apostles. And specially, that every one of the apostles made one article, as painters show that they did, cannot be proved by Scripture, nor is it necessary to be believed for our salvation. And though it were but a small offence in the people to believe that it were an article necessary to be believed for our salvation, because the clergy, which be the lanterns and leaders unto the people, do instruct them that it is so; and it is neither against the law of God, nor the law of reason, but that it may be so: yet it is a great offence to the clergy to affirm for certain the thing that is to themselves uncertain. And therefore it should be reformed for eschewing of offences unto the clergy. Also, that the people shall pray towards the east is not proved by Scripture. And yet they say, that by tradition of the apostles it is to be believed. Also that our lady was born in original sin—that she was translated into heaven body and soul. All these, and many others, divers of the clergy call *unwritten verities*, left in the world by the tradition and relation of the apostles, which, as they say, the people are bound to believe as well as Scripture, but as the church saith, This is scripture, so they say, that in the things before rehearsed, the church witnesseth them to be true; and that the people have assented to them many years; wherefore it is not lawful to doubt at them, nor to deny them. To this reason it may be answered, that if it can be proved by as good, and as high authority, that these things were left in the world by the tradition and relation of the apostles, as the authorizing of Scripture was, then they are to be believed as verily as Scripture; but if they be witnessed to be of some bishops and priests, and some other of the clergy only, or

that they be witnessed to be so by decrees and laws made by bishops of Rome, and by the clergy of Rome, or by opinion of doctors only; that no man is bound to accept them, nor believe them, as they are bound to believe scripture: for scripture, as it is said before, was authorized by the whole church of God, and in the most elect and most gracious time, that of likelihood hath been since the beginning of Christ's church. And if it be said that many of the said opinions have been affirmed and approved by general councils, in whom no error may be presumed, it may be answered, that though the church when gathered together in the Holy Ghost may not err in things pertaining to the faith, that yet forasmuch as some general councils have been gathered, and not by the power of kings and princes, but by heads of the church, and that laws have been also made at such general councils, of divers things which have not pertained to the faith, but to the maintenance of the authority or profit of the clergy, or of such articles as are before rehearsed, that they call *unwritten verities*, which undoubtedly pertain not merely to the faith, that it may therefore be lawfully doubted, whether such councils were gathered in the Holy Ghost or not, and whether they erred in their judgments or not. And there is no doubt but that in some general councils have done so indeed. And I suppose that there be but few matters more necessary nor more expedient for kings and princes to look upon, than upon these *unwritten verities*, and of making laws by the clergy. But if they be suffered to maintain that there be any verities, which the people are bound to believe upon pain of damnation, beside scripture, it will persuade partly an insufficiency in scripture, and thereupon might follow great dangers many ways. And if it were admitted, that the clergy might be received to affirm that there be such verities besides scriptures, yet they could not prove them.

For if they would in proof thereof say, that the apostles first taught those verities, and that they have so continued from one to another unto this day, and show none other authority thereof but that, then all the sayings may as lightly be denied as it was affirmed, and with as high authority, And if they will further attempt to approve it by laws made by the bishops of Rome, and by the clergy at Rome, yea, or by laws and decrees made at general councils; yet these laws and decrees may be lawfully doubted at, as before appeareth: so that they cannot by reason whereof derive any necessity of belief into any person. Wherefore kings and princes, that have received of God the high power and charge over the people, are bound to prohibit such sayings upon great pains; and not to suffer a belief to be grounded upon things uncertain. But yet if some of the said articles that be called *Unwritten Verities*, were suffered to continue as things that be more like to be true than otherwise, and no necessity of belief to be derived thereupon. I suppose verily it might well be suffered, that they should stand still, not prohibit, as for instance, that article, that the twelve apostles made the creed; that it is good to pray towards the east; that our Lady was not born in original sin; that she was assumed body and soul: and therefore if it were ordained by kings and princes, that no man, upon pain to be taken as breaker of the quietness of the people, should deny any of the said articles, it were well done, to keep unity among the people. But divers realms may order such things diversely, as they shall seem convenient, after the disposition of the people there. For they be but things indifferent to be believed or not believed, and are nothing like to scripture, to the articles of the faith, the ten commandments, nor to such other moral learnings, as are merely derived out of scripture: for they must of necessity be

believed and obeyed of every Christian man. For, as saith St. Paul at Ephesians iv. there must be one God, one faith, and one baptism. But to suffer them to stand as *Unwritten Verities*, that may not be denied, and to have authority only by laws made by the clergy, it seemeth dangerous; for it might cause many of the clergy to esteem more power in the clergy than there is indeed; and that might lift many of them into a higher estimation of themselves than they ought to have: thereby might follow great danger unto the people; for as long as there be disorders in the clergy, it will be hard to bring the laity to good order. And all this that I have touched before, may be reformed without any rebuke to the clergy that now is. For the pretence of such unwritten verities, nor yet of making of laws, to bind kings, and princes, and their people, nor yet that both powers, that is to say, spiritual and temporal, were in the clergy that now is, but in their predecessors.

And as to the said other pretended unwritten verities, that is to say, that all men should resort to Rome, as to the most high and principal church; and that it is a tradition and unwritten verity, that images ought to be set up, it were well done, that they and such other opinions, whereby pride, covetousness, or vain glory might spring hereafter, were prohibited by authority of the Parliament, upon great pains. And as to the said unwritten verity, that holy cream should be made after maundie, it pertaineth only to them that have authority to judge, whether it be an unwritten verity or not; and to judge also what is the very authority of making of that cream. And therefore I will no further speak of that matter at this time.

A SHORT CATECHISM,

OR,

PLAIN INSTRUCTION,

CONTAINING

**THE SUM OF CHRISTIAN LEARNING, SET FORTH BY THE
KING'S MAJESTY'S AUTHORITY, FOR ALL SCHOOLMASTERS
TO TEACH.**

1553.

An Injunction given by the King our Sovereign Lord, his most excellent Majesty, to all Schoolmasters and Teachers of Youth, within all his Grace's realms and dominions, for authorizing and establishing the use of this catechism.

EDWARD THE SIXTH, by the grace of God, KING OF ENGLAND, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, the Supreme Head.—To all Schoolmasters and Teachers of Youth.

WHEN there was presented unto us, to be perused, a short and plain order of Catechism, written by a certain godly and learned man, we committed the debating, and diligent examination thereof, to certain bishops, and other learned men, whose judgment we have in great estimation. And because it seemed agreable with the scriptures, and the ordinances of our realm, we thought it good, not only for that agreement to put it forth abroad to print: but also, for the plainness and shortness, to appoint it out for all schoolmasters to teach. That the yet unskilful and young age, having the foundations laid, both of religion and good letters, may learn godliness together with wisdom; and have a rule for the rest of their life, what judgment they ought to have of God, to whom all our life is applied; and how they may please God, wherein we ought, with all the doings and duties of our lives, to travail.

We will, therefore, and command, both all and each of you, as ye tender our favour, and as ye mind to avoid the just punishment of transgressing our authority, that ye truly and diligently teach this Catechism in your schools, immediately after the other brief Catechism which we have already set forth: that young age, yet tender and wavering, being by authority and instructions of true religion established, may have a great furtherance to the right worshipping of God, and good helps to live in all points according to duty. Where-with being furnished, by better using, due godliness toward God, the Author of all things; obedience toward their king, the shepherd of the people; loving affection to the commonweal, the general mother of all; they may seem not born for themselves, but be profitable and dutiful toward God, their king, and their country.

Given at Greenwich the 20th of May, the 7th year of our reign.

EDWARD VI.

DURING the reign of king Edward VI., efforts were for the first time made for the catechetical instruction of young persons in the doctrines of truth, set forth especially for their use, in the English tongue. Several works were published with this design, the latest and most complete of which was the Short Catechism, approved by the synod in 1552. It was set forth by the king's authority, and one of the latest public acts of king Edward, was an injunction to all schoolmasters and teachers of youth to use the same. On queen Mary's accession to the throne, much opposition was made to this catechism. In the first convocation, Dr. Weston, a zealous papist, brought in a bill, declaring it to be pestiferous, full of heresies, and unauthorized by the late synod. All present, excepting six, agreed with him. Philpot then stood up and defended the catechism, desiring that some of the learned men concerned in the setting forth that book might be called before them, and suffered to defend it; but this of course was not allowed.

Weston, who had himself subscribed to it in the former synod, afterwards charged Ridley with being the author. The latter declared he was not, though he admitted having perused and approved it. Ponet, bishop of Winchester in queen Elizabeth's reign, is supposed by Tanner and some others to have written this catechism, but there appears no doubt that the author was Dr. Alexander Nowell, then head master of Westminster school, subsequently an exile in queen Mary's reign, and dean of St. Paul's under queen Elizabeth.

It was published and set forth under his own name, in a revised and considerably enlarged form, after his return from exile, and was then approved by the convocation, and finally in 1576 set forth by authority. In each form it was printed both in English and Latin. Of the first edition usually known as King Edward's catechism, Strype says, "It was certainly written by Alexander Nowell, as I find by comparing Nowell's catechism and this together. The speakers are the same in both. And in many places the very same questions and answers are given verbatim, only Nowell's catechism published under queen Elizabeth is much larger.

Ridley probably refers to this work in his Farewell to his Friends, and in his letter to the Brethren. Ponet may have been supposed to be the author, from the license to Day in 1553, which allows him to print this catechism, also containing permission "to print all the works and books devised or compiled" by Ponet.

The catechism is given in the present collection in its original form, as one of the most important pieces connected with the history of the reformation. The anxiety felt by the papists on account of the numerous catechisms set forth in the reformed churches, is shown by the introduction to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which, after complaining of "the mighty volumes" of the heretics, and the infinite number of "their little books," states, "As many *catechisms* as there are provinces in Europe, nay, almost as many as the cities, are circulated; all of which abound with heresies, whereby the minds of the simple are deceived."

THE CATECHISM.

It is the duty of them all, whom Christ hath redeemed by his death, that they not only are servants to obey, but also children to inherit: and so to know which is the true trade of life, and that God liketh; that they may be able to answer to every demand of religion, and to render account of their faith and profession.

And this is the plainest way of teaching, which not only in philosophy, Socrates, but also in our religion, Apollinarius, hath used: that both by certain questions, as it were by pointing, the ignorant might be instructed, and the skilful put in remembrance, that they forget not what they have learned. We, therefore, having regard to the profit, which we ought to seek in teaching of youth, and also to shortness, that in our whole schooling there should be nothing either overflowing or wanting, have conveyed the whole sum into a dialogue, that the matter itself might be plainer to perceive, and we the less stray into other matters, beside the purpose.

Thus then beginneth the master to appose¹ his scholar.

Master. Since I know, dear son, that it is a great

¹ Examine.

part of my duty, not only to see that thou art instructed in good letters, but also earnestly and diligently to examine, what sort of religion thou followest in this thy tender age: I thought it best to appose thee by certain questions, to the intent I may perfectly know, whether thou hast well or ill travailed therein. Now therefore, tell me, my son, what religion that is, which thou professest.

Scholar. That, good master, do I profess, which is the religion of the Lord Christ: which in the eleventh of the Acts is called the Christian religion.

M. Dost thou then confess thyself to be a follower of Christian godliness and religion, and a scholar of our Lord Christ?

S. That, forsooth, do I confess, and plainly and boldly profess; yea, therein I account the whole sum of all my glory, as that which is both of more honour, than that the slenderness of my understanding may attain unto it: and also more approaching to God's majesty, than that I, by any feat of utterance, may easily express.

M. Tell me, then, dear son, as exactly as thou canst, in what points thou thinkest that the sum of Christian religion standeth.

S. In two points, that is to say, true faith in God, and assured persuasion, conceived of all those things which are contained in the holy scriptures; and in charity, which belongeth both to God and to our neighbour.

M. That faith which is conceived by hearing and reading of the word; what doth it teach thee concerning God?

S. This doth it principally teach: that there is one certain nature, one substance, one ghost,¹ and heavenly mind, or rather an everlasting Spirit, without beginning or ending, which we call God: whom

¹ Spirit.

her, or with lustful look to behold her; or by any dishonest mean to woo her, either by ourselves, or any other in our behalf: finally, herein is debarred all kind of filthy and straying lust.

M. What thinkest thou of the commandment, not to steal?

S. I shall show you as briefly as I have done the rest, if it please you to hear me. It commands us, to beguile no man, to occupy no unlawful wares, to envy no man his wealth, and to think nothing profitable, that either is not just, or differs from right and honesty: briefly, rather willingly to lose that which is thine own, than wrongfully take that which is another's, and turn it to thine own commodity.

M. How may that commandment be kept, of bearing no false witness?

S. If we neither ourselves speak any false or vain lie; nor allow it in others, either by speech or silence, or by our present company. But we ought always to maintain truth, as place and time serve.

M. Now remains the last commandment, of not coveting anything that is our neighbour's: what means that?

S. This law, generally, forbids all sorts of evil lusts; and commands us to bridle and restrain all greedy unsatiated desire of our will, which holds not itself within the bounds of right and reason: and it wills that each man be content with his estate. But whosoever covets more than right, with the loss of his neighbour, and wrong to another, he breaks and bitterly looses the bond of charity and fellowship among men. Yea, and upon him, unless he amend, the Lord God, the most stern revenger of the breaking his law, shall execute most grievous punishment. On the other side, he that lives according to the rule of these laws, shall find both praise and bliss; and God also his merciful and bountiful good Lord.

M. thou hast shortly set out the ten commandments. Now, then, tell me, how all these things, that thou hast particularly declared, Christ hath in few words contained, setting forth unto us in a sum, the whole pith of the law.

S. Will you that I knit up in a brief abridgment, all that belongs both to God and to men?

M. Yea.

S. Christ saith thus; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the greatest commandment in the law. The other is like unto this. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Upon these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets.

M. I will now, that thou tell me further, what law is that, which thou speakest of; that which we call the law of nature, or some other besides?

S. I remember, master, that I learned of you long ago, that it was ingrafted by God in the nature of man, while nature was yet sound and uncorrupted. But after the entrance of sin, although the wise were somewhat, after a sort, not utterly ignorant of that light of nature, yet was it by that time so hid from the greatest part of men, that they scarce perceived any shadow thereof.

M. What is the cause, that God willed it to be written out in tables: and that it should be privately appointed to one people alone?

S. I will show you. By original sin and evil custom, the image of God in man was so darkened at the beginning, and the judgment of nature so corrupted, that man himself does not sufficiently understand, what difference is between honesty and dishonesty, right and wrong. The bountiful God, therefore, minding to renew that image in us, first wrought this by the law written in tables, that we might know ourselves; and therein, as it were in a

glass, behold the filth and spots of our soul, and stubborn hardness of a corrupted heart; that by this mean, yet acknowledging our sin, and perceiving the weakness of our flesh, and the wrath of God fiercely bent against us for sin, we might the more fervently long for our Saviour Christ Jesus: who by his death and precious sprinkling of his blood, hath cleansed and washed away our sins; pacified the wrath of the Almighty Father; by the holy breath of his Spirit createth new hearts in us; and reneweth our minds after the image and likeness of their Creator, in true righteousness and holiness. Which thing neither the justice of the law, nor any sacrifices of Moses, were able to perform.

And that no man is made righteous by the law, it is evident; not only thereby, that the righteous liveth by faith: but also hereby, that no mortal man is able to fulfil all that the law of both tables commands. For we have hindrances that strive against the law: as the weakness of the flesh, froward appetite, and lust naturally engendered. As for sacrifices, cleansings, washings, and other ceremonies of the law, they were but shadows, likenesses, images, and figures of the true and everlasting sacrifice of Jesus Christ, done upon the cross. By the benefit whereof alone, all the sins of all believers, even from the beginning of the world, are pardoned by the only mercy of God, and by no desert of ours.

M. I hear not yet, why Almighty God's will was, to declare his secret pleasure to one people alone, which was the Israelites.

S. Truly, that had I almost forgotten. I suppose it was not done, as though the law of the ten commandments did not belong generally to all men: forasmuch as the Lord our God is not only the God of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles. But rather, this was meant thereby, that the true Messiah, which is our Christ, might be known at his coming into

the world ; who must needs have been born of that nation, and none other, for true performance of the promise. For the which cause, God's pleasure was to appoint out for himself one certain people, holy, sundered from the rest, and, as it were, peculiarly his own ; that by this means his divine word might be continually kept holy, pure, and uncorrupted.

M. Hitherto thou hast well satisfied me, dear son : now let us come to the Christian confession, which I will that thou plainly rehearse unto me.

S. It shall be done. 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty ; Maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord : which was conceived by the Holy Ghost : born of the virgin Mary : suffered under Pontius Pilate : was crucified : dead and buried. He went down to hell : the third day he rose again from the dead. He went up to heaven : sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty : from thence shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost. I believe the holy universal church ; the communion of saints ; the forgiveness of sins ; the rising again of the flesh ; and the life everlasting.'

M. All these, my son, thou hast rehearsed generally and shortly. Therefore, thou shalt do well to set out largely all that thou hast spoken particularly ; that I may plainly perceive what thy belief is concerning each of them. And first, I would hear of the knowledge of God ; afterwards, of the right serving of him.

S. I will with a good will obey your pleasure, dear master, as far as my simple knowledge will suffer me. Above all things we must stedfastly believe and hold ; that God almighty, the Father, in the beginning, and of nothing, made and fashioned this whole frame of the world ; and all things whatsoever are contained therein ; and that they all are

made by the power of his word, that is, of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; which is sufficiently approved by witness of scriptures. Moreover, that when he had thus shapen all creatures, he ruled, governed, and saved them by his bounty and liberal hand; hath ministered, and yet also ministereth most largely, all that is needful for maintenance and preserving of our life; that we should so use them, as behoves mindful and godly children.

M. Why dost thou call God, Father?

S. For two causes; the one, for that he made us all at the beginning, and gave life unto us all. The other is more weighty, for that by his Holy Spirit and by faith he hath begotten us again; making us his children; giving us his kingdom and the inheritance of life everlasting, with Jesus Christ, his own true and natural Son.

M. Seeing then God hath created all other things to serve man, and made man to obey, honour, and glorify him; what canst thou say more of the beginning and making of man?

S. Even that which Moses wrote. That God shaped the first man of clay; and put into him soul and life. Then, that he cast Adam into a dead sleep, and brought forth a woman, whom he drew out of his side, to make her a companion with him of all his life and wealth. And therefore was man called Adam, because he took his beginning of the earth; and the woman called Eve, because she was appointed to be the mother of all living.

M. What image is that, after the likeness whereof thou sayest that man was made?

S. That is most absolute righteousness, and perfect holiness; which most nearly belongeth to the very nature of God, and most clearly appeared in Christ, our new Adam. Of the which in us, there scarcely are to be seen any sparkles.

M. What! are there scarcely to be seen?

S. It is true. For they do not now so shine, as they did in the beginning, before man's fall; forasmuch as man, by the darkness of sins and mist of errors, hath corrupted the brightness of this image. In such sort hath God in his wrath wreaked him upon the sinful man.

M. But, I pray thee, tell me, wherefore came it thus to pass?

S. I will show you. When the Lord God had made the frame of this world, he himself planted a garden, full of delight and pleasure, in a certain place eastward, and called it Eden. Wherein, beside other passing fair trees, not far from the midst of the garden, was there one especially, called the tree of life, and another, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

Herein the Lord, of his singular love, placed man; and committed unto him the garden to dress, and look unto; giving him liberty to eat of the fruits of all the trees of paradise, except the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The fruit of this tree, if ever he tasted, he should without fail die for it. But Eve, deceived by the devil counterfeiting the shape of a serpent, gathered of the forbidden fruit; which was, for its fairness to the eye, to be desired; for its sweetness in taste to be reached at; and pleasant for the knowledge of good and evil; and she ate thereof, and gave unto her husband to eat of the same. Which doing, they both immediately died; that is to say, were not only subject to the death of the body, but also lost the life of the soul, which is righteousness.

And forthwith, the image of God was defaced in them; and the most beautiful proportion of righteousness, holiness, truth, and knowledge of God, was confounded, and in a matter utterly blotted out. There remained the earthly image, joined with unrighteousness, guile, fleshly mind, and deep igno-

rance of godly and heavenly things. Hereof grew the weakness of our flesh; hereof came this corruption and disorder of lusts and affections; hereof came that pestilence; hereof came that seed and nourishment of sins, wherewith mankind is infected, and it is called sin original. Moreover, thereby nature was so corrupted and overthrown, that unless the goodness and mercy of almighty God had holpen us by the medicine of grace, even as in body we are thrust down into all wretchedness of death; so, must it needs have been, that all men, of all sorts, should be thrown into everlasting punishment, and fire unquenchable.

M. Oh the unthankfulness of men! But what hope had our first parents, and from thenceforth the rest, whereby they were relieved?

S. When the Lord God had both with words and deeds chastised Adam and Eve, for he thrust them both out of the garden with a most grievous reproach, he then cursed the serpent, threatening him, that the time should one day come, when the Seed of the woman should break his head. Afterwards, the Lord God established that same glorious and most bountiful promise: first, with a covenant made between him and Abraham, by circumcision, and in Isaac his son; then again, by Moses; last of all, by the oracles of the holy prophets.

M. What meaneth the serpent's head, and that Seed which God speaketh of?

S. In the serpent's head lieth all his venom, and the whole pith of his life and force. Therefore, do I take the serpent's head to betoken the whole power and kingdom, or more truly the tyranny of the old serpent, the devil. The Seed, as St. Paul does plainly teach, is Jesus Christ, the Son of God, very God and very man; conceived by the Holy Ghost, of Mary, the blessed, pure, and undefiled maid; and was so born and fostered by her, as other

babes are, saving that he was most far from all infection of sin.

M. All these foundations that thou hast laid, are most true. Now, therefore, let us go forward to those his doings, wherein lieth our salvation and conquest against that old serpent.

S. It shall be done, good master. After that Christ Jesus had delivered in charge to his apostles that most joyful, and in all points heavenly doctrine, the gospel, which, in Greek, is called *evangelion*, in English, good tidings, and had, as by sealing, established the same with tokens and miracles innumerable, whereof all his life was full; at length was he sore scourged, mocked with scorning, and spitting in his face; last of all, his hands and feet bored through with nails; and he fastened to a cross. Then he truly died, and was truly buried; that by his most sweet sacrifice he might pacify his Father's wrath against mankind; and subdue him, by his death, who had the authority of death, which was the devil. Forasmuch, not only the living, but also the dead, were they in hell, or elsewhere, they all felt the power and force of his death; to whom, lying in prison, as Peter saith, Christ preached, though dead in body, yet alive in spirit.

The third day after, he uprose again, alive in body also, and with many notable proofs, the space of forty days he abode among his disciples, eating and drinking with them. In whose sight he was conveyed away in a cloud up into heaven; or rather, above all heavens; where he now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; being made Lord of all things, be they in heaven, or in earth; King of all kings; our everlasting and only high Bishop; our only Mediator: only Peacemaker between God and men. Now, since that he is entered into his glorious majesty, by sending down his Holy Spirit unto us, as he promised, he lighteneth our dark blindness;

moveth, ruleth, teacheth, cleanseth, comforteth, and rejoiceth our minds, and so will he still continually do, till the end of the world.

M. Well, I see, thou hast touched the chief articles of our religion, and hast set out, as in a short abridgment, the creed that thou didst rehearse. Now therefore, I will demand of thee questions of certain points.

S. Do as shall please you, master; for you may more perfectly instruct me in those things that I do not thoroughly understand, and put me in remembrance of that I have forgotten; and print in my mind deeper such things, as have not taken stedfast hold therein.

M. Tell me then; if by his death we get pardon of our sins: was not that enough, but that he must also rise again from the dead?

S. It was not enough, if you have respect either to him or to us. For unless he had risen again, he should not be taken for the Son of God. For which cause also, while he hung upon the cross, they, that saw him, upbraided him and said, "He hath saved others, but cannot save himself; let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him." But now, uprising from the dead to everlasting continuance of life, he hath showed a much greater power of his Godhead, than if, by coming down from the cross, he had fled from the terrible pains of death. For to die is common to all men, but to loose the bonds of death, and by his own power to rise again, that properly belongeth to Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, the only author of life.

Moreover, it was necessary that he should rise again with glory, that the sayings of David and other prophets of God might be fulfilled, which told before, that neither his body should see corruption, nor his soul be left in hell. As for us, we neither had been justified, nor had any hope left to rise again, had

not he risen again, as Paul in divers places plainly shows. For, if he had remained in the prison of death, in the grave, and been holden in corruption, as all men beside, how could we have hoped for safety by him, who saved not himself? It was meet therefore and needful for the part that he had in hand, and for the chief stay of our safeguard, that Christ should first deliver himself from death, and afterwards assure us of safety by his uprising again.

M. Thou hast touched, my son, the chief cause of Christ's rising again. Now would I fain hear thy mind of his going up into heaven. What answer thinkest thou is to be made to them that say it had been better for him to tarry here with us now present to rule and govern us? For besides other diverse causes, it is likely that the love of the people toward their prince, especially being good and gracious, should grow the greater by his present company.

S. All these things which he should do if present, that is to say, if he were in company among us, he doeth them absent. He ruleth, maintaineth, strengtheneth, defendeth, rebuketh, punisheth, correcteth, and performeth all such things, as do become such a prince, or rather God himself. All those things, I say, he performeth, which belong either to our need or profit, honour or commodity.

Besides this, Christ is not altogether so absent from the world, as many suppose. For albeit the substance of his body be taken up from us; yet is his Godhead perpetually present with us, although not subject to the sight of our eyes. For things that are not bodily, cannot be perceived by any bodily mean. Who ever saw his own soul? No man. Yet what is there more present, or what to each man nearer, than his own soul? Spiritual things are not to be seen, but with the eye of the Spirit. Therefore he, that in earth will see the Godhead of Christ, let him open

the eyes, not of his body, but of his mind, but of his faith, and he shall see Him present, whom eye hath not seen ; he shall see Him present, and in the midst of them, wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name ; he shall see Him present with us, even unto the end of the world. What said I ? Shall he see Christ present ? Yea, he shall both see and feel him, dwelling within himself in such sort, as he doth his own proper soul. For Christ dwelleth and abideth in the mind and heart of him who fasteneth all his trust in him.

M. Very well ; but our confession is, that he is ascended up into heaven. Tell me, therefore, how that is to be understood.

S. So use we commonly to say of him that has attained to any high degree or dignity, that he is ascended up, or advanced into some high room, some high place or state ; because he hath changed his former case, and is become of more honour than the rest. In such a case is Christ gone up, as he before came down. He came down from highest honour to deepest dishonour, even the dishonour and vile state of a servant, and of the cross. And likewise, afterwards he went up from the deepest dishonour, to the highest honour, even that same honour which he had before. His going up into heaven, yea, above all heavens, to the very royal throne of God, must needs be evident by most just reason, that his glory and majesty might in comparison agreeably answer to the proportion of his baseness and reproachful estate. This Paul teaches us, in his writings to the Philip-pians, " He became obedient even unto death ; yea, the very death of the cross." Wherefore, God hath both advanced him to the highest state of honour ; and also given him a name above all names ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of all things in heaven, earth, and hell.

But although he is already gone up into heaven,

nevertheless, by his nature of Godhead, and by his Spirit, he shall always be present in his church, even to the end of the world. Yet this proves not that he is present among us in his body. For his Godhead hath one property, his manhood another. His manhood was created, his Godhead uncreated. His manhood is in some one place of heaven; his Godhead is in such sort eachwhere, that it filleth both heaven and earth.

But to make this point plainer, by a similitude, or comparing of like to like, there is nothing that doth more truly, like a shadow, express Christ, than the sun, for it is a fit image of the light and brightness of Christ. The sun alway keeps the heavens, yet do we say, that it is present also in the world; for without light there is nothing present, that is to say, nothing to be seen of any man; for the sun with his light filleth all things. So Christ is lifted up above all heavens, that he may be present with all, and fully furnishes all things, as St. Paul doth say.

But as touching the bodily presence of Christ here in earth, if it be lawful to place in comparison great things with small, Christ's body is present to our faith: as the sun, when it is seen, is present to the eye: the body whereof, although it do not bodily touch the eye, nor be presently with it together here in earth; yet is it present to the sight, notwithstanding so large a distance of space between. So Christ's body, which at his glorious going up was conveyed from us; which hath left the world, and is gone unto his Father; is a great way absent from our mouth, even when we receive with our mouth the holy sacrament of his body and blood. Yet is our faith in heaven, and beholds that Sun of righteousness, and is present together with him in heaven, in such sort as the sight is in heaven with the body of the sun; or in earth the sun with the sight. And as the sun is present to all things by his light; so is

Christ also in his Godhead. Yet neither can the light of the sun be sundered from the body; nor from his immortal body the Godhead of Christ. We must therefore so say, that Christ's body is in some one place of heaven, and his Godhead everywhere, that we neither of his Godhead make a body, nor of his body, a God.

M. I see, my son, thou art not ignorant after what sort Christ is rightly said to be from us in body, and with us in spirit. But this one thing would I know of thee. Why is Christ our Lord thus conveyed away from the sight of our eyes, and what profit do we take by his going up to heaven?

S. The chief cause thereof was to pluck out of us that false opinion, which sometime deceived the apostles themselves; that Christ should in earth visibly reign, as kings and ruffling¹ princes of the world. This error he minded to have utterly suppressed in us, and that we should think his kingdom to consist in higher things. Which he therefore thought fitter, because it was more for our commodity and profit that some such kingdom should be set up, as the foundations thereof should rest upon our faith. Wherefore, it was necessary that he should be conveyed away from us, past perceiving of all bodily sense; that by this means our faith might be stirred up, and exercised to consider his government and providence, whom no sight of bodily eyes can behold.

And forasmuch as he is not king of some one country alone, but of heaven and earth, of quick and dead, it was most convenient that his kingdom should be otherwise governed, than our senses may attain unto. For else he should have been constrained, sometimes to be carried up to heaven, sometimes to be driven down to the earth; to remove

¹ Proud, turbulent.

sometimes into one country, sometimes into another: and, like an earthly prince, to be carried hither and thither, by divers changes of affairs. For he could not be present with all at once, unless his body were so turned into Godhead, that he might be in all, or in many places together; as Eutyches, and certain like heretics, held opinion.

If it so were, that he might be each where present with all, at one very instant of time; then were he not man, but a ghost: neither should he have had a true body, but a fantastical: whereof should have sprung forthwith a thousand errors; all which he hath despatched by carrying his body up whole to heaven. In the mean season, he, remaining invisible, governeth his kingdom and commonwealth, that is, his church, with sovereign wisdom and power. It is for men to rule their commonwealths by a certain civil policy of men; but for Christ and God, by a heavenly God-like order.

But all that I have hitherto said, contains but a small parcel of the profit that we take by the carrying up of Christ's body into heaven. For there are many more things that here might be rehearsed, whereof large store of fruit is to be gathered. But especially this may not be left unspoken—that the benefits are such and so great, which come unto us by the death, rising again, and going up of Christ, as no tongue either of men or angels is able to express. And that you may know my mind herein, I will rehearse certain of the chief; whereunto, as it were two principal points, the rest may be applied.

I say therefore, that both by these and other doings of Christ, two commodities do grow unto us; the one, that all the things that ever he hath done for our profit and behoof, he hath done them, so that they are as well our own, if we will cleave thereunto with stedfast and lively faith, as if we had done them ourselves.

He was nailed to the cross ; we were also nailed with him, and in him our sins were punished. He died and was buried ; we likewise with our sins are dead and buried, and that in such sort, that all remembrance of our sins is utterly taken out of mind. He is risen again, and we are also risen again with him ; that is, are so made partakers of his rising again and life, that from henceforth death hath no more rule over us. For the same Spirit is in us, that raised up Jesus from the dead. Finally, as he is gone up into heavenly glory, so are we lifted up with him. Albeit that these things do not now appear, yet then shall they all be brought to light, when Christ, the Light of the world, shall show himself in his glory, in whom all our bliss is laid up in store. Moreover, by his going up are granted us the gifts of the Holy Ghost ; as Paul doth sufficiently witness. Eph. iv.

The other benefit which we take by the doings of Christ is, that Christ is set for an example unto us, to frame our lives thereafter. If Christ hath been dead ; if he hath been buried for sin ; he was so but once. If he be risen again ; if he be gone up to heaven ; he is but once risen, but once gone up. From henceforth he dieth no more, but liveth with God, and reigneth in everlasting continuance of glory. So, if we are dead ; if we are buried to sin ; how shall we hereafter live in the same ? If we are risen again with Christ ; if by stedfast hope we live now in heaven with him ; heavenly and godly things, not earthly and frail, we ought to set our care upon. And even as heretofore we have borne the image of the earthly man ; so, from henceforward let us bear the image of the heavenly.

As the Lord Christ never ceases to do us good, by bestowing upon us his Holy Spirit, by garnishing his church with so many notable gifts, and by perpetually praying to his Father for us ; like reason ought

to move us to aid our neighbour with all our endeavour, to maintain, as much as in us lies, the bond of charity. And to honour Christ our Lord and Saviour; not with wicked traditions and cold devices of men, but with heavenly honour and spiritual indeed, most fit for us that give it, and him that shall receive it; even as he hath honoured and doth honour his Father: for he that honoureth him, honoureth also the Father; of which he himself is a substantial witness.

M. The end of the world, holy scripture calls the fulfilling and performance of the kingdom and mystery of Christ, and the renewing of all things. For, says the apostle Peter, 2 Peter iii. "We look for a new heaven and a new earth, according to the promise of God: wherein dwelleth righteousness." And it seems reason that corruption, unstedfast change, and sin, whereunto the whole world is subject, should at length have an end. Now, by what way, and what fashion of circumstances, these things shall come to pass, I would fain hear thee tell.

S. I will tell you, as well as I can, according to the witness of the same apostle; "The heavens shall pass away like a storm: the elements shall melt away: the earth and all the works therein shall be consumed with fire: as though he should say, As gold is wont to be fined, so shall the whole world be purified with fire, and be brought to its full perfection." The lesser world, which is man, following the same, shall likewise be delivered from corruption and change. And so for man this greater world, which for his sake was first created, shall at length be renewed, and be clad with another hue, much more pleasant and beautiful.

M. What then remaineth?

S. The last and general doom. For Christ shall come: at whose voice all the dead shall rise again, perfect and sound, both in body and soul. The whole

world shall behold him sitting in the royal throne of his majesty: and after the examination of every man's conscience, the last sentence shall be pronounced. Then the children of God shall be in perfect possession of that kingdom of freedom from death, and of everlasting life, which was prepared for them, before the foundations of the world were laid. And they shall reign with Christ for ever. But the ungodly, who believed not, shall be thrown from thence into everlasting fire, appointed for the devil and his angels.

M. Thou hast said enough of the again rising of the dead. Now, it remains that thou speak of the holy church; whereof I would very fain hear thy opinion.

S. I will rehearse that in few words shortly, which the holy scriptures set out at large and plentifully. Before that the Lord God had made the heaven and earth, he determined to have for himself a most beautiful kingdom and holy commonwealth. The apostles and the ancient fathers, that wrote in Greek, called it *Ecclesia*, in English, a congregation or assembly: into which he hath admitted an infinite number of men, that should all be subject to one King, as their sovereign and only one head: him we call *Christ*, which is as much as to say, *Anointed*. For the high bishops, and kings among the Jews, who in figure betokened Christ, whom the Lord anointed with his Holy Spirit, were wont by God's appointment, at their consecration, to have material oil poured on them.

To the furnishing of this commonwealth belong all they, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, wholly applying their mind to holy and godly living: and all those that, putting all their hope and trust in him, do assuredly look for the bliss of everlasting life. But as many as are in this faith steadfast, were forechosen, predestinated, and appointed

out to everlasting life, before the world was made. Witness hereof, they have within in their hearts the Spirit of Christ, the author, earnest, and unfailable pledge of their faith. Which faith only is able to perceive the mysteries of God ; only bringeth peace unto the heart : only taketh hold on the righteousness that is in Christ Jesus.

M. Doth then the Spirit alone, and faith, sleep we ever so soundly, or stand we ever so reckless and slothful, so work all things for us, as without any help of our own to carry us idle up to heaven ?

S. I use, master, as you have taught me, to make a difference between the cause and the effects. The first, principal, and most perfect cause of our justifying and salvation, is the goodness and love of God ; whereby he chose us for his, before he made the world. After that, God granteth us to be called by the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, when the Spirit of the Lord is poured into us ; by whose guiding and governance we are led to settle our trust in God, and hope for the performance of all his promises. With this choice is joined, as companion, the mortifying of the old man ; that is, of our affections and lusts.

From the same Spirit also cometh our sanctification, the love of God and of our neighbour, justice, and uprightness of life. Finally, to say all in sum, whatsoever is in us, or may be done of us, pure, honest, true, and good ; that altogether springs out of this most pleasant root, from this most plentiful fountain, the goodness, love, choice, and unchangeable purpose of God. He is the cause, the rest are the fruits and effects. Yet the goodness, choice, and Spirit of God, and Christ himself, are also causes conjoined and coupled with each other ; which may be reckoned among the principal causes of our salvation. As oft therefore as we use to say, that we are made righteous and saved only by faith, it is meant

thereby, that faith, or rather trust alone, doth lay hand upon, understand, and perceive our righteous-making to be given us of God freely; that is to say, by no deserts of our own, but by the free grace of the almighty Father.

Moreover, faith doth engender in us the love of our neighbour; and such works as God is pleased withal. For if it be a lively and true faith, quickened by the Holy Ghost, it is the mother of all good saying and doing. By this short tale is it evident, whence and by what means we attain to be made righteous. For, not by the worthiness of our deservings, were we either heretofore chosen, or long ago saved; but by the only mercy of God, and pure grace of Christ our Lord; whereby we were in him made to those good works, that God hath appointed for us to walk in. And although good works cannot deserve to make us righteous before God; yet do they so cleave unto faith, that neither can faith be found without them, nor good works be any where without faith.

M. I like very well this short declaration of faith and works; for Paul plainly teaches the same. But canst thou yet further depaint¹ me out that congregation, which thou callest a kingdom, or commonwealth of christians: and so set it out before mine eyes, that it may severally and plainly be known asunder from each other fellowship of men?

S. I will prove how well I can do it. Your pleasure is, master, as I take it, that I point you out some certain congregation, that may be seen.

M. That it is indeed; and so it shall be good for you to do.

S. That congregation is nothing else but a certain multitude of men; which, wheresoever they are, profess the pure and upright learning of Christ, and

¹ Describe.

that in such sort as it is faithfully set forth in the holy testament by the evangelists and apostles ; which in all points are governed and ruled by the laws and statutes of their King and High bishop, Christ, in the bond of charity ; which use his holy mysteries, that are commonly called sacraments, with such pureness and simplicity, as touching their nature and substance, as the apostles of Christ used, and left behind in writing.

The marks therefore of this church are ; first, pure preaching of the gospel ; then brotherly love, out of which, as members all out of one body, spring good will of each to the other : thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's sacraments, according to the ordinance of the gospel ; last of all, brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the church, that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy fathers termed discipline. This is that same church that is grounded upon the assured rock, Jesus Christ, and upon truth in him. This is that same church, which Paul calls the pillar and upholding stay of truth. To this church belong the keys, wherewith heaven is locked and unlocked ; for that is done by the ministration of the word ; whereunto properly appertains the power to bind and loose ; to hold for guilty, and forgive sins. So that whosoever believeth the gospel preached in this church, he shall be saved ; but whosoever believeth not, he shall be damned.

M. Now, would I fain hear thy belief of the Holy Ghost.

S. I confess him to be the third person of the Holy Trinity. And since he is equal with the Father and the Son, and of the very same nature, he ought equally to be worshipped with them both.

M. Why is he called holy ?

S. Not only for his own holiness, but for that by him are made holy the chosen of God, and members

of Christ. * And therefore have the scriptures termed him the Spirit of sanctification, or making holy.

M. Wherein consisteth this sanctification ?

S. First, we are newly begotten by his inward motion. And therefore said Christ, we must be new-born of water, and of the Spirit. Then by his inspiration are we adopted, and as it were by choice made the children of God. For which cause he is not causelessly called the Spirit of adoption. By his light, are we enlightened to understand God's mysteries. By his judgment, are sins pardoned and retained. By his power, is the flesh with her lusts kept down and tamed. By his pleasure, are the manifold gifts dealt among the holy. Finally by his means, shall our mortal bodies be raised again to life. Therefore, in the Author of so great gifts, we do not without a cause believe, honour, and call upon him.

M. Well, thou hast now said sufficiently of the Holy Ghost. But this would I hear of thee, why it immediately follows, that we believe the holy universal church, and the communion of saints ?

S. These two things I have always thought to be most fitly coupled together. Because the fellowships and incorporations of other men proceed, and are governed by other means and policies ; but the church, which is an assembly of men called to everlasting salvation, is both gathered together, and governed by the Holy Ghost, of whom we even now made mention. Which thing, since it cannot be perceived by bodily sense or light of nature, is, by right and for good reason, here reckoned among things that are known by belief.

And therefore, this calling together of the faithful is called universal, because it is bound to no one special place. For God, throughout all coasts of the world, hath them that worship him ; which, though they are far scattered asunder by divers distance of

countries and dominions, yet are they members most nearly joined of that same body, whereof Christ is the head ; and have one spirit, faith, sacraments, prayers, forgiveness of sins, and heavenly bliss, common among them all ; and are so knit with the bond of love, that they endeavour themselves in nothing more, than each to help the other, and to build together in Christ.

M. Seeing thou hast already spoken of the knowledge of God and his members : I would also hear what is the true service of God ?

A. First, we must consider that the right and true knowledge of God, is the principal and only foundation of God's service. The same knowledge, fear doth foster and maintain, which in scripture is called, The beginning of wisdom. Faith and hope are the props and stays, whereupon lean all the rest that I have rehearsed. Furthermore, charity, which we call love, is like an everlasting bond, by the strait knot whereof all other virtues are bound in one together, and their force increased. These are the inward parts of God's service ; that is to say, which consist in the mind.

M. What hast thou to say of the sabbath, or the holy day, which even now thou madest mention of, among the laws of the first table ?

A. Sabbath is as much to say, as " rest." It was appointed for only honour and service of God, and it is a figure of that rest and quietness which they have that believe in Christ. For our trust in Christ doth set our minds at liberty from all slavish fear of the law, sin, death, and hell ; assuring us in the mean season, that by him we please God, and that he hath made us his children, and heirs of his kingdom ; whereby there groweth in our hearts peace and true quietness of mind : which is a certain foretaste of the most blessed quiet, which we shall have in his kingdom.

As for those things that are used to be done on the sabbath day, as ceremonies and exercises in the service of God, they are tokens and witnesses of this assured trust. And meet it is, that faithful Christians, on such days as are appointed out for holy things, should lay aside unholy works, and give themselves earnestly to religion and serving of God.

M. What are the parts of that outward serving God, which thou saidst even now did stand in certain bodily exercises; which are also tokens of the inward serving him?

S. First, to teach and hear the learning of the gospel; then, the pure and natural use of the ceremonies and sacraments; last of all, prayer made unto God by Christ, and in the name of Christ, which without fail obtaineth the Holy Ghost, the most assured author of all true serving of God, and upright religion.

M. Tell me what thou callest sacraments?

S. They are certain customary, reverent doings and ceremonies, ordained by Christ, that by them he might put us in remembrance of his benefits, and we might declare our profession, that we are of the number of them which are partakers of the same benefits, and which fasten all their affiance in him: that we are not ashamed of the name of Christ, or to be termed Christ's scholars.

M. Tell me, my son, how these two sacraments are ministered; baptism, and that which Paul calleth the supper of the Lord?

S. Him that believeth in Christ, professeth the articles of the Christian religion, and mindeth to be baptized, (I speak now of them that be grown to ripe years of discretion, since for the young babes their parents' or the church's profession sufficeth,) the minister dippeth in, or washeth with pure and clean water only, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and then commendeth

him by prayer to God, into whose church he is now openly, as it were, enrolled, that it may please God to grant him his grace, whereby he may answer in belief and life agreeably to his profession.

M. What is the use of the Lord's supper?

S. Even the very same that was ordained by the Lord himself, Jesus Christ: Who, as St. Paul saith, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, brake it, and said; This is my body, which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of me. In like manner, when supper was ended, he gave them the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood. "Do this, as oft as ye shall drink thereof, in the remembrance of me." This was the manner and order of the Lord's supper, which we ought to hold and keep; that the remembrance of so great a benefit, the passion and death of Christ, be always kept in mind: that after that the world is ended, he may come and make us to sit with him at his own board.

M. What does baptism represent and set before our eyes?

S. That we are by the Spirit of Christ new born, and cleansed from sin; that we are members and parts of his church, received into the communion of saints. For water signifieth the Spirit. Baptism is also a figure of our burial in Christ, and that we shall be raised up again with him in a new life, as I have before declared in Christ's resurrection.

M. What declares and betokens the supper unto us; which we solemnly use in the remembrance of the Lord?

S. The supper, as I have showed a little before, is a certain thankful remembrance of the death of Christ; forasmuch as the bread represents his body, betrayed to be crucified for us; the wine stands in stead and place of his blood, plenteously shed for us. And even as by bread and wine our natural

bodies are sustained and nourished ; so by the body, that is, the flesh and blood of Christ, the soul is fed through faith, and quickened to the heavenly and godly life.

M. How come these things to pass ?

S. These things come to pass by a certain secret mean and lively working of the Spirit ; when we believe that Christ hath, once for all, given up his body and blood for us, to make a sacrifice and most pleasant offering to his heavenly Father ; and also when we confess and acknowledge him our Saviour, High bishop, Mediator, and Redeemer, to whom is due all honour and glory.

M. All this thou dost well understand. For methinks thy meaning is, that faith is the mouth of the soul ; whereby we receive this heavenly meat, full both of salvation and immortality, dealt among us by the means of the Holy Ghost. Now, since we have treated of the sacraments, pass forward to the other parts of God's service.

S. I will do your commandment. There remain two things belonging to the perfection of God's service. First, our Lord Jesus Christ's will was, that there should be teachers and evangelists ; that is to say, preachers of the gospel, to this intent, that his voice might continually be heard to sound in his church. He that covets, as all ought to covet, to bear the name of a Christian, may have no doubt that he ought, with most earnest affection and fervent desire, endeavour himself to hear and soak¹ into his mind the word of the Lord : not like the words of any man, but like, as it is indeed, the word of almighty God.

Secondly. Because all that is good, and that ought of a christian to be desired, cometh unto us from God, and is by him granted ; therefore of him

¹ Imbibe.

we ought to require all things : and by thanksgiving acknowledge them all received of him. Which he so well liketh, that he esteemeth it instead of a passing pleasant sacrifice ; as it is most evident by the witness of the prophets and apostles.

M. Hast thou any certain and appointed manner of praying ?

S. Yea, forsooth ; even the very same that our Lord taught his disciples, and in them all other christians. Who being on a time required to teach them some sort of prayer, taught them this. When ye pray, said he, say, " Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil : for thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, for ever. Amen."

M. How thinkest thou, Is it lawful for us, to use any other words of prayer ?

S. Although in this short abridgment are sufficiently contained all things that every christian ought to pray for ; yet hath not Christ in this prayer tied us up so short, as that it were not lawful for us to use other words and manner of prayer. But he hath set out in this prayer certain principal points, whereunto all our prayers should be referred. But, let each man ask of God, as his present need requireth. " Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name, saith Christ, he shall give it you."

M. Forasmuch as there is in all this prayer nothing doubtful, or beside the purpose : I would hear thy mind of it.

S. I do well perceive what the words do signify.

M. Thinkest thou then, that there is in it nothing dark, nothing hid, nothing hard to understand ?

S. Nothing at all. For neither was it Christ's

pleasure that there should be any thing in it dark, or far from our capacity, especially since it belongs equally to all, and it is as necessary for the simple as the learned.

M. Therefore declare unto me in few words each part by itself?

S. When I say, Our Father which art in heaven: this do I think with myself, that it cannot be, but that he must hear me, and be pleased with my prayers. For I am his son, although unprofitable and disobedient, and he on the other side is my most bountiful Father, most ready to take pity and pardon me.

M. Why dost thou say he is in heaven? Is he in some one certain and limited place in heaven? What means that, which he saith of himself, I fill both heaven and earth? again, The heaven is my seat and the earth is my footstool?

S. Hereof have I spoken somewhat before, whereunto I will join this that follows. First of all, as oft as we do say, Which art in heaven, it is as much to say as, heavenly and divine: for we ought to think much higher of our heavenly Father than of our earthly.

He is also said to be in heaven for this cause, that in that high and heavenly place, the notable and wonderful works of God do the more clearly and gloriously show themselves; and he is now declared to be in everlasting and full felicity; whereas we abide, yet banished in earth full wretchedly. Moreover, as the heaven, by unmeasurable wideness of compass, contains all places, the earth, and the sea; and no place is there that may be hid from the large reach of heaven, since it is at every instant of time to every thing present; so, hereby may we understand, that God is likewise present to each thing and in each place. He seeth, heareth, and governeth all things, he being himself a Spirit and most far from all earthly and mortal state. Witness whereof Jere-

miah the prophet. "Am not I," saith the Lord, a God near unto you? And am not I a God far off? Shall any man be able to shroud himself in such a corner, that I cannot espy him?"

This is a pithy sentence to drive fear into us, that we offend not that Lord of so large a dominion; whereby also we are persuaded assuredly to believe, that God will hear, whensoever we shall stand in need. For he is at all times, and in all places present. This foundation then laid, and so sweet and pleasant entrance prepared, there follows the first part of the Lord's prayer; wherein we require, that not only we, but also all others whosoever, may in holiness honour, reverence, and worship his name.

M. How is that to be done?

S. I shall show you. Then we do that, when leaving all those that have the name of gods, be they in heaven or in earth, or worshipped in temples, in divers shapes and images; we acknowledge him alone, our Father; pray to the true God, and Jesus Christ, his only Son, whom he hath sent; and by pure unfeigned prayer call upon him alone with uprightness of life and innocency.

M. Thou hast said very well. Proceed.

S. In the second part we require, that his kingdom come. For we see not yet all things in subjection to Christ. We see not the stone hewn off from the mountain without work of man, which altogether bruised and brought to nought the image, which Daniel describes; that the only rock, Christ, may obtain and possess the dominion of the whole world, granted him of his Father.

Antichrist is not yet slain. For this cause do we long for and pray, that it may at length come to pass and be fulfilled, that Christ may reign with his saints, according to God's promises. That he may live and be Lord in the world, according to the decrees of the

holy gospel; not after the traditions and laws of men, or pleasures of worldly tyrants.

M. God grant his kingdom may come, and that speedily.

S. Moreover, since it is the children's duty to frame their life to their father's will, and not the father's to bow to the children's pleasure; forasmuch as our will is commonly by exciting of affections, and stirring of lusts, drawn to do those things that God is displeas'd with, it is reason, that we hang wholly upon the beck of our heavenly Father, and wholly submit ourselves to his heavenly government. Wherefore, for this cause, we mortal men do pray, that we may in like case be obedient to his commandment, as are the sun and moon, and other stars in heaven, which by ordinary courses, and by enlightening the earth with incessant beams, execute the Lord's will continually. Or that we, as the angels and other divine spirits, in all points obey him; who bestow all their travail diligently, to accomplish his godly commandments.

Next after that, he teacheth us to ask of our heavenly Father our bread: whereby he meaneth not meat only, but also all things else, needful for maintenance and preserving of life: that we may learn, that God alone is author of all things; who maketh the fruits of the earth both to grow and increase to plenty. Wherefore, it is meet that we call upon him alone in prayer; who, as David saith, alone feedeth and maintaineth all things.

M. Some suppose this place to mean that bread which Christ maketh mention of in the sixth of John. That is, of the true knowledge and taste of Christ, who was born and died for us; wherewith the faithful soul is fed. The reason whereupon they gather this, is the Greek word, (*epiousion*,) whereby they understand, supernatural, spiritual, heavenly, and divine. This meaning I refuse not, for both these

expositions may fitly agree with this place ; but why calleth he it daily bread, which is also signified by this word ?

S. We ask daily bread, that might be always present and accompany us continually ; to slake and satisfy our thirsty desire, and unsatiate stomach ; lest otherwise we should be, as Christ saith, careful for to-morrow ; because the morrow shall care for itself. For it shall not come without its own discommodity and care ; wherefore, it is not reason, that one day should increase the evil of another. It shall be sufficient for us daily to ask, that which our most bountiful Father is ready daily to give.

Now follows the fifth request, wherein we beseech the Father to forgive us our trespasses and faults, that we have committed. This request, doubtless, is very necessary, since there is no man living free from sin. Here, therefore, must we cast away all trust of ourselves. Here, must we pluck down our courage. Here, must we pray our most merciful Father, for the love of Jesus Christ, his most dear and obedient Son, to pardon, forgive, and utterly blot out of his book, our innumerable offences.

Here, ought we, in the mean season, to be mindful of the covenant we make with God. That it may please God so to forgive us our trespasses, as we ourselves forgive them that trespass against us. Therefore, it is necessary that we forgive and pardon all men all their offences, of what sort or condition soever they are. If we forgive men their faults, our heavenly Father shall forgive us ours.

M. Were things, my son, thus used, there should not at this day thus violently reign so many brawls, so many contentions, so many and such heinous disagreements, enmities, and hatreds of one man to another. But now, whereas each man so standeth in his own conceit, that he will not lose an inch of his right, either in honour or wealth ; it oft befalls, that

they lose both their wealth, their honour, and their life itself withal. Yea, they put from themselves, and turn away, the favour of God and everlasting glory.

But thou, my son, must not be ignorant of Christ's commandment; nor of that which Paul teaches, that thou suffer not thyself to be overcome of evil, that is, suffer not thyself so to be seduced by any other man's offence, as to repay evil for evil, but rather overcome evil with good. I mean by doing him good that hath done thee evil; by using him friendly, that hath showed himself thy most cruel foe. Now, go forward to the sixth request.

S. I will, with a good will, as you command me. Forasmuch as we are feeble, weak, subject to a thousand perils, a thousand temptations, easy to be overcome, ready to yield to every light occasion, either to men fraught with malice, or to our own lusts and appetites, or finally, to the crafty malicious serpent, the devil; therefore, we beseech our Father, that he bring us into no temptation, no such hard escape and peril; nor leave us in the very plunge of danger; but, if it come to that point, that he rather take us away from the present mischief and engines of the devil, the author and principal cause of all evil, than suffer us to run headlong into destruction. Now, have you, good master, in few words all that you have taught me, unless peradventure somewhat be overslipped in the rehearsal.

M. Because thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, for ever. Amen. Why was it Christ's pleasure to knit up our prayer with this clause in the end?

S. Partly, that we should declare our assured trust to obtain all things, that we have before required. For there is nothing which, if it be asked with faith, he is not able or not willing to give, who ruleth and governeth all things, who is able to do all things, who is garnished with endless glory.

These things, when we rehearse of God, our Father, there remaineth no cause to doubt, or suspect that we shall receive denial. Partly, by so saying, we teach ourselves how meet it is to make our suit to God, since beside him none glisteneth with such shining glory, none hath dominion so large, or force so great, to be able to stay him from giving that he hath appointed, according to his pleasure; or to take away that which he hath already given us. And there is no evil of ours so great, that may not be put away by his exceeding great power, glory, and wisdom.

M. I like well, my son, this thy short declaration; and I see nothing left out that ought to have been spoken.

S. But yet this one thing will I add thereto. The chief and principal thing required in prayer is, that without all doubting we stedfastly believe, that God, our Father, will grant what we do ask: so, that it be neither unprofitable for us to receive, nor unfit for him to give. For he that is not assured, but doubtful, let him not think, as James saith, to get anything at the hands of God.

M. I see now, my dear son, how diligently and heedfully thou hast applied thy mind to those things that I have taught thee; how godly and upright a judgment thou hast of God's true service; and of the duties of neighbours one to another. This remains, that from henceforth thou so frame thy life, that this heavenly and godly knowledge decay not in thee, nor lie soul-less and dead, as it were in a tomb of the flesh. But rather see that thou wholly give thyself, continually and earnestly, to these godly studies. So, thou shalt live, not only in this present life, but also in the life to come, which is much better and more blessed than this life present. For godliness, as Paul saith, hath a promise, not in this life only, but in the other. It is convenient,

therefore, that we earnestly follow godliness, which plainly openeth the way to heaven, if we will seek to attain thereto.

And the principal point of godliness is, as thou hast declared even now very well, to know God only; to covet him only as the chief felicity; to fear him, as our Lord; to love and reverence him, as our Father, with his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. This is he, who hath begotten and regenerated us. This is he, who at the beginning gave us life and soul: who maintaineth, who blesseth us with life of everlasting continuance. To this godliness is directly contrary godlessness. As for superstition and hypocrisy, they counterfeit indeed, and resemble it: whereas, nevertheless they are most far different from all true godliness; and therefore we ought to avoid them as a pestilence, as the venom, and most contagious enemies of our soul and salvation.

The next point of godliness is, to love each man as our brother. For if God did at the beginning create us all; if he doth feed and govern us; finally, if he be the cause and author of our dwelling in this wide frame of the world; the name of brother must needs most fitly agree with us. And with so much straiter bond shall we be bound together, as we approach nearer to Christ, who is our brother, the first begotten and eldest; whom he that knoweth not, he that hath no hold of, is unrighteous indeed, and hath no place among the people of God. For Christ is the root and foundation of all right and justice, and he hath poured into our hearts certain natural lessons; as, Do that, saith he to another, that thou wouldest have done unto thyself.

Beware, therefore, thou do nothing to any man, that thou thyself wouldest not willingly suffer. Measure always another by thine own mind, and as thou feelest in thyself. If it grieve thee to suffer injury, if thou think it wrong that another man doth

to thee ; judge likewise the same in the person of thy neighbour, that thou seelest in thyself ; and thou shalt perceive, that thou dost no less wrongfully in hurting another, than others do in hurting thee.

Here if we would steadfastly fasten our feet ; hereunto if we would earnestly travail ; we should attain to the very highest top of innocency. For the first degree thereof is, to offend no man. The next, to help all men as much as in us lieth ; at least to will and wish well to all. The third, which is accounted the chief and most p̄fect, is to do good even to our enemies that wrong us.

Let us, therefore, know ourselves, pluck out the faults that are in us, and in their place plant virtues ; like unto the husbandmen, that first use to stub and root out the thorns, brambles, and weeds, out of their fallow land and unlooked to ; and then each where therein scatter and throw in to the earth good and fruitful seeds, to bring forth good fruit in their due season. Likewise let us do. For first, let us labour to root out froward and corrupt lusts ; and afterwards plant holy and fit conditions for Christian hearts. Which, if they are watered, and fattened with the dew of God's word, and nourished with warmth of the Holy Ghost, they shall bring forth, doubtless, the most plentiful fruit of immortality and blessed life ; which God hath by Christ prepared for his chosen, before the foundations of the world were laid. To whom be all honour and glory. Amen.

Bishop Randolph observes, " This Catechism, published in the time of king Edward VI., was the last work of the reformers of that reign ; whence it may fairly be understood to contain, as far as it goes, their ultimate decision, and to represent the sense of the church of England as then established."

JEWELL'S APOLOGY.

A. D. 1562.

JEWELL'S Apology was originally written in a consecutive form, without any division into parts, or any numbering of paragraphs. These were introduced into his Defence of the Apology, for easier reference to his replies to Harding, and have been retained in later editions, excepting that the division into paragraphs is not so minute.

The contents of these parts may be stated as follows:—

I. Contains a brief account of the opposition which the truth and true religion have met with in all ages, with some notice of the imputations cast upon the Protestants.

II. Contains a statement of the doctrines held by English Protestants.

III. States the causes whence heresies have arisen, and the ages in which they have prevailed.

IV. Gives an account of the rule, lives, and conduct of the popes, and other members of the church of Rome, who have asserted themselves to be the only head and members of the holy catholic church.

V. Is concerning the opinions maintained by the ancient fathers and councils, with a comparison between some of the protestant and popish tenets.

VI. Explains the estimation in which protestants held the councils and decrees of the primitive church, and shows that the papists in reality had little regard either for them or for the holy scriptures.

Jewell's Apology was originally composed in Latin, and published in the year 1562, a period, as the reader will remember, antecedent to those differences of sentiment with regard to various externals of ecclesiastical polity, which arose in England a few years afterwards, and have subsisted to the present day. It was intended as a defence of the doctrines common to the reformed churches against the erroneous assertions and mis-representations of the Papists, and although expressions occur here and there, which would not be employed by Protestant advocates at the present day, and it recognizes some principles, such for instance as the authority of councils, which have been controverted among Protestants, it has been universally esteemed as one of the most able works of the reformers upon the Romish controversy, and as a powerful exposure of the Papal usurpations with regard to civil as well as ecclesiastical authority. The following remarks of archbishop Usher are important. 'The books of holy scripture are so sufficient for the knowledge of Christian religion, that they do most plentifully contain all doctrine necessary to salvation. They bring perfectly profitable to instruct to salvation in themselves, and all other imperfectly profitable thereunto, further than they draw from them. Whence it followeth, that we need no unwritten verities, no traditions or inventions of men, no canons of councils, no sentences of fathers, much less decrees of popes, to supply any supposed defect of the written word, or for to give us a more perfect direction in the worship of God and the way of life, than is already expressed in the canonical scriptures, Matt. xxiii. 8. John v. 39. Finally, these holy scriptures are the rule and line, the square and height, whereby to try and examine all judgments and sayings of men and angels, John xii. 18. Gal. i. 9. All traditions, revelations, decrees of councils, opinions of doctors, &c. are to be embraced so far forth as they may be proved out of the divine scriptures, and not otherwise. So that from them only all doctrine concerning our salvation must be drawn and derived.'

'Jewell's Apology,' says Strype, 'was translated out of the Latin into sundry tongues, and so made common to most parts of Europe, and was well allowed and liked by the learned and godly, who gave open testimonies of the same.' It was translated by dame Anna Bacon, wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, soon after its first publication; she was daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, one of the tutors of king Edward VI. Her father took much pains to improve his daughter in learning. The translation given in this volume was printed in the year 1685, it was grounded upon that of lady Bacon, which had been examined and approved by bishop Jewell himself. Some corrections have been made, on reference to the original.

JEWELL'S APOLOGY.

THE FIRST PART.

1. It is an old complaint, derived down to us from the very times of the patriarchs, and prophets, and confirmed by the evidence of all histories, and the testimonies of all ages, that TRUTH is a stranger upon

Harding, in his *Confutation of the Apology*, objected to the title of the Apology, or to heretics assuming the name of the church. In his defence, Jewell says, 'There is no reason that we should give over the right and inheritance we have in the church of God, for that you by intrusion and unjust means have instituted yourselves the same. It behoves us rather to search the scriptures, as Christ hath advised us, and thereby to assure ourselves of the church of God. Not by this trial only, and by none other it may be known. Therefore St. Paul calleth the church the spouse of Christ, Eph. i. 23, for that she ought in all things to give ear to the voice of the Bridegroom. Likewise he calleth the church the pillar of the truth, for that she stayeth herself only by the word of God; without which word the church, were it ever so beautiful, should be no church. The ancient father Irenaeus saith, 'The pillar and buttress of the church is the gospel and the spirit of life.' Augustine saith, 'There are certain books of our Lord, unto the authority whereof each part agreeth. There let us seek for the church; thereby let us examine and try our matters.' And again, 'I will ye show me the holy church, not by decrees of men, but by the word of God.' Likewise saith Chrysostom, 'It can no way be known what is the church, but only by the scriptures.' And again, 'Christ commandeth that whoso will have the assurance of true faith, seek to nothing else but to the scriptures. Otherwise, if they look to any thing else, they shall be offended, and shall perish, not understanding which is the true church.'

earth; and too easily finds enemies and defamers, because she is not known. And although this may seem perhaps incredible to those who have not attentively reflected thereon, because mankind, by the instinct of nature, without any teacher, spontaneously breathes after TRUTH; and Christ himself our Saviour, whilst he conversed with man, chose to be called THE TRUTH, as if that name aptly expressed all the power and force of his divine nature; yet we, who are acquainted with the holy scriptures, and have read and considered what hath happened to pious men in almost all ages; what befell the prophets, the apostles, the holy martyrs, and Christ himself; with what slanders, curses, and injuries they were vexed whilst they lived, only for the sake of truth; we, I say, see by this that it is no new thing, but usual, and the custom of all ages.

Indeed it would appear much more wonderful and incredible, if the father of lies, the devil, that enemy of all truth, should now of a sudden change his mind, and entertain any other hopes of oppressing the truth than by falsehoods; or should now begin to establish his kingdom by other arts than those he hath hitherto employed. For in all ages we shall scarcely find any period of time in which religion increased, established itself, or was reformed, but that at the same time truth and innocence were most unworthily and most injuriously treated by men; for the devil knows very well, that if truth doth flourish in safety, his affairs can neither be safe nor prosperous.

2. For, to speak nothing of the ancient patriarchs and prophets, no part of whose lives, as I said, was free from reproaches and slanders, we know that of old there were some who averred and publicly told the world, that the ancient Jews, who, we doubt not, worshipped the only true God, performed their religious rites to a swine or an ass, and that all that religion was a mere sacrilege, and a contempt of all

deities. We know that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, whilst he taught the truth, was reputed an impostor, an enchanter, a Samaritan, a Beelzebub, a deluder of the people, a wine-bibber, and a glutton. Who knows not what was said of St. Paul, that powerful preacher and asserter of truth? sometimes he was said to be a seditious man, and listed soldiers, and designed a rebellion; and at other times, that he was a heretic, a madman: that, out of a contentious and perverse disposition, he was a blasphemer against the law of God, and a despiser of the customs of the fathers.

Who knows not, that so soon as ever St. Stephen had admitted the truth, and suffered it to take possession of his soul, and thereupon, as he ought, began freely and stoutly to preach and to own it, he was immediately called in question for his life, as one that had spoken blasphemy against the law, against Moses, against the temple and God? or who knows not that the holy scriptures have been accused of vanity and folly, upon pretence that they contained things contrary and repugnant one to another, and that all the apostles of Jesus Christ disagreed amongst themselves, and that St. Paul differed from all the rest?

And that I may not trouble you with all the instances of this nature which are upon record, for they are infinite, who knows not what slanders were of old raised against our forefathers, who first embraced and professed the name of Christ?—that they conspired and set themselves against the government, and, for that purpose, met very early, whilst it was yet dark; that they murdered male infants, gorged themselves with human flesh, and in a barbarous manner drank human blood, and at last, putting out the candles, perpetrated incests and adulteries, without difference or modesty; that they were impious, destitute of all religion, atheists, the enemies of all mankind, and unworthy of the light of life.

3. All these things were spoken against the Jews, the people of God, against Christ Jesus, against St. Paul, St. Stephen, and against all those who in the first ages embraced the truth of the gospel, and were called CHRISTIANS, a name then hated by the many. And although none of these things were true, yet the devil thought it sufficient to his purpose if they were believed to be true; that so the Christians might incur the public hatred, and be pursued by all, to ruin and destruction.

And thus kings and princes, being deceived, slew all the prophets of God to a man; they condemned Isaiah to the saw, Jeremiah to be stoned, Daniel to the lions, Amos to the iron bar, Paul to the sword, and Christ to the cross, and all Christians to prisons, to racks, to crosses, to rocks and precipices, to wild beasts and fires, and burnt whole piles of their living bodies for nocturnal lights, and by way of sport and recreation; and never esteemed them better than the most vile filth of the earth, the offscourings and scorn of the world: thus the first authors and professors of the truth were ever treated.

4. Wherefore all we who have now undertaken the profession of the gospel of Jesus Christ, ought to bear it with the less disturbance of mind, if in the same cause we are treated after the same manner; and as heretofore our fathers, so we in this age, are persecuted also with reproaches, slanders, and lies, only because we teach and profess the truth.

5. They cry out in all places, 1. That we are heretics, that we have forsaken the true faith, and have broken the union of the church with new opinions and impious doctrines. 2. That we fetch from hell, and revive the old and long since condemned heresies, and sow the seeds of new sects and unheard-of broils; that we are already divided into contrary factions and opinions, and that we could never yet in any manner agree amongst ourselves.

3. That we are wicked men, and, like the giants of old, have entered into a rebellion against God himself, and live without the least regard to the Deity, and without any religious worship. 4. That we despise all good actions; that we do not use any virtuous discipline; that we regard neither laws, nor good manners, nor right, nor justice, nor equity, nor order; that we let loose the rein, and suffer all sorts of villanies, and even provoke the people to all the licentiousness and luxury that is possible. 5. That our business and great design is the subverting of monarchies and kingdoms, that all states may be reduced under the dominion of the ignorant multitude and the indiscreet populace. 6. That we have made a tumultuous defection from the catholic church, and have shaken the peace of the world, and disturbed the quiet of the church, by a detestable schism; and that, as heretofore Dathan and Abiram rose up against Moses and Aaron, so we, without any just cause, have revolted from the pope of Rome. 7. That we despise the authority of the primitive fathers and ancient councils; that we have imprudently and insolently abrogated the ancient ceremonies, which have been approved for many ages by our fathers and grandfathers, who had better manners, and lived in better times; and that by our private authority, without the consent of a holy and general council, we have introduced new rites into the church; and that we have not done this for the sake of religion, but purely out of a contentious humour: that they, on the contrary, have changed nothing, but have retained all things as they were delivered to them by the apostles, approved by the most ancient fathers, and have been kept ever since, through all the intermediate ages to this day.

6. And, lest all this might seem to be only a calumny, and that managed by secret whispers only, with design to excite an envy against us, the popes

of Rome have suborned eloquent and not unlearned men to undertake the defence of this desperate cause; and to represent it to the world in books and long discourses, in the best colours it was possible to give it; to the intent, that being elegantly and copiously pleaded, unskilful men might suspect there was something more than ordinary in it. For indeed they saw that their cause was everywhere in a declining condition; their arts were now seen through, and so were the less esteemed; their fortresses were every day undermined, and their case stood in need of a powerful patronage and defence. But then as to those things, which they have charged us with, some of them are manifestly false, and condemned by the consciences of them that object them against us; others, though at the bottom they are false too, yet they have the show and similitude of truth, so that an incautious and an unthinking reader may be easily circumvented and deceived, especially if he be surprised by any of their laboured and elegant discourses. And others of the things thus charged upon us, are such as we ought to acknowledge and profess, and not decline the owning them, as if they were crimes, but defend them, as things that were well and rationally done. For, to speak in a word, they slander whatever we do, even those actions of ours which they themselves cannot deny to be rightly and well done, and maliciously deprave and pervert all our words and actions, as if it were not possible that we should do or speak any thing as we ought. They ought indeed to treat us with more simplicity and candour, if they designed truth; but, on the other hand, they do not oppose us with truth, nor in a Christian way or manner, but with lies, in a close and crafty way, and abuse the blindness and ignorance of the rabble, and the want of learning in princes, to the inflaming of their hatred against us, and the oppression of the truth. This is indeed the

power of darkness, and the folly of men, who trust more to the stupidity and benighted minds of the unpolished multitude than in the light of truth; or, as St. Jerome expresseth it, 'This is to contradict with shut eyes the truth, when it is most perspicuous.' But we bless the great and holy God, our cause is such, that though they never so much desire to defame it, yet they can fix no reproach upon it, which they may not with as much reason and justice employ against the holy fathers, the prophets, the apostles, against St. Peter, St. Paul, and even against Christ himself.

7. But now, if they are so ambitious of the honour of being thought polite and eloquent slanderers, it does so much the less besit us to be mute and careless in the defence of our most excellent cause. For it is certainly the part only of dissolute men, who can securely and wickedly shut their eyes when the Divine Majesty is injured, to be wholly unconcerned, what is, though falsely and unjustly, said of them and their cause; especially when it is of that nature, that the glory of God, and the interests of religion, are at the same time violated. For although other, and those often very great injuries, may be borne and dissembled by a modest Christian, 'Yet he,' saith Rufinus, 'who shall patiently put up with the name of a heretic, does not deserve to be called a Christian.' Permit us then to do that which all laws, and the very voice of nature, command us; that which Christ himself did when he was in a like case assaulted with reproaches; that is, suffer us to repel their defamations, and with modesty and truth to defend our cause and innocence; for Christ himself, when the Pharisees charged him with conjuration, as if he had entered a combination with impure spirits, and by their assistance wrought many wonders, replied, (John viii. 49.) "I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me:"

and St. Paul, when he was undervalued by Festus, the proconsul, as a madman, answered, Acts xxvi. 25. "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." And the primitive Christians, when they were traduced to the people as murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and disturbers of the government, and saw that the excellence of their religion might be called in question, especially if they held their peace, and by their silence seemed to confess the truth of these accusations, and so the course of the gospel might be hindered, they thereupon made public orations, wrote supplicant books, and discoursed before emperors and princes, in the public defence of themselves and the church.¹

8. But we may perhaps seem not to need any defence; so many thousands of our brethren in the last twenty years having borne testimony to the truth, amidst the most exquisite tortures; and princes, in endeavouring to put a stop to the progress of the gospel, and to that purpose using several methods, having yet in the end been able to effect nothing. And the whole world now beginning to open their

¹ As Quadratus, Justinus, Melito, Tertulhan. -- Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and bishop of Athens, wrote books for the Christian religion, and made an oration in the defence of it before Hadrian the emperor, by which he put a stop to a furious persecution then moved against it, Anno Christi, 128.

Justinus the martyr, a Christian philosopher, wrote an apologetic oration for the Christian religion, with great freedom and truth, which he dedicated to Antoninus Pius the emperor, and his adopted sons Marcus and Lucius, and to the very senate and people of Rome, Anno Christi, 150; for which he lost his life.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote an excellent apology for the Christians to Aurelius the emperor, which he presented to that emperor in the tenth year of his reign, Anno Christi, 172.

Tertullian wrote a very learned and sharp apology for the Christian religion, which was made some years since into English. It was first published by the author, without his name, in the year of Christ 201, in the very city of Rome, and did great service to Christianity, which was then most miserably oppressed by the lies and defamations of the pagans, which did it more hurt than all their other fury.

eyes, and to see the light; and therefore it may seem, as I said, that enough hath been spoken, and that our case is sufficiently defended, the thing speaking for itself. For, if the popes themselves would, or, indeed, if they could, consider with themselves the beginning and progress of our religion; how theirs, without any resistance, without any human force, hath fallen; and, in the interim, ours hath increased, and by degrees been propagated into all countries, and hath been entertained in the courts of kings and the palaces of princes, even while it was opposed from the beginning by emperors, by kings, by popes, and almost by all others—these things, I say, are clear indications that God himself fights for us, and from heaven derides and scorns their projects and endeavours, and that the power of TRUTH is so great, that no human force, nor the very gates of hell, shall ever be able to prevail against it. For so many free cities, so many princes, cannot be supposed mad, as at this day have fallen from the see of Rome, and have chosen rather to join themselves to the gospel.

9. For although popes have not as yet, at any time, been at leisure to think attentively and seriously of these things; or although other thoughts may now hinder and distract them, or they may think these things light, and beneath the dignity of the popedom, is our cause therefore to be thought ever the worse? or if, perhaps, they will pretend not to see what indeed they do see, and that they choose rather to oppose the truth, even then when they are convinced of it, are we therefore to be reputed heretics, because we cannot comply with their wills? If pope Pius IV.¹ had been such a person as his name speaks him, and as he so much desired to be thought; nay, indeed, if he had but been so good a man, as to have esteemed

¹ Pius IV. was chosen to the papacy, A. D. 1559. One of his earliest measures was the reassembling of the Council of Trent.

us as his brethren, or as men, certainly he would diligently have considered our reasons, and what could have been alleged for and against us; and not with so rash and blindfold a precipitancy have condemned, without hearing our cause or allowing the liberty of a defence, so considerable a part of the world, so many learned, so many religious men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, as he has sentenced in his bull concerning his late pretended council.

10. But now, because we are so publicly in this unjust manner noted by him, lest by our silence we should seem to confess the crimes charged upon us, and the rather, because we could in no manner be heard in any public council, where he would suffer none to have any suffrage, or propose his judgment, who was not first sworn to him, and entirely addicted to his interest—for of this we had too great an experience in the late council of Trent, when the ambassadors and divines of the princes and free cities of Germany were totally excluded out of the council: nor can we forget that Julius III, above ten years since, took a mighty care by his rescript, that none of our men might be heard in the council, except it were one that was disposed to recant and change his opinion.¹—For these causes, I say, we have thought fit, by this book, to give an account of our faith, and to answer truly and publicly, what hath been publicly objected against us, that the whole world may see the parts and reasons of that faith, which so many good men have valued above their lives, and that all mankind may understand what kind of men they are, and what they think of God and religion:

¹ The words of the rescript of Julius were, 'There shall be a council, that they who have spoken rashly, either may recant their sayings, or else, without further hearing or reasoning of the matter, they may be denounced or condemned for heretics, according to the constitutions already made.'—*Jewell's Defence of the Apology.*

whom the bishop of Rome has inconsiderately enough, before they had made their defence, without example and without law, condemned for heretics, upon a bare report that they differed from him and his, in some points of religion.

11. And though St. Jerome will allow no man to be patient under the suspicion of heresy, yet we will not behave ourselves either sourly, or irreverently, or angrily; though he ought not to be esteemed either sharp or abusive, who speaks nothing but the truth. No: we will leave that sort of oratory to our adversaries, who think whatsoever they speak, although it be ever so sharp and reproachful, is modest and apposite, when it is applied to us, and they are as little concerned whether it be true or false; but we, who defend nothing but the truth, have no need of such base arts.

12. Now, if we make it appear, and that not obscurely and craftily, but before God, truly, ingenuously, clearly, and perspicuously, that we teach the most holy gospel of God; and that the ancient fathers, and the whole primitive church, are on our side, and that we have not without just cause left them, and returned to the apostles and the ancient catholic fathers;—and if they who so much detest our doctrine, and pride themselves in the name of catholics, shall apparently see that all those pretences of antiquity, of which they so immoderately glory, belong not to them, and that there is more strength in our cause than they thought there was; then we hope that none of them will be so careless of his salvation, but he will at some time or other, bethink himself which side he ought to join with. Certainly, if a man be not of a hard and obdurate heart, and resolved not to hear, he can never repent the having once considered our defence, and the attending to what is said by us, in order to see whether it be agreeable or no to the Christian religion.

13. For whereas they call us heretics ; that is so dreadful a crime, that except it be apparently seen, except it be palpable, and, as it were, to be felt with our hands and fingers, it ought not to be easily believed, that a Christian is or can be guilty of it ; for heresy is a renunciation of our salvation, a rejection of the grace of God, and a departure from the body and spirit of Christ. But this was ever the custom and usage of them and of their forefathers ; that if any presumed to complain of their errors, and desired the reformation of religion, they condemned them forthwith for heretics, as innovators and factious men. Christ himself was called a Samaritan, for no other cause, but for that they thought he had made a defection to a new religion or heresy. And St. Paul the apostle, being called in question, was accused of heresy, to which he replied, Acts xxiv. 14, " After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets."

14. In short, all that religion which we christians now profess, in the beginning of christianity was by the pagans called a sect or heresy. With these words they filled the ears of princes, that when, out of prejudice, they had once possessed their minds with an aversion for us, that whatever we said was factious and heretical, they might be diverted from reflecting upon the thing itself, or ever hearing or considering the cause. But by how much the greater and more grievous this crime is, so much the rather ought it to be proved by clear and strong arguments, especially at this time, because men begin now-a-days a little to distrust the fidelity of their oracles, and to inquire into their doctrine with much greater industry than has heretofore been employed. For the people of God in this age, are quite of another disposition than they were heretofore, when all the responses and dictates of the popes of Rome were taken for the

gospel, and all religion depended upon their authority. The holy scriptures, and the writings of the apostles and prophets are every where now to be had, out of which all the true and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresies may be refuted.

15. But, seeing they can produce nothing out of the scriptures against us, it is very injurious and cruel to call us heretics, who have not revolted from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor from the prophets. By the sword of scripture Christ overcame the devil when he was tempted by him; with these weapons every high thing that exalteth itself against God is to be brought down and dispersed, 2 Cor. x. 45. "For all scripture," saith St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 16. "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And, accordingly, the holy fathers have never fought against heretics with any other arms than what the scriptures have afforded them. St. Augustine, when he disputed against Petilianus, a Donatist heretic, uses these words, Let not, saith he, these words be heard, 'I say,' or 'Thou sayest,' rather let us say, "Thus saith the Lord;" let us seek the church there, let us judge of our cause by that.' And St. Jerome saith, 'Let whatever is pretended to be delivered by the apostles, and cannot be proved by the testimony of the written word, be struck with the sword of God.' And St. Ambrose to the emperor Gratian saith, 'Let the scriptures, let the apostles, let the prophets, let Christ be interrogated.' The catholic fathers and bishops of those times, did not doubt but our religion might be sufficiently proved by scripture; nor durst they esteem any man a heretic; whose error they could not perspicuously and clearly prove such by scripture. And as to us, we may truly reply with St. Paul, "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the

God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets; or the writings of the apostles."

16. If therefore we be heretics, and they, as they desire to be called, be catholics, why do they not do what they see the fathers and all other catholics have done? Why do they not convince us out of the holy scriptures? Why do they not try us by them? Why do they not show that we have made a defection from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why do they stand? Why do they draw back? It is the cause of God! Why, then, should they fear to commit it to the arbitrement of the word of God? But if we are heretics who submit all our controversies to the holy scriptures, and appeal to those very words which we know were consigned to writing by God himself, and prefer them before all other things which can possibly be excogitated by the understanding of man; what are they, or by what name shall they be called, who fear and shun the sentence of the scriptures, that is, the judgment of God himself, and prefer their own dreams and silly inventions before them, and have for some ages violated the institutions of Christ and his apostles, for the sake of their traditions? There is a story of Sophocles the tragedian, that when he was very old, he was accused before the judges by his own sons, for a childish and a silly person, as one that had wasted his estate by ill management, and stood in need of a guardian in his old age to

¹ In his Defence of the Apology, upon this article, Jewell shows that Harding's argument is, 'that we have neither scriptures nor sense of scriptures but from Rome.' Of the Romish interpretations he gives the following example, St. Paul applies Psalm vii. 6—8. to Christ, the Roman sense is far otherwise. 'Thou hast made all things subject unto him, that is to say the pope: the cattle of the field, that is to say men living in the earth: the fishes of the sea, that is to say the souls in purgatory: the birds of the heavens, that is to say the souls of the blessed in heaven.' Such interpretations Jewell well denounces unsavory.

take care of him and it: the old man appeared in court, and, instead of a defence, recited a tragedy, (Edipus Tyrannus, which he had very elaborately and elegantly written, just at that time, when the suit was depending, and thereupon asked the judges if that poem were the work of a childish person ?

17. So we, therefore, because we are taken by them for madmen, and are traduced as if we were heretics, and as if we had nothing to do with Christ, nor with the church of God, have thought it not unreasonable or unprofitable to propound openly and freely the faith in which we stand, and all that hope which we have in Christ Jesus ; that all may see what we think of every part of the christian religion, and so determine with themselves, whether that faith which they must needs perceive to be consonant to the words of Christ and the writings of the apostles, and the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and which is confirmed by the examples of many ages, be only the rage of a sort of madman, and a combination or conspiracy of heretics.

THE SECOND PART.

1. We believe, that there is one certain nature and divine power which we call God, and that this is distinguished into three equal persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : all of the same power, of the same majesty, of the same eternity, of the same divinity, and of the same substance. And although these

¹ This chapter is exhibited in the *Harmonia Confessionum*, and in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum*, as the profession of faith of the English church. The latter states, 'The English confession of faith is published in the name of the English churches, with the defence of the same, in the works of the great divine, John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury.' The *Harmonia* only gives this chapter of Jewell's apology, the *Corpus* adds the thirty-nine articles as passed by the synod in 1562.

three persons are so distinguished, that the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost or Father, yet there is but one God; and this one God created heaven and earth, and whatever is contained within the circumference of the heavens.

2. We believe, that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as it had been decreed before the beginning of all things, when the fulness of time came, took our flesh and all the nature of man, of that blessed and pure virgin, that he might reveal to men that hidden and secret will of his Father which was concealed from all former ages and generations; and that in this human body he might finish the mystery of our redemption, and might nail to his cross our sins, and the obligation which lay against us. Col. ii. 14.

3. For we believe, that for our sakes He died, was buried, descended into hell, and the third day, by a divine power, returned to life, and arose; and after forty days, in the sight of his disciples, ascended into heaven, that he might fill all things. And that the very body in which he was born, in which he conversed, in which he was despised, in which he had suffered most grievous torments, and a most direful death, in which he rose, and ascended to the right hand of his Father, was placed above all principalities and power, and every name which is mentioned, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, in majesty and glory. And we believe that he doth now sit there, and shall sit there till all things are fulfilled, Acts iii. 21. and although the majesty and divinity of Christ is diffused every where, 'yet his body,' as St. Augustine saith, 'ought to be in one place.' We believe that though Christ added majesty to his body, yet he took not from it the nature of a body; nor is Christ to be so asserted to be God, that we should deny him to be man; and as the martyr Vigilus said, 'Christ left us as to his human nature,

but he hath not left us in his divine nature; and though he is absent from us by the form of a servant, yet he is ever with us by the form of God.'

4. And from thence we believe, Christ shall return to exercise a general judgment, as well upon those he shall then find alive, as upon all that are then dead.

5. We believe, that the Holy Ghost, who is the third person in the Holy Trinity, is true God, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both, that is, from the Father and the Son, in a way neither known to mortals, nor possible to be expressed by them. We believe, that it is He who softens the hardness of man's heart, when he is received into their hearts, by the saving preaching of the gospel, or by any other way whatsoever; that it is He who enlightens them, and leads them to the knowledge of God, into all the ways of truth, into a perfect newness of life, and a perpetual hope of salvation.

6. We believe, that there is one church of God, and that not confined, as it was heretofore, to the Jewish people, in one angle or kingdom, but that it is *catholic* and *universal*, and so diffused or spread over the face of the whole earth, that there is no nation which can justly complain that it is excluded, and cannot be admitted into the church and people of God. That this church is the kingdom, the body, and spouse of Christ; that Christ is the only prince of this kingdom; that there are in the church divers orders of ministers: that there are some who are deacons, others who are presbyters, and others who are bishops, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religion are committed. And yet that there neither is, nor is it possible there should be, any one man who has the care of this whole catholic church, for Christ is ever present with his church, and needs not a vicar, or sole and perfect successor;¹ and that no

¹ The pope claimed to be the vicar general of Christ.

mortal man can in his mind contain all the body of the universal church, that is, all the parts of the earth; much less can he reduce them into an exact order, and rightly and prudently administer its affairs. 'That the apostles,' as St. Cyprian saith, 'were all of equal power and authority, and that all the rest were what St. Peter was; that it was said to all alike, Feed; to all. Go ye into all the world; to all. Teach ye the gospel.' And that, as St. Jerome saith, 'All bishops, wheresoever they are settled, whether it be at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, they are of equal worth, and of the same priesthood.' And as Cyprian saith, 'There is but one episcopacy, and each of them hath a perfect and entire share of it.' And that, according to the judgment and sentence of the council of Nice, the bishop of Rome hath no more authority in the church of God than the other patriarchs, namely the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.¹ That the bishop of Rome, who now endeavours to draw all the ecclesiastical authority to himself alone, if he doth not his duty, that is, if he does not administer the sacraments, if he does not instruct the people, admonish and teach, he is not to be called a bishop, nor indeed a presbyter; for, as St. Augustine saith, bishop is the name of a work or office, and not a title of honour; so that he who would usurp an unprofitable pre-eminence in the church is no bishop. But then, that the bishop of Rome, or any other person, should be the head of the whole church, or a universal bishop, is no more possible, than that he should be the Bridegroom, the Light, the Salvation, and the Life of the church; for these are the privileges and titles of Christ alone, and do properly and only belong to him. Nor was there ever any bishop of Rome, who would suffer so insolent and proud a title to be given him, before the

¹ See the sixth canon of the first council of Nice, held A.D. 325.

times of Phocas the emperor, who, as we very well know, aspired to the empire by a most detestable villainy, the murder of Mauritius the former emperor, his sovereign; that is, till the year of Christ 613. That the council of Carthage expressly decreed, that no bishop should be called the highest pontiff or chief priest.¹ But the bishop of Rome, because he now desires to be so called, and usurps a power which belongs not to him, besides that he acts directly against the ancient councils and the fathers, if he dares believe St. Gregory, one of his own predecessors, he has taken upon him an arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, antichristian title, and is therefore the king of pride, Lucifer, one that sets himself above his brethren, who has denied the faith, and is thereby become the fore-runner of antichrist.

7. We say that a minister ought to have a lawful call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the church of God, and that no man ought, at his own will and pleasure, to intrude into the sacred ministry. So that a very great injury is done us by them, who so frequently affirm, that nothing is done decently and in order by us, but that all things are managed confusedly and disorderly, and that with us, all that will, are priests, teachers, and interpreters.

8. We say, that Christ has given to his ministers the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting. And we say, that the power of loosing consists in this, that the minister, by the preaching of the gospel, offers to dejected minds and true penitents, the merits of Christ, and full pardon, and doth assure them of a certain remission of their sins, and the hope of eternal salvation. Or, secondly, he reconciles, restores, and receives into the congregation

¹ The title of Pontifex Maximus was that of the Roman heathen priests, and cannot properly be rendered into English any other way than by that of priest, it being not of the same nature with the word bishop, yet have the popes of Rome usurped this very heathen title.

and unity of the faithful, those penitents, who by any grievous scandal or known and public offence, have offended the minds of their brethren, and, in a sort, alienated and separated themselves from the common society of the church, and the body of Christ. And we say, the minister exercises the power of binding or shutting, when he shutteth the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelievers and obstinate persons, and denounces to them the vengeance of God and eternal punishment ; or excludes out of the bosom of the church, those who are publicly excommunicated ; and that God himself so far approves whatever sentence his ministers shall so give, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by their ministry here on earth, he will in like manner bind or loose, and confirm, in heaven. The key with which these ministers do shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we say, with St. Chrysostom, is ' The knowledge of the scripture ; ' with Tertullian, is ' The interpretation of the law ; ' and with Eusebius, is ' The word of God.' We say the disciples of Christ received this power from him, not that they might hear the private confessions of the people, and catch their whispering murmurs, as the popish priests¹ every where now do ; and that in such a manner as if all the force and use of the keys consisted only in this. But that they might go and preach and publish the gospel, that so they might be a savour of life unto life, to them that did believe, and that they might be also a savour of death unto death, to those that did not believe. That the minds of the pious, who were affrighted with the sense of their former ill lives and errors, after they beheld the light of the gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the word of God, as doers are with a key ; and that the wicked and stubborn, who would not

¹ Or priestlings, (sacrificuli) young or ignorant priests. Every Romish priest is empowered to grant absolution.

believe and return into the way, might be left, shut up, and locked, and, as St. Paul expresses it, 2 Tim. iii. 13. might wax worse and worse. This we take to be the meaning of the keys, and that in this manner the consciences of men are either bound or loosed. We say that the priest is a judge; but then we say, with St. Ambrose, that he has not the right of any dominion; and therefore Christ reprehended the Scribes and Pharisees with these words, that he might reprove their negligence in teaching, Matt. xxiii. 13. Luke xi. 52. "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees; for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. Seeing then that the key, by which a passage is opened for us into the kingdom of heaven, is the word of the gospel, and the interpretation of the law and the scriptures; where there is no such word, there is no key. And seeing that the same word was given to all, and the key which pertains to all, is but one; we say that the power of all ministers, as to binding and loosing, is one and the same. And we say, that even the pope himself, notwithstanding his flatterers do so sweetly soothe him up with these words, Matt. xvi. 19. "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," as if they belonged to him, and to no other mortal under heaven; except he makes it his business to bend and subdue the consciences of men to the word of God; we deny that even he, as I said, can either open or shut, or hath at all the keys; and although he doth teach and instruct the people, which I wish he would sometimes do truly, and at last be persuaded to believe it is at least some part of his duty and office; but yet if he did so, his key would be neither better nor greater than that of others; for who made that difference? who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully, than his brethren?

9. We say, that marriage is honourable and holy

in all degrees of men, in patriarchs, in prophets, in apostles, in holy martyrs, in the ministers of the churches, and in the bishops; and that, as St. Chrysostom saith, 'It is both lawful and just that he should ascend the episcopal throne with it:' and we say as Sozomen did of Spiridion, and Nazianzen did of his own father, that 'A pious and industrious bishop is nothing the worse for being married, but rather much the better, and more useful in his ministry.' And we say that the law which by force takes away this liberty from men, and ties them to a single life against their wills, is, as St. Paul styles it, "The doctrine of devils," 1 Tim. iv. 1. and that from hence, as is confessed by the bishop of Augusta, Faber, the abbot of Palermo, Latomus, the tripartite work, which is joined to the second volume of the councils, and other defenders of the papal party, and which is apparent from the thing itself, also confessed by all histories, an incredible impurity of life and manners, and horrible debaucheries in the ministers of God, have sprung and arisen: so that Pius II. bishop of Rome,¹ was not out, when he said, 'He saw many causes why the clergy should be denied wives, but he saw more and greater causes to allow them wives again.'

10. We receive and embrace all the canonical scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; and we give our gracious God most hearty thanks, that he hath set up this light for us, which we ever fix our eyes upon, lest by human fraud, or the snares of the devil, we should be seduced to errors or fables. We own them to be the heavenly voices by which God hath revealed and made known his will to us. In them only can the mind of man acquiesce; in them all that is necessary for our salvation is abundantly and plainly contained, as Origen, St. August-

¹ A. D. 1458.

tine, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril, have taught us. They are the very might and power of God unto salvation; they are the foundations of the apostles and prophets, upon which the church of God is built; they are the most certain and infallible rule by which the church may be reduced, if she happen to stagger, slip, or err; by which all ecclesiastical doctrines ought to be tried. No law, no tradition, no custom, is to be received or continued, if it be contrary to scripture; no, though St. Paul himself, or an angel from heaven, should come and teach otherwise, Gal. i. 8.

11. We receive also, and allow the sacraments of the church, that is, the sacred signs and ceremonies which Christ commanded us to use, that he might by them represent to our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and most strongly confirm the faith we have in his blood, and seal in our hearts his grace. And we call them figures, signs, types, antitypes, forms, seals, prints, or signets, similitudes, examples, images, remembrances, and memorials; with Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and Dionysius, and many other catholic fathers. Nor do we doubt, with them to call the sacraments a kind of visible words, the signets of righteousness and the symbols of grace, and clearly affirm, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of our Lord is truly exhibited to believers; that is, the enlivening flesh of the Son of God; the bread that comes down from above, the nourishment of immortality, the grace, the truth, and the life. And that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, by the participation of which we are quickened, strengthened, and fed to immortality; and by which we are conjoined, united, and incorporated with Christ, that we may remain in him, and he in us.

12. We acknowledge that there are two sacra-

ments, properly so called—baptism and the eucharist (or supper of the Lord); for so many we see were delivered to us, and consecrated by Christ, and approved by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and the ancient fathers.

13. And we say that baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ, and that none who will profess the faith of Christ are to be denied that sacrament; nor the infants of christians, because they are born in sin, and belong to the people of God.¹

14. We say that the eucharist is the sacrament or visible symbol of the body and blood of Christ, in which the death and resurrection of Christ, and what he did in his human body, is in a manner represented to our eyes, that we may give him thanks for his death, and our deliverance by it. And that, by frequenting the sacrament, we may often renew the remembrance of it; and that by the body and blood of Christ we may be nourished into the hope of the resurrection, and of eternal life; and that we may be assured that the body and blood of Christ hath the same effect in the feeding of our souls, which the bread and wine have in repairing the decays of our bodies. To this great and solemn feast the people are to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and may publicly signify and testify, both their union and society among themselves, and that hope which they have in Christ Jesus. And therefore if there were any one heretofore, before the pri-

¹ It will be remembered that Jewell is here stating the views entertained by himself and the other reformers, which it was not consistent with the plan of this work to omit. The following remark in his reply to Harding on this article merits attention. 'The fathers, in their treatises of the sacraments, sometimes use the outward sign instead of the thing itself that is signified, sometimes they use the thing signified instead of the sign. Notwithstanding indeed, and in precise manner of speech, salvation must be sought in Christ alone, and not in any outward signs.'

vate mass was introduced, who would be only a spectator, and yet would abstain from the holy communion, the bishops of Rome in the primitive times, and the ancient fathers, would have excommunicated him as a wicked man and a pagan; nor was there any christian man in those times, who communicated alone in the presence of others who were only spectators. So Calixtus¹ long since decreed, that when the consecration was finished, all should communicate if they would not be deprived of the communion of the church, and be shut out of it; for so, saith he, the apostles ordained, and the holy church of Rome holds. And we say, that both the parts of the sacrament ought to be given to those that come to the holy communion; for so Christ commanded, and the apostles instituted throughout the world, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops so practised; 'And if any one shall do otherwise,' saith Gelasius, 'he commits sacrilege:' and therefore our adversaries, who, exploding and rejecting the communion, defend the private mass and a multitude² of sacraments, without the authority of the word of God, without any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, and without reason; and this against the express command of Christ, and also against all antiquity—in so doing, act wickedly and sacrilegiously.

15. We say, that the bread and wine are the holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ; and that in them Christ himself, the true bread of eternal life, is so exhibited to us as present, that we do by faith truly take his body and blood; and yet at the same time we speak not this so as if we thought the nature of the bread and wine were totally changed and abolished, as many in the last ages have dreamed, and as yet could never agree

¹ Or Anacletus, bishop of Rome, A. D. 109.

² In some copies it is 'defend the mutilation of the sacrament.'

among themselves about this dream. For neither did Christ ever design that the wheaten bread should change its nature, and assume a new kind of divinity, but rather that it might change us; and that, as Theophylact saith, 'we might be transelemented into his body;' for what can be more perspicuous than what St. Ambrose saith on this occasion; 'The bread and wine are what they were, and yet are changed into another thing?' or what Gelasius saith; 'The substance of the bread and nature of the wine do not cease to be?' or than what Theodoret; 'After the consecration of the mystical symbols, they do not cast off their own proper nature, for they remain in their former substance, and figure, and species?' or than what St. Augustine saith; 'That which you see is bread, and a cup, as your eyes inform you; but that which your faith desires to be instructed in is this, the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood?' or than that of Origen; 'That bread which is consecrated by the word of God, as to the matter of it, goes into the belly, and is cast out by the draught?' or than that of Christ himself, who said, not only after the consecration, but after the finishing of the communion, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine?" Luke xxii. 18. for it is certain the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood. And yet when we speak thus, we do not so depress the esteem of the supper of the Lord, as to teach that it is a mere cold ceremony, and that nothing is done in it, which many falsely report of us; for we assert that Christ in his sacraments doth exhibit himself truly present. In baptism, that we may put him on; in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and in the spirit; and that by his cross and blood we may have life eternal. And this, we say, is not slightly and coldly, but really and truly done: for although we do not touch Christ with our teeth and lips, yet we hold and press him by faith, mind, and spirit.

Nor is that faith vain which embraces Christ, nor that participation cold which is perceived by the mind, understanding, and spirit; for so Christ himself is entirely offered and given to us in these mysteries, as much as is possible, that we may truly know "that we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and that he dwells in us, and we in him." John vi. 56.

16. And therefore in the celebration of these mysteries, before we come to receive the holy communion, the people are fitly admonished to lift up their hearts, and that they should direct their minds to heaven, for there He is, by whom we are to be fed and live. And St. Cyril saith, That in partaking of the holy mysteries, all gross imaginations are to be excluded. And the Nicene council, as it is cited by some in Greek, expressly forbids us to think only on the bread and wine that are set before us. And, as St. Chrysostom writes well: 'We say that the body of Christ is the carcass, and we are to be the eagles, that thereby we may learn to mount aloft, if we will approach the body of Christ; for this is the table of eagles, and not of jays.' And St. Cyprian; 'This bread is the meat of the soul, and not of the belly.' And St. Augustine: 'How shall I lay hold on Him who is absent? How shall I reach my hand into the heavens, and touch Him who sits there? Send thy faith thither, and thou hast him sure?'

17. But then as to the fairs and sales of masses, and the carrying about and adoring the bread, and a number of such-like idolatrous and blasphemous follies, which none of them dare affirm to have been delivered to us by Christ or his apostles, our church will not endure them. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome for presuming, without any command of God, without any authority of the holy fathers, and without any example, not only to propose the sacramental bread to be adored by the people with a divine worship, but also to carry it about be-

fore them upon an ambling nag wherever they go, as the Persian kings did heretofore their sacred fire, and the Egyptians their image of Isis.¹ So they have turned the sacraments of Christ into pageantry and pomp; that, in the very thing in which the death of Christ was to be celebrated and inculcated, and the mysteries of our redemption ought to be piously and reverently represented, the eyes of men should only be fed with a foolish show, and a piece of ludicrous levity. And then, whereas they say, and sometimes persuade fools, that they can by their masses distribute and apply to men, who very often think of nothing less, and never know what is then doing, all the merits of the death of Christ; this pretence, I say, is ridiculous, heathenish, and silly, for it is our faith which applies the death and cross of Christ to us, and not the action of a priest. 'The faith of the sacraments,' saith St. Augustine, 'justifies, and not the sacrament.' And Origen saith, 'He (Christ) is the priest, and the propitiation, and the sacrifice; and that propitiation comes to every one by way of faith.' And, therefore, agreeably hereunto, we say that the sacraments of Christ do not profit the living without faith, and much less the dead; for as to what they pretend concerning their purgatory, though that is no very late invention, yet it is nothing but a silly old wives' story. St. Augustine sometimes saith there is such a place; sometimes he doth not deny but there may be such a place; sometimes he doubts if there be; and at other times he positively denies there is any such place at all, and thinks that men, out of humane kindness to the dead, are deceived in that point. And yet from this one error there has

¹ 'All this strange solemn festival guise pope Urban the fourth learned, not of Christ or Paul, but only by the revelation of dame Eva the anchoress, and by her good advice founded the new feast of Corpus Christi, and caused the sacrament to be borne about in procession.'—*Defence of the Apology*.

sprung such a crop of small priests, that, masses being publicly and openly sold in every corner, they have turned the churches of God into mere shops, and deluded poor mortals into a belief that there was no commodity more useful; and, certainly, as to these small Levites, these masses were very advantageous.¹

18. We know that St. Augustine grievously complained of the vast number of impertinent ceremonies in his time, and we have cut off a great many of them, because we know they were afflictive to the consciences of men, and burdensome to the church of God. Yet we still retain, and religiously use, not only all those which we know were delivered to the church by the apostles, but some others which it appeared to us might be borne without inconvenience

¹ Strype, in his Memorials, III. p. 1. c. vii. gives a description of the Romish priests restored to their cures in the days of queen Mary. He says, 'Thus was the church now plentifully furnished with ignorant and scandalous priests. And being placed in their respective parishes, they did not seldom quarrel with their parishioners for chrism, candles, purification-pence, eggs on Good Friday, the four offerings, dirge groats, and the like. For that four-pence was the usual reward for singing a mass for a soul. And sometimes in lieu of that groat, they had a peck of wheat, or a cheese, or a pudding given them.' Pilkington says, 'If there be a trental to be said, or any money to be gotten for masses, dirges, relics, pardons, &c. who then is so ready as they? They can smell it out a great many miles off. But if a man want comfort in conscience, would understand his duty towards God, or God's goodness towards us, they are blind, ignorant, unlearned, and can say nothing, but make holy water and bid them say a lady psalter.'

From some receipts given by priests, for money received for saying masses to deliver souls out of purgatory, printed in the Protestant, III. p. 125, it appears that the price in Ireland not long since was from one to two shillings each mass. In Portugal the price was lower. Difficulties have arisen from the circumstance 'that more money may be received for masses in a day than can be said in a month.' Gaym, in his Master Key, explains that this was got over by a privilege from the pope, by which one mass was made to have as much efficacy as if the service had been repeated a hundred times. There are no limits to the number of masses which a soul may require, but the limits of the purses of surviving friends.' The doctrine of purgatory, it is manifest, was derived from the ancient heathen.

to the church, because, as St. Paul commands, we desire all things in the religious assemblies should be done decently and in order, 1 Cor. xiv. 40. But then, as to all those that were very superstitious, or cold, or base, or ridiculous, or contrary to the scriptures, or did not seem to besit sober men, an infinite number of which are now to be found among papists; we have rejected all these, I say, without exception, because we would not have the service of God any longer contaminated with such fooleries.

19. We pray, as it is fit we should, in that tongue which our people do all understand, that the people, as St. Paul admonishes, may reap a common advantage by the common prayers, as all the holy fathers, and catholic bishops, not only in the old, but in the new testament also, did ever pray, and teach the people to pray, lest, as St. Augustine saith, 'We should, like parrots, and other prating birds, seem to sound words which we did not understand.'

20. We have no mediator and intercessor by whom we approach to God the Father, but Jesus Christ, in whose name only, all things are obtained. But that which we see done in their churches is base and heathenish; not only because they have set up an infinite number of intercessors, without any authority of the word of God; so that, as Jeremiah saith, "According to the number of thy cities, so are thy gods," Jer. ii. 28, xi. 13. and miserable men know not which to apply themselves to—and though they are innumerable, yet they have ascribed to each of them their office, and what was to be obtained, had, and received from each of them—but also because they have not only impiously, but impudently, solicited the virgin Mary that she would remember she is a mother; that she would be pleased to command her son: and that she would make use of the authority she hath over him!

21. We say that man is born in sin, and leadeth

his life in sin, and that no man can truly say his heart is clean ; that the most holy man is an unprofitable servant ; that the law of God is perfect, and requires of us a full and perfect obedience ; and that we cannot in any way keep it perfectly in this life ; and that there is no mortal who can be justified in the sight of God by his own deserts ; and therefore our only refuge and safety is in the mercy of God the Father, by Jesus Christ, and in the assuring ourselves that he is the propitiation for our sins, by whose blood all our stains are washed out ; that he has pacified all things by the blood of his cross ; that he by that only sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, hath perfected all things ; and therefore, when he breathed out his soul, he said, IT IS FINISHED ; as if by these words he would signify, Now the price is paid for the sins of mankind.

22. If there be any who think that this sacrifice is not sufficient, let them go and find out a better ; but as for us, because we know this is the only sacrifice, we are contented with it alone, nor do we expect any other ; and because it was only once to be offered, we do not enjoin the repetition of it ; and because it was full and perfect in all its members and parts, we do not substitute to it the perpetual successions of our own sacrifices.

23. Though we say there is no trust to be put in the merits of our works and actions, and place all the hopes and reason of our salvation only in Christ ; yet we do not therefore say, that men should live loosely and dissolutely, as if to be baptized and profess belief were sufficient for a Christian, and there were nothing more required from him. The true faith is a living faith, and cannot be idle ; therefore we teach the people, that God hath not called us to luxury and disorder, but, as St. Paul saith, "Unto good works, that we might walk in them." Eph. ii. 10. "That God hath delivered us from the

power of darkness, that we might serve the living God," Col. i. 13. That we should root up all the relics of sin; that we should "work out our salvation with fear and trembling," Phil. ii. 12, that it might appear that the Spirit of sanctification was in us, and that Christ himself dwelleth in our hearts by faith.

24. To conclude; we believe that this body of ours in which we live, though after death it turns to dust, yet in the last day it shall return to life again, by the Spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us; and that then, whatever we suffer for Christ in the interim, he will wipe away all tears from our eyes, and that then, through him, we shall enjoy everlasting life, and be always with him in glory. Amen.

THE THIRD PART.

These are the horrible heresies for which a considerable part of the world at this day are condemned by the pope, unheard. It had been better to have entered a contest with Christ, the apostles and holy fathers; for it was they, who did not only give a beginning to these doctrines, but commanded them; unless they of the church of Rome will say, as perhaps they will, that Christ did not institute the holy communion that it might be distributed amongst the faithful; or that the apostles of Jesus Christ, or the ancient fathers, said private masses in all the corners of their churches; sometimes ten, and at others twenty in one day. Or that Christ and the apostles deprived the people of the cup; or that what they now do, (and with such eagerness, that whoever will not comply with them in it, is by them condemned for a heretic,) is not called sacrilege by Gelasius, one of their own popes. Or that these are not the words of Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gelasius, Theodoret.

Chrysostom, and Origen, 'That the bread and wine in the sacrament remain what they were before; that what is seen on the holy table is bread; that the substance of the bread does not cease to be, nor the nature of the wine; that the substance and nature of the bread is not changed; that this very bread, as to what concerns the matter of it, goes down into the belly, and is cast out by the draught.' Or that Christ, by that one oblation which he once offered, hath not perfected the work of our redemption; or that this sacrifice was so imperfect that we need another. Either they must say all these things, or else they must aver, which, perhaps, they had rather say, that all right and justice is inclosed in the cabinet of the pope's breast; and, as one of his followers and flatterers once said, that he may dispense against the apostles, against the councils, and against the apostolical canons; and that he is not bound by those examples, institutions, and laws of Christ.¹

2. Thus we have been taught by Christ, by the apostles and holy fathers; and we do faithfully teach the people of God the same things, and for so doing we are called heretics, by the great leader and prince of religion. What! have Christ and his apostles, and so many fathers, all erred? What! are Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoret, apostates from the catholic faith? Was the consent of so many bishops and learned men nothing but a conspiracy of heretics? Or that which was commendable in them, is it now blameable in us? And that which was catholic in them, is it, by a change in the wills of men, become schismatical in us? Or that which was once true, is it now, because it displeaseth them, become false? Let them, then,

¹ In his defence of the apology, Jewell quotes many Romish authorities to this effect. One says, 'The pope may dispense for any commandment of the Old or New Testament.' Another, 'The pope, of wrong may make right.'

produce a new gospel; or, at least, set forth their reasons why those things which were so long publicly observed and approved in the church, ought now at last to be recalled. We know that the word which was revealed by Christ, and propagated by the apostles, is sufficient to promote our salvation and all truth, and to convince all heresies. Out of it alone, we condemn all sorts of ancient heresies, which they pretend we have recalled from the bottom of hell, and pronounce the Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, Ebionites, the Valentinians, Corpocratians, Tatians, and Novatians; and, in one word, all those who have thought impiously either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other part of the Christian religion; all these, I say, because they are convicted by the gospel of Christ, we pronounce them wicked and lost men, and detest them to the gates of hell; and not only so, but if any of those heresies happen to break out anew amongst us, we severely and seriously correct the revivers of them with lawful and civil punishments.¹

3. We confess, that, upon the beginning of the Reformation, there are arose some new and unheard-of sects; but we render our unfeigned thanks to God, that the world is now well satisfied, that we neither brought forth, nor taught, nor maintained those monsters. Whoever thou art who thinkest otherwise, be pleased to read our books, which are every where to be had. What is there in them that can fairly be taken to favour the madness of these people? Yea, there are at this day no nations so free from these pests as those in which the gospel is freely taught. Now, if they would rightly and

¹ Jewell appears to have estimated some of these sects according to the false accounts given of them by the church of Rome, rather than by their real sentiments, particularly the Novatians. The 'severe and serious correction' here spoken of happily has since been done away. It was a remnant of popery of which the reformers found great difficulty in divesting themselves.

attentively consider this thing, it is a strong argument that the doctrine we teach is the very truth of the gospel; for neither tares nor chaff use to spring up or be found, but in corn. And who knows not what a number of heresies arose when the gospel was first propagated in the world, in the times of the very apostles? Who before those times ever heard of Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Corpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucian, and Severus? But why should I mention this contemptible number! Epiphanius reckons eighty, and Augustine more, distinct heresies, which grew up with the gospel. What then? Was not the gospel the gospel, because together with it so many heresies were produced? Or shall we therefore say that Christ was not Christ?

4. And yet, as I said, this accursed crop has not sprung up in our fields, where the gospel is freely preached, and publicly received and settled. Those plagues have had their rise in the darkness and blindness of our adversaries; and with them too have they increased and spread themselves, where the truth is oppressed with tyranny and cruelty; nor are these things to be heard of any where but in corners and secret assemblies. Let them make a trial; let them grant the gospel its free course; let the truth of Jesus Christ freely shine and extend its rays to all parts without hindrance, and they shall soon see, that as the darkness of the night vanishes at the approach of the sun, so will these shadows disappear before the light of the gospel. For as for us, we daily make it our business to repel and confute these heresies, which we are falsely reported to nourish and encourage, while our adversaries sit still, and mind nothing less.

5. And whereas they say we are divided into divers sects, and that some of us have taken the name of

Lutherans, and others of Zuinglians, and we could never yet agree among ourselves concerning the sum of our doctrines; what would they have said if they had lived in the times of the apostles and holy fathers? when one said, "I am of Paul, another, I am of Cephas; and another, I am of Apollos:" when St. Paul reprehended St. Peter: when, by reason of a quarrel, Paul and Barnabas separated one from the other, and went several ways. When, as Origen acquaints us, the Christians were divided into so many factions, that they had no name common to them but that of Christian, and they agreed in nothing else but that name, and, as Socrates informs us, they were derided publicly in the theatres by the people for their dissensions and sects; and when, as Constantine the great said, 'There were so many contentions and controversies in the church, that this very single calamity seemed to exceed the miseries of the former times' of persecution. When Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Rufinus, and Jerome, all of them Christians, all fathers, and all catholics, contested with each other with most bitter and implacable animosity; when, as Nazianzen saith, 'The members of the same body consumed one another.' When the eastern and western churches were divided from each other about leavened bread, and the time of keeping Easter—things of no mighty consequence. When in every council, which were then numerous, there was a new creed, and new and contrary decrees invented. What would these men have then said? to whom would they have applied themselves? from whom would they have fled? in what gospel would they have believed? whom would they have esteemed catholics, and whom heretics? Now there are only two names, Luther and Zuinglius; and what a noise is made about them! But because these two men could not agree about a certain point, shall we therefore think they are both in

the wrong, that neither of them has the gospel, and that neither has preached well and truly ?

6. But, who are they that so bitterly reflect on us for our dissensions ? Do they in the mean time all agree among themselves ? Have there never been any dissensions and controversies among them ? Why then do the Scotists and Thomists agree no better concerning the merit of congruity and that of condignity ; concerning original sin in the virgin Mary ; and about a solemn and simple vow ? Why do the canonists affirm that auricular confession is founded on human and positive laws ; and the schoolmen, on the contrary, on divine institution ? Why does Albertus Pighius differ from Cajetan ; Thomas from Lombard ; Scotus from Thomas ; Orcham from Scotus ; Aliacensis from Occham ; and the Nominals from the Realists ? And that I may not mention the disagreements of the small brotherhoods and monks, some of which place their admired sanctity in eating of fish, others in living upon herbs ; some in wearing of shoes, others in sandals ; some in linen garments, and others in woollen ; some in black, and some in white clothes ; some shave their heads broad, and others narrow ; some wear shoes, and others go bare-foot ; some are girded, and some go loose ; besides these, they should remember that some of their divines say, that the body of Christ is naturally present in the sacrament, which is again denied by others. There also are some who say, that the body of Christ in the sacrament is torn and ground with our teeth, and again there are others who deny this ; there are some who say, that the body in the sacrament hath quantity, others deny it ; some say, Christ did consecrate by a certain divine power, others that he did it by his blessing ; some, that he did it by conceiving the five words in his mind, others that it was by uttering them. There are some that say, that of these five words the demonstrative pronoun

'this' showed the wheaten brethren, others say no; but it relates to a certain 'individuum vagum' (a no man knows what.) There are some who say, 'Dogs and mice may truly and really eat the body of Christ;' but then there are others who stoutly deny this. There are some who say the accidents of the bread and wine can nourish, and others say the substance returns again. But why should I add any more? it is a long and troublesome business to count up all their divisions: the whole form of this religion and doctrine is to this day controverted and uncertain among those who first gave being and entertainment to it: for they scarcely ever agree, except it be as the pharisees and sadducees, or as Herod and Pilate did of old, against Christ.¹

7. Let them go, then, and put an end to their own quarrels. Unity and agreement do excellently become religion; yet it is no certain and proper sign of the church of God; for there was a wonderful agreement among those who worshipped the golden calf; and among those who with one voice cried out against our Saviour, Crucify him! crucify him! Nor are we hastily to determine, that because there were some dissensions in the church of Corinth; or because St. Paul differed with St. Peter, or Barnabas with St. Paul; or because the Christians, in the infancy of the church, disagreed among themselves concerning some things, that therefore there was no church of God among them. Those very men whom they contemptuously call Lutherans and Zuinglians, are both parties of them Christians, friends each to the others, and

¹ The reader will find in Mosheim further accounts of these differences of opinion among the members of the Romish church. Jewell says, 'One of your doctors of Louvain tells us in good sadness, by report of one of the Jesuits, that in India holy water is very wholesome to drive away mice, and for barren women. I feign not this matter, the place may be seen.' (Copus dial. i. p. 18.) *Defence of the apology.* For the Romish opinion of a mouse eating the consecrated host, see Ann Askew's examinations in Fox.

brethren. They do not disagree about the principles and foundations of our religion, concerning God, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost; nor concerning the manner of our justification, or of eternal life. It is only about one point, and that of no great consequence; nor do we despair, or rather, we do not so much as doubt, but that in a small time an agreement will be made betwixt them. And though there are some who now think otherwise than they ought, we hope that, laying aside all passions and factious names and reproaches, God will reveal to them what they now know not, and having better considered and searched into the thing, as it happened heretofore in the council of Chalcedon,¹ all the causes and fibres of dissensions shall be plucked up by the roots, and buried in eternal oblivion. Amen.

8. But the most insufferable of all their slanders is their pretence that we are impious men, and have cast off all care of religion. But this is the less to be regarded, because they who make this objection do themselves know, that it is contumelious and false. And Justin Martyr writes also, that when the gospel was first published, and the name of Christ discovered to the world, that all Christians were then styled ATHEOUS; that is, men without a God, or atheists. And when the holy Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, stood before the tribunal, the rabble incited the proconsul to the slaughter and destruction of all those who professed the gospel, with these words, Exterminate out of the world those wicked men that have no God. Not that the Christians had indeed no God, but because they would not adore the stones and blocks which were then worshipped as gods. But the world now sees plainly what we and ours have suffered from them, for the sake of God and our religion. They have cast us into gaols, and fire, and

¹ The fourth general council, held A. D. 451.

water, and have rolled themselves in our blood, not because we are adulterers, or thieves, or murderers, but purely because we embrace the gospel of Jesus Christ, and put our whole trust only in the living God; and because we truly and justly complain that they have, for their most impertinent traditions, violated the laws of God; and that these enemies of ours, who knowingly and willingly despise the commandments of God, are the haters of the gospel, and the enemies of the cross of Christ.

9. Now these men, when they saw they could fix no slanders upon our doctrine, then they began to declaim against our manners; that we hated all good works, that we made way for disorder and luxury, and drove the people off from all care and exercise of virtue. And certainly the lives of all men, even those of the most holy and Christian men, now are, and ever were, even in the best and most chaste state of things, liable to some exceptions on that account. And such is the propensity of men to do ill on the one side, and the proneness of all to suspicion on the other, that many things, which were never done or thought of, have yet been pretended to be heard, and have obtained a belief too; and as a small spot is easily seen in a very white garment, so in the purest course of life, the slightest note of turpitude or disorder is easily taken notice of. Nor do we think ourselves, or all those who have embraced the Reformation, to be angels, and to live without the least speck or unevenness; or that those who hate us are so blind, that they cannot observe whatever is blameable in us, even through the smallest chink; or that they are so candid, that they will put a mild sense upon any thing; or so ingenuous, that they will at any time turn their eyes upon themselves; and estimate or compare our manners with their own. But then if we should here run the thing up to the fountain-head, we know that in the apostles' times there

were Christians who made the name of God to be blasphemed and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

10. Constantius the emperor complains, in Sozomen, that many, after they entered the Christian church, became worse than they were before. And St. Cyprian, in a mournful oration, describes the corruption of his own times; 'Ease and a long peace,' saith he, 'had destroyed that discipline which the apostles delivered to us. Men were intent upon the enlarging their estates; and, forgetting what believers did under the apostles, and what they ever ought to do, they applied themselves with an insatiable appetite to the improvement of their fortunes. There is not now that devout piety in the priests, that sincere faith in the ministers, that compassion in works of mercy, that restraint in men's manners; men colour their beards, and women paint their faces.' And before him Tertullian said; 'Oh! wo to us who are now called Christians: for we live the lives of heathens under that venerable title.'

11. To conclude, and not to trouble the reader with many authors, Gregory Nazianzen speaks thus of the deplorable state of his own times: 'We are hated by the heathens now for our vices, and we are made a spectacle, not only to men and angels, but to the wickedest of men.' This was the state of the church of God when the light of the gospel began first to shine upon it, when the fury of tyrants was not yet assuaged, or the sword diverted from the necks of the Christians; in truth, it is no wonder that men are men, though they are called Christians.

THE FOURTH PART.

1. BUT, whilst these men so bitterly reflect upon us, why do they not sometimes think what they themselves are? Are they who have so much leisure to attend what is done at a distance in Germany and England, so forgetful or so blind, that they cannot see what is done at Rome? Are we to be impeached by those whose lives are so dissolute, that no honest, modest man can without blushing tell their story?

2. We do not now intend to bring to light all those villanies which may be much better buried with them; it becomes neither our religion, nor our modesty and shamefacedness. And yet he that will needs be called the vicar of Jesus Christ, and the head of the church, may easily consider with himself, what those things are which he hears and sees, and suffers to be done at Rome; for we will go no further in giving an account of what they are. Let him make use of his own memory; let him be pleased to consider that they are his own canonists, who have taught the people, that simple fornication is no sin, as if they had learned from the heathen comedian¹ this doctrine, that it is not a sin in a young man. Let him consider they are his own again, who have determined that a priest is not to be deposed for fornication. Let him remember that cardinal Campeggio, Albertus Pighius, and many other of his lawyers, have taught, that the priest who keeps a concubine,

¹ The *Mitio* of Terence. The demoralizing effects of the unguarded study of many classic authors, has often been exposed very properly and in strong terms. The same effects, in fact, must result from the perusal of many of the Romish canonists and casuists, and even in some degree from the directions preparatory to confession, contained in their most popular prayer books.

lives much more chastely and holily than he who has a lawful wife.¹ I hope he hath not forgotten that there are at Rome many thousands of public licensed harlots, and that the pope levies upon them yearly, by way of tax, thirty thousand ducats. He cannot forget, surely, that he himself is a public pimp, and from this base profit doth dishonourably and wickedly increase his revenues and pleasures. Were all things well and holy at Rome, when pope Joan, a woman of dissolute life, was the head of their church, and when for two years she had in that holy see prostituted herself, at length, in a public procession, in the presence of all the cardinals and bishops, in the open street she brought forth a child?²

3. But why should we mention their dissolute lives? for these are common and public crimes at Rome, and not unprofitable either, for the harlots there do not sit without the gates with their faces veiled and covered, as in ancient times, but they dwell in palaces and stately houses, and pass to and

¹ Jewell, in his defence, says, 'What need we many words in so clear a case? The whole practice of your church, M. Harding, professeth the same. If a priest marry a wife, ye suspend him, ye excommunicate him, ye deprive him, ye disquiet and trouble the whole church. But if he keep a concubine, one, two, or more, ye are then contented, and ready, not only to dissemble it, but also with favour to excuse it.'

In the Rhemish Testament, ed. 1582, a note upon 1 Cor. vii. 9, states, 'We say also, concerning others lawfully made priests, and such as otherwise have made vow of chastity, they cannot marry at all, and therefore there is *no comparison in them* betwixt marriage and fornication, or burning. For their marriage is but pretended, and is the worst sort of incontinency and fornication, or burning.'

An authorization by Romish divines of eminence is prefixed to that edition of the work; they approve it as containing nothing which is not 'consentaneous to piety, and the doctrine of the catholic church!'

² See Jewell's defence of the apology for authorities on that subject, and others treated in this chapter. The existence of a female pope has been much controverted, and by many historians is considered doubtful. The account here given of pope Joan, has, however, been admitted by more than sixty Romish authors, among them some of the popes themselves. She is said to have lived about the year 850, and is designated in the list of popes as John vii., or viii.

fro in the most public streets without masks, as if their trade were not only lawful, but honourable. But why should I use many words? their lusts are sufficiently known to the whole earth. St. Bernard writes thus truly and freely of the pope's family and the pope himself: 'Your court receives good men sometimes, but it makes none good: evil men thrive there; good men are ruined.' And whoever he was who wrote the tripartite work, which is commonly joined to the Lateran council, he saith thus: 'There is now so prevailing a luxury, not only in the inferior clergy and priests, but also in the prelates and bishops, that it strikes horror into the hearers of it.'

4. But these things are not only usual, and even for the sake of the custom approved, as most of their vices are, but they are now become so well known by their long use, that they are putrid, ripe for judgment. For who has not heard what Petrus Aloisius, the son of Paul III. designed against Cosmus Cheri- us, bishop of Fano? What John Casa, archbishop of Benevento, the pope's legate at Venice, wrote of a sin to be abhorred, whilst with most filthy eloquence and abominable words, he commends what ought not to be named? Who knows not that Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard, was sent from Rome into Germany, on purpose to murder the most innocent and holy man, John Diazius, his own brother, only because he had embraced the gospel, and would not return to Rome—which he accordingly did. But they may pretend, perhaps, that such things as these are may sometimes happen in the best constituted governments, and that there are excellent laws against them.

5. Be it so: but what law passed upon these pests? Petrus Aloisius, when he had attempted the villany I have hinted at, was ever after in the bosom of Paul III. his father and his joy. Diazius, after he had

assassinated his brother, was delivered out of the hands of the law by the interposition of the pope. Johannes Casa, archbishop of Benevento, is yet alive, and at Rome, and lives under the eyes and in the sight of his holiness! They have slain infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they truly and purely believed in Jesus Christ; but then of that infinite number of harlots, sodomites, and adulterers, whom have they at any time, I will not say slain, but excommunicated, or so much as touched? What! are their crimes no sins at Rome! or if they be, why are they so easily borne, as if they were not sins in the city of Rome, that bulwark of sanctity, and by the pope, the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, that most holy father?'

6. Oh holy Scribes and Pharisees! to whom this sanctity was never known! Oh sanctity and catholic faith! St. Peter did never teach these things at Rome, nor St. Paul live there at this rate. They did not publicly exercise such trade; they took no tribute of the harlots; they did not openly and freely tolerate adulterers and parricides; they did not admit them into their bosoms, their families, their councils, nor into the congregations of Christian men. These men ought not to have aggravated so much the faults of our lives: it had been much better to have approved their own to the world, or at least to have concealed them a little more from the eyes of men.

7. For, as for us, we retain and use our ancient paternal laws, and administer church discipline, seriously and diligently, as far as we possibly can, in so much corruption of all things, both as to manners and times. We have no stews, nor herds of harlots and concubines; nor do we profer adulteries before marriage: nor do we exercise pimping, nor raise money from harlots; neither do we suffer incests and flagitious lusts; our Aloisiuses, or our Casas, or our parricidal murdering Diazios, do not go un-

punished. For if these things had pleased us, there had been no occasion of separating from the society of those men, where these (rare) things flourish, and are in great esteem; and so we had also escaped the hatred of men, and the apparent dangers we have run into by our departure from them. It is not many months since Paul IV. had some monks of the Augustine order in prison at Rome, and many bishops, and a vast number of pious men, for the sake of religion. He exercised his tortures and his racks, and left nothing untried, and at the last how many men of wicked and dissolute life did he find amongst them? Blessed be God, though we are not what we should be, nor what we profess to be, yet whatever we are, if we be compared with these, our very lives and innocency will easily confute all their slanders. For we excite the people, not only by books and sermons, but by example and good manners, to all sorts of virtues and good works. We teach, that the gospel is not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life; and that, as Tertullian expresses it, 'A Christian should not speak great things, but live them; and that not the hearers, but the doers of the law shall be justified before God.' Rom. ii. 13.

8. To all these things they commonly add, and amplify it too with all manner of reproaches, that we are a turbulent sort of men; that we snatch the sceptres out of the hands of princes, arm the people against them, subvert their judicatories and courts of justice, and endeavour to reduce monarchies to popular states or commonwealths, dissolve the laws, and retrench the revenues of princes, and turn all things topsy-turvy; and that, in short, if we had our wills, there should nothing continue safe in the governments of the world. Oh! how often have they by such pretences incensed the minds of princes against us, that so they might crush the Reformation in its first springing up, and princes might be pos-

sessed with an aversion for our religion before they knew what it was; and that magistrates might entertain an opinion, that, whenever they saw one of us, they saw one of their enemies.

9. It would have been a great affliction to us, to be thus hatefully accused of so great a crime as treason, but that we know that Christ himself and his apostles, and an infinite number of other pious Christians, have been made the objects of public envy on the same pretence. For Christ, though he commanded to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, Matt. xxii. 21, yet he was accused of sedition, in that he was said to design a change in the government, and to affect and intend a kingdom; and so they loudly charged him before the tribunal of Pilate; "If thou lettest this man go, thou art no friend to Cæsar," John xix. 12. And the apostles, although they constantly taught that we ought to obey magistrates, and that every soul should be subject to the higher powers, and that not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but also for conscience sake, Rom. xiii. 1, yet they were said to stir up the people, and to incite the multitude to rebellion. Haman brought the Jews into the disfavour of Ahasuerus, by representing them as a stubborn and rebellious people, that despised the edicts and laws of princes. The wicked king Ahab charged Elijah the prophet of God, that he troubled Israel. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, accused Amos the prophet, of a conspiracy before Jeroboam. "And behold, saith he, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words," Amos vii. 10. In short, Tertullian saith, this was the general accusation against all Christians in his times, that they were traitors, plotters, and the common enemies of mankind; and therefore if truth, which is still the same, suffers the same reproaches as it did formerly, it may in-

deed seem troublesome and uneasy, but it is not new or unusual. .

10. It was easy, forty years ago, to fix such slanders upon the then rising and unknown truth, when the first rays of it burst forth in the midst of so great a darkness, and few men had heard what doctrines were taught; when Martin Luther and Ulric Zuingle, two excellent persons, who were given by God to enlighten the world, began first to preach the gospel; when the thing was new, and the event uncertain, and the minds of men surprised and unsettled, and their ears open to all manner of calumnies; and it was not possible to invent that defamation of us which would not be believed by the people, even upon the account of the novelty and strangeness of the thing. And so it was in the more ancient times: the first opposers of Christianity, Symmachus, Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, represented the primitive Christians as a seditious and rebellious sect, before either prince or people knew well what the Christians were, or what they professed, or what they would have. But now, when our enemies may see and cannot deny, that in all our words and writings we diligently admonish the people of their duty, that they should obey their princes and magistrates, though they are wicked men, which is also confirmed by experience, and seen and observed by all the world—certainly, I say, it is now a senseless thing to attempt to make us odious by a parcel of superannuated over-worn lies, when they have no new and fresh crimes to lay to our charge.

11. We bless our gracious God, whose cause this is, that there hath yet been no example of any insurrection or rebellion in any of those countries, kingdoms, or commonwealths, which have embraced the Reformation. We have not subverted any monarchy: we have not diminished any prince's jurisdiction or rights; we have not troubled any commonwealths:

the kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden; the dukes of Saxony; the counts of the Palatinate; the marquesses of Brandenburg; the landgraves of Hesse; the commonwealths of the Switzers; the free cities of Strasburg, Basil, Frankfort, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, are all in the same state they were before the Reformation; or rather, because the people are now better instructed in the matters of obedience to their governors than they were before, they are in a better state. Let our defamers go into those places where the gospel is settled by the blessing of God, and then tell us where princes have more majesty? where there is less pride and tyranny? where are princes treated with more respect? where the people are less tumultuous? where the civil government or ecclesiastical was ever in greater tranquillity?

12. But you will say, the boors of Germany fell into tumults and insurrections upon the first preaching of this doctrine. Be it granted; but then Martin Luther, the first divulger of it, with great vehemence and sharpness wrote against them, and reduced them to their allegiance and duty.

13. And whereas some ignorant men have objected, that the Switzers murdered Leopold, the archduke of Austria, and, changing the state, erected a commonwealth, and so freed their country; this was done, as appears by all histories, above two hundred and sixty years since, under Boniface VIII, when the papal power was at the highest, about two hundred years before Ulric Zuingle began to preach the gospel, or indeed was born. But from that time to this, all things there have been in the greatest tranquillity and quiet that was possible; not only in relation to foreign wars, but intestine commotions; so that if it were a sin to deliver their country from a foreign dominion, which oppressed them with great insolence and tyranny, yet it is unjust and absurd to

load the Reformation with the crimes of others, or them with those of their forefathers.

14. But shall the bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? will HE pretend to teach the people subjection and obedience to magistrates, or has HE any regard to majesty? Why then does he suffer himself to be called by his flatterers, the LORD OF LORDS, which none of the ancient bishops of Rome ever did; as if he would have all kings and princes, whoever they were, and wheresoever, to be no better than his vassals and slaves? Why does he boast that he is the KING OF KINGS, and that he has the right of commanding them as his subjects? Why does he force emperors and monarchs to swear obedience to him? Why does he boast that his own majesty is seventy-seven times greater than the majesty of the emperor, and that forsooth, because God made two great lights in heaven, and because the heavens and the earth had not two several, but one single beginning? Why have he and his followers in that, shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from the jurisdiction of all civil powers, that they might with the greater liberty and security plague the world?¹

15. Why has he his legates, that is, a crafty sort of spies, as it were in ambush, in the courts, councils, and chambers of all kings? Why does he, as his interest requires, set princes at variance amongst themselves; and at his pleasure fill the earth with seditions? Why does he proscribe, and take for a heathen and pagan, whatever prince withdraws himself from his dominion, and promise his indulgences so freely, if any man will by any means whatsoever, assassinate his enemies? Does he, preserve empires and kingdoms, or at all consult and desire the public peace? You ought, O pious reader! to pardon us,

¹ 'One of your own doctors saith, It were more acceptable unto God, that the world, in all matters were governed only by the pope'
Defence of Apology

if these things seem a little more sharp and eager than becomes a divine ; for so great is the provocation, so great and so impotent withal is the ambition of the pope, that it cannot be expressed in other or milder words. For he had once the insolence to say in a public council, that all the authority of all the kings in the world depended upon him. He, out of ambition and desire to rule, distracted the Roman empire, and tore in pieces the Christian world ; he absolved the Italians, and among them himself, from the oath wherein they were obliged to the Greek emperor,—with great perfidy ; and solicited his subjects to revolt from him, and called Charles Martell the great, out of France into Italy ; and after a new, and till then unheard-of manner, made him emperor. He deposed Childeric, king of France, an innocent prince, only because he did not like him, and set up Pepin in his place. He would, if he had been able, have cast out Philip the Fair, another king of France, and have adjudged the kingdom of France to Albert, king of the Romans. He broke the power of Florence, though his own country, which was then a most flourishing city ; and changing its free and peaceable state, he delivered it up to the will of one man. He made all Savoy to be torn in pieces by the emperor Charles V. on the one side, and Francis I. king of France on the other ; scarce leaving to the miserable duke one city to shelter himself in.

16. I am weary of examples, and indeed there is nothing more troublesome than to enumerate the great actions of the popes of Rome of this nature. I pray, of whose party were they who poisoned the emperor Henry VII. in the eucharist, and they who did the same to pope Victor in the holy chalice ? Who exercised the same art upon our king John of England, in a common table-cup ? Whoever they were, and of what party soever, this is certain, they

were neither Lutherans nor Zuinglians. Who is it that at this day permits the greatest kings and monarchs to kiss his feet? Who is it that commands the emperor to hold his bridle, and the king of France his stirrup? Who was it that cast Francis Dandolo, duke of Venice, and king of Crete and Cyprus, under his table, to gnaw the bones with the dogs? Who crowned Henry VI. the emperor, at Rome, not with his hands, but with his feet; and then with his foot kicked his crown off again, adding that he had power to create emperors, and to depose them? Who armed Henry the son, against the emperor Henry IV. his own father; and caused the son to take his father prisoner, and having shaven, and treated him ignominiously, to cast him into a monastery, where he pined away with hunger and sorrow? Who was it that trod insolently upon the neck of the emperor Frederick? and, as if this had not been a sufficient affront, subjoined out of the psalm of David, "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and shalt tread the lion and the dragon under thy feet." Psalm xci. 13. Where is there such another example of despised and injured majesty in all history, except in Tamerlane the Scythian, a fierce and barbarous prince, and in Sapor king of Persia? All these were popes, all of them successors of St. Peter, all most holy men, whose words were every one of them to be gospel to us!

17. If we be guilty of treason, who reverence our princes, who submit to them in all things, as far as the scriptures will permit us, what then are these men who have not only done all these base things, but have also extolled them as generous actions? Do they thus teach the people to revere magistrates, or can they with any modesty accuse us of being seditious men, the disturbers of the public peace, and contemners of the majesty of princes? For, as for us, none of us shake off the yoke, nor embroil

kingdoms, nor dispose of empires ; nor do we reach poison to our kings, nor put out our feet to them to kiss, nor do we insultingly tread upon their necks. No ; our profession, our doctrine, is this, that every soul, whose ever it is, whether it be a monk, or an evangelist, or a prophet, or an apostle, it ought to be subject to kings and magistrates : and so the pope himself, except he affect to seem greater than the evangelists, prophets, and apostles, ought to acknowledge and call the emperor, his lord, as the ancient popes in better times ever have done. We publicly teach, that princes are to be obeyed as men sent by God, and whosoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God, Rom. xiii. 2. These are our doctrines ; these principles shine forth in our books, in our sermons, in our lives, and in the modesty and dutiful behaviour of our people.

18. And, whereas they pretend we have departed from the unity of the catholic church ; this is not only odious, but though it is not true, yet it hath an appearance and similitude of truth in it. But then, not only those things which are true and certain find belief with the ignorant multitude, but those things also which may seem probable ; and so we shall ever observe that crafty and cunning men who had not the truth on their sides, have ever maintained their cause with the resemblance of truth ; that those who could not dive into the bottom of things, might be taken at least with the show and probability of their arguments. Because the primitive Christians, our forefathers, when they prayed to God, turned their faces towards the rising sun, there were some that said they worshipped the sun, and that it was their god. And because they said, that, as to their eternal and immortal life, they lived on nothing but the flesh and blood of the Lamb without spot, meaning thereby our Saviour Jesus Christ, envious men, the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose only busi-

ness it was to render the Christian religion by any means hateful, did thereupon persuade the people, that the Christians were impious men, that they offered human sacrifices, and drank man's blood. And when the Christians said, With God there is neither male nor female, that is, that, as to the obtaining of justification, there is no distinction of persons; and did salute one another commonly by the names of brother and sister; there were not wanting some who slandered the Christians thereupon, and said, they made no distinction amongst them of sex or age, but acted like beasts. And when they met frequently in vaults and secret places, to pray and hear the gospel, which sort of private places and meetings had sometimes been made use of by conspirators against the government; there was thereupon a rumour spread abroad, that they conspired together, and had secret consultations about murdering the magistrates, and subverting the government. And because, in celebrating the holy communion they made use of bread and wine, according to the institution of Christ, they were thought by many not to worship Christ, but Bacchus and Ceres; because those heathen deities were worshipped by the pagans with a like rite, with bread and wine. These things were then believed by many, not because they were true, for what could possibly be less so? but because they had a kind of resemblance of truth, and by that show of truth were fitted to deceive them.

So they traduce us, and say, that as heretics we have departed from the unity of the catholic church, and the communion of Christ; not that they believe this to be true, nor are they at all concerned whether it be true or false; but because the thing may in some sort seem true to ignorant men. For we have indeed departed, not as heretics ever have done, from the church of Christ; but, as good men ought to do, from the contagion of wicked men and hypo-

crites. And yet here they insult wonderfully, that theirs is the church, the spouse of Christ, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noah, out of which no salvation is to be hoped for; and, in the Interim, they assert with the same confidence, that we have revolted, that we have rent the coat of Christ, and torn ourselves from his body, and made a defection from the catholic faith. And when they have thus left nothing unsaid which can possibly be, though ever so falsely and slanderously, objected against us, yet at last they cannot pretend that we have forsaken the word of God, or the apostles of Christ, or the primitive church.

19. Now we have ever thought, that the primitive church which was in the times of Christ, and the apostles, and holy fathers, was the catholic church. Nor do we doubt, but that church is the ark of Noah, the spouse of Christ, the pillar and foundation of truth, or to place in it all the hopes of our salvation. It is indeed an odious thing to break off and depart from the society a man has long lived in, especially if that society consists of men who seem to be, and are therefore called Christians, though in truth they are none. And in reality we do not so condemn their church, as bad as it now is, (for the name's sake, and because the gospel of Jesus Christ was once truly and purely taught there,) as that we have willingly departed from it without necessity. But, what if an idol be set up in the church of God, and that desolation appears there, which Christ foretold should stand in the holy place? What if some pirate or robber possessed himself of the ark of Noah? Certainly, as often as these men thus preach to us of the church, they make themselves only to be that church, and ascribe all those glorious titles to themselves, and triumph like those of old who cried, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord!" Jer. vii. 4. or like the scribes and pharisees, when they boasted they were the children of Abraham. John viii. 39.

20. Thus do they impose upon silly men by vain and useless shows, and seek to overwhelm us with the mere name of the church; just as if a thief, having got possession of another man's house, and having by force expelled or slain the true owner, should afterwards claim it as his own, and keep the true heir out; or as if antichrist, after he has seized the temple of God, should afterwards pretend it were his own, and that Christ had no right to it. For though our adversaries have left almost nothing like a church, in the church of God, yet they will needs seem the only patrons and defenders of the church; just as Gracchus defended the Roman exchequer, by making such profuse largesses, and such unreasonable expenses, that he quite ruined the public treasury. But then there was never any thing yet so absurd or wicked, but it might seem easy to be covered and defended by the name of the church; for wasps make combs, and impious men have their assemblies not much unlike the churches. But they are not all the people of God who are called so; no, nor are they all Israelites who are of Israel. The Arian heretics boasted that they only were catholics; and they called all the rest, sometimes Ambrosians, and at other times Athanasians and Johannites. And Theodoret tells us, that though Nestorius was a heretic, yet he covered himself with the pretence and cloak of the orthodox faith. Ebion, though he was of the same opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as Epiphanes assures us, he would needs be called a Christian. The Mahometans, at this day, though it is clear from all histories, and they themselves cannot deny it, that they are descended from Hagar; yet, as if they were the children of Sarah, the free-woman, the wife of Abraham, they will needs, for the name and race sake, be called Saracens.¹

¹ The real derivation of the name Saracen has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

21. So the false prophets in all times, who opposed themselves to the true prophets of God, to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, to Christ and his apostles, boasted of nothing so much as of the name of The Church? nor did they so fiercely persecute them, and call them deserters and apostates, upon any other account so much, as because they departed from their society, and would not observe the custom of their ancestors. And if we be obliged to submit to the judgment of those men who then governed the church, we must regard neither God nor his word, nor any thing else: nor can it be denied, that the apostles made defection from the high priests and priests; that is, from the catholic church, and without and against their wills innovated in many things which pertained to religion, and, consequently, were rightly condemned according to the law!

And so as they say Antæus was to be lifted by Hercules from the earth, his mother, before he could be conquered by him; so our adversaries are to be lifted up from that mother of theirs, the vain pretence and shadow of the church, or else they will never yield to the word of God. So, as Jeremiah saith, do not so much boast that you have the temple of God with you, that confidence is vain; "For these are" (saith he, Jer. vii. 4.) "lying words." And the angel in the Apocalypse, Rev. ii. 9. "They say that they are Jews, but they are the synagogue of Satan." And when the pharisees boasted that they were of the stock and blood of Abraham, Christ told them, John viii. 44. they were of the devil their father, for they did not resemble Abraham their father; as if he should have said, You are not what you much desire to be called; you impose upon the people by vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the ruin of the church. And therefore they ought in the first place to prove this truly and plainly to us—namely, that the church of Rome, as it is now managed by

them, is the true and orthodox church of God, and that it agrees with the primitive church of Christ and his apostles, and of the holy fathers; which primitive church we doubt not was the catholic church. We indeed will readily grant that there is no cause why we should forsake their society, if we could once persuade ourselves that ignorance, error, superstition, the worship of idols, the inventions of men, (and they very often quite contrary to the holy scriptures,) did either please God, or sufficiently promote our salvation. Or if we could once believe that the word of God were only written for some years, and after that were to be abrogated; or that the words and laws of God were entirely to be submitted to the wills of men; so that whatever he saith or commandeth, except the bishop of Rome wills and commands the same too, were to be esteemed void and not spoken. But in that we have departed from a church whose errors are attested and manifest, and which has apparently departed from the word of God, and whereas we have not so much departed from her as from her errors, and that not turbulently and injuriously, but quietly and modestly; in all this, we say, we have done nothing contrary to Christ and his apostles. For the church of God is not of that nature, that it cannot possibly be darkened with any spots, or sometimes not need a reformation; for if it were so, what need were there of all those councils and great meetings, without which, as Ægidius saith, the Christian faith cannot stand? 'For,' saith he, 'as often as councils are intermitted, so often is the church left by Christ.' Or if there be no danger that the church can take damage, what need is there of the insignificant, as they have ordered the matter, name of bishops? ¹ Why are they called pastors, if there be no sheep that can go astray?

¹ Episcoporum.

Why are they called watchmen, if there be no city that can be betrayed? Why pillars, if there be nothing that can sink down into ruin when not supported by them? In the very beginning of the world the church of God was begun, and she was then instructed by a heavenly Word, which God sent out of his own mouth; she was furnished with ceremonies, taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets; and so she was preserved and brought down to those times in which Christ showed himself in the flesh.

22. But, how often was she in the mean time, and how horribly, darkened and diminished! For where was she when all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth? Where was she when there were only eight persons (and not all those either) chaste and pious, whom God was pleased to rescue out of a common ruin, and preserve alive in a general destruction? When Elijah so bitterly and mournfully complained that he only was left of all the earth, who did truly and rightly worship God? 1 Kings xix. When Isaiah said, the silver of the people of God, that is, the church, was become dross, and the once faithful city was become an harlot, and that in her, from the head to the sole of the foot, there was no soundness in her whole body? Isaiah i. Or when Christ said, that the house of God was by the scribes and pharisees turned into a den of thieves? Matt. xxi. 13. For the church of Christ, like a corn-field, if it be not ploughed and broken, tilled and dressed, instead of wheat, it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. And therefore God from time to time sent prophets and messengers, and, at last, Christ himself, to reduce the people into the right way, and to restore the sinking church to her former strength and beauty.

And now let no man say, These things could only happen under the law, when the church was under

the shadow, and in her infancy; when truth was covered with figures and ceremonies, and nothing was yet brought to perfection; when the law was not written on the hearts of men, but on tables of stone, though this pretence is very ridiculous; for there was then the same God, the same Christ, the same Spirit, the same doctrine, the same faith, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same covenant, and the same efficacy in the word of God. And Eusebius saith, that all the faithful from Adam were indeed Christians, though they were not so called. Let no man, I say, speak thus, for St. Paul the apostle found the same errors and defects under the gospel, in the highest perfection and the greatest light; so that he was forced to write thus to the Galatians, whom he had just before settled; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain, and that you have to no purpose heard the gospel. "O my little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you," Gal. iv. 11, 19.

For there is no need of speaking how fearfully the church of Corinth was corrupted. And could the churches of Galatia and Corinth fall, and is the church of Rome the only church that can neither fall nor err? Certainly Christ long since foretold concerning his church, that there should be a time when the abomination of desolation should stand in the holy place, Matt. xxiv. 15. And St. Paul saith, 2 Thess. ii. 4, that antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God, 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4. And the time will come, when men will not endure sound doctrine, but in the church shall be turned unto fables. And St. Peter saith, 2 Peter ii. 1, There shall be in the church false teachers; and Daniel the prophet saith of the last times, the days of antichrist, that the truth shall be cast down, and trodden upon in the earth. And Christ saith, there

shall be such great calamities and confusions upon the earth, that the very elect, if it were possible, shall be deceived, Matt. xxiv. 24. Now all these things are to come to pass, not among pagans and Turks, but in the holy place, the temple of God, in the church, the assembly and society of Christians.

23. And although these things alone, are sufficient to forewarn a wise man not to suffer himself easily to be imposed upon by the name of the church, so as not to examine it by the word of God: yet besides all this, many of the fathers and pious learned men have oftentimes grievously complained that these predictions were come to pass in their times. For God, in the midst of that darkness, would that there should be some men who should as sparks be observed by men, though they could not give them a very clear and bright light. Certainly Hilary, when things were in some sort sincere and uncorrupted, says, 'Ye do ill in doting upon walls; ye do ill to venerate houses and buildings, as if they were the church of God; ye do ill thrust in the name of peace beneath them. Is it doubtful, that antichrist shall sit therein? The mountains, the woods, the lakes, prisons, and dungeons, to me seem safer; for the prophets of God prophesied by the Spirit of God abiding in them, either of their own accord, or forced thither by violence.' Gregory the great, as if he then perceived and foresaw the ruin that was near at hand, wrote thus to John, bishop of Constantinople, who first commanded himself to be called by the new name of the universal bishop of Christ's whole church, 'If the church should depend upon one man, it would certainly fall.' And who is there that hath not observed that this is come long since to pass? It is a great while since the bishop of Rome would have the whole church depend upon him only, and therefore it is no wonder if it be long since fallen.

The abbot Bernard, above four hundred years ago, said, 'There is nothing sound in the clergy now, therefore there is nothing remaining but the revelation of the man of sin; and in his sermon on the conversion of St. Paul he expresses himself thus—'It may seem, perhaps, to some, that persecutions are ceased; no, they now begin from those who have obtained preeminence in the church; thy friends and thy neighbours have approached and stood against thee. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no soundness. Iniquity is proceeded from thy elders, judges, and vicars, who seemed to govern thy people. We cannot now say, As the people are, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priests. Alas! alas! O Lord God! they are the first in persecuting thee, who seem to love the primacy, and exercise a principality in thy church.' And upon the Canticles—'All my friends, and all my enemies, all my acquaintances, and all my adversaries, the servants of Christ, serve antichrist. Behold, in my peace my bitterness is increased!' And Roger Bacon,¹ a man of great name, when he had in a sharp discourse represented the miserable state of his own times, adds, 'Those many and great errors, require antichrist as near at hand.'

24. Gerson complains, that in his times all the force of theology was degenerated into a mere contest of wit and sophistry. The Lugdunesian brothers,² a

¹ Roger Bacon was an English monk of the thirteenth century, the most extraordinary person of that age for learning and the ardent pursuit of philosophy. He manifested a great veneration for the holy scriptures, which, with the many important discoveries he made, brought upon him the displeasure of the ignorant and bigoted ecclesiastics of that day.

² Jewell, in his Defence of the Apology, says, 'These men who are styled 'Poor men of Lyons,' found fault with the pride of the pope; with the lewd life of the clergy; with purgatory; with holy water; with pardons; and with other like deceivings of the people. They

sort of men which were not ill as to their lives, used to affirm that the church of Rome, from whence alone the oracles of faith were then fetched, was the harlot of Babylon; concerning which, such clear predictions were in the Revelation; and that she was the assembly of hell. I know that the authority of these men is in no esteem with them; but what now would they say if I should produce witnesses which are of the highest value with them? What if I say that pope Adrian ingenuously confessed that all those mischiefs came upon the church from the height of the papal power? Pighius confesses that they erred in this, that they suffered many abuses to be brought into the mass, though they would have it esteemed most holy. Gerson admits that the multitude of light and foolish ceremonies had extinguished all that power of the Holy Spirit which should have flourished in them, and all that was truly pious. All Greece and Asia complained that the popes of Rome, by their doctrines of purgatory, and sales of indulgences, had both offered violence to the consciences of men and robbed their purses.¹

25. Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hieronymus Savonarola, abbot Joachim, Baptista Mantuanus, and before them all the abbot Bernard, have very often grievously complained of the tyranny and Persian-like pride of the bishops of Rome, and have not obscurely hinted, whether truly or falsely I will not enquire, that the pope was anti-

translated the bible, and prayed in their natural known mother tongue—these were their errors: therefore they were called detestable heretics, therefore were they condemned by the church of Rome. But God's name be blessed for ever, since that time the pope's painted power hath still abated; and these poor detestable condemned heretics have still increased.

¹ Gerson was chancellor of the university of Paris. He was appointed director of the prelates at the council of Constance in the fifteenth century, on account of his learning and abilities. An attempt to reconcile the Greek and Roman churches by the council of Florence in 1439 failed, notwithstanding the efforts and bribery of the pope.

christ ; not to mention a number of others, who, because they have freely and ingeniously reprehended the vices of the popes, will, perhaps, be numbered by them amongst their enemies. But all these I have named, lived either at Rome itself, or under the eyes of these most holy fathers, and were intimately acquainted with their way of living, and did never depart from their catholic faith. Neither can any man object that these were Lutherans or Zuinglians, for they lived not only some years, but some entire-ages, before the names of these men were heard of in the world ; and they saw also, even then, that errors were crept into the church, and desired they might be amended.

And where was the wonder if the church fell into some errors in those times, in which neither the bishop of Rome, who alone had the chief management of affairs, nor scarcely any other persons, either performed, or, indeed, understood, what was their duty ; for it is not credible, that in that time, in which they were so idle and drowsy, the devil was perpetually asleep or idle too. For what kind of men they were, and with what fidelity they took care of the house of God, though we are silent, they may be pleased to hear their own Bernard : ' Those bishops to whom the church of God is now committed, are not teachers, but seducers ; not pastors, but impostors ; not prelates, but Pilates.' Thus Bernard wrote then of him who called himself the great pontiff, and of the bishops, who then sat at the helm. He was no heretic, he was no Lutheran, he never forsook their church, and yet he never hesitated to call those bishops they then had, seducers, impostors, Pilates. And now when the people were openly seduced, and Christians imposed upon, and Pilate mounted the tribunal, and adjudged Christ and his members to the fire and sword ; oh ! in what condition was the church then ! And of so many and such gross errors.

what one error have they reformed to this day? yea, what one error have they at ANY time acknowledged and confessed?

26. But now, whereas they pretend to be in possession of the whole catholic church, and call us heretics because we do not agree with them; let us see what mark that church hath of the church of God. Nor is the church of God very difficult to be found, if you seriously and diligently seek for it; for it is placed in a high and illustrious place, and built on the top of a mountain, and the foundations of it are laid upon the apostles and prophets. "There," saith St. Augustine, 'let us seek the church; there let us try our cause:' and in another place he saith, 'The church is to be shown out of the sacred scriptures; and whatever cannot derive itself from them, is not the church.' And yet I know not whence it proceeds, whether from reverence or conscience, or a despair of victory, that these men always dread and shun the word of God as much as a thief does the gallows; and, in truth, it is no wonder; for, as they say a beetle is presently extinguished in opobalsam, although it is a most fragrant ointment; so they see their cause is suffocated and ruined whenever it comes near the scriptures, which are a sort of deadly poison to it. Therefore they accustom themselves to call the holy scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only cite on all occasions, but, at the last, sealed them with his blood—that they may drive the people from them, as if they were dangerous and destructive, with the greater facility—these very scriptures, I say, they call a cold, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, dead letter, which seems to us to be the same thing as if they should wholly deny them to be the word of God; and, besides all this, they commonly add a simile not very proper:— 'They are,' say they, 'a nose of wax, and may be formed and set all manner of ways, and be made to

serve all manner of purposes.'¹ Does the pope not know that these things are said by his followers? Does he not understand what kind of patrons he has?

27. Let the pope, then, be pleased to hear how piously and how holily Hosius, a certain Polander, and a bishop, as he saith himself, and certainly he was an eloquent, and not unlearned man, and a sharp and violent defender of his interest, writes concerning the scriptures. I believe he will admire that a pious man, could possibly entertain such impious thoughts, or write so contemptuously, of those very words which he knew proceeded from the mouth of God! And, above all, that he should seem to desire that it might not pass for his sense alone, but the common opinion of the whole popish party. 'We,' saith he, 'have bid adieu to the scriptures, having seen so many, not only different, but contrary interpretations given of them. Let us, then, rather hear God himself speak, than apply ourselves, and trust our salvation to those jejune elements. There is no need of being skilful in the law and scriptures, but of being taught by God. That labour is ill employed, which is bestowed on the scriptures; for the scripture is a creature, and a poor kind of element.' Thus far Hosius, in his book of the express word of God, in this place craftily, under the person of another man, though he speaks the same thing in several other places, in the same book, as his own opinion, without any disguise, which is said with the same spirit and affection, as the like things were heretofore by Montanus and Marcion; who are reported frequently to have said, when they contemptuously rejected the holy scriptures, that they knew more and better things than either Christ or his apostles ever knew.²

¹ Albertus Pighius in controversia de ecclesia.

² The bible was called 'dead ink,' an inanimate dumb thing, 'the black gospel,' by the prelates at the council of Trent.

What, then, shall I say on this occasion? O ye pillars of religion! O ye presidents of the church of Christ! is this the reverence ye pay to the word of God? Do ye bid an adieu to the sacred scriptures, which St. Paul saith are divinely inspired, which the holy God hath illustrated by so many miracles, in which the certain footsteps of Jesus Christ are imprinted, which were cited as testimonies by all the holy fathers, by the apostles, by Christ himself, the Son of God, when occasion required it! Do ye, I say, bid adieu to these, as if they were not worthy of your regard? that is, do ye impose silence upon God, who speaks clearly to you in the scriptures? or will you call that word a poor and a dead element, by which alone, as St. Paul saith, we are reconciled to God, and which, as the prophet David saith, Psalm xix. 9. is holy and pure, and shall endure for ever? Or, will you say, that all the pains we spend in that which Christ commanded us to search diligently, and to have ever in our eye, is lost? and that Christ and the apostles, when they exhorted the people to a careful perusal of the scriptures, that they might thereby abound in all knowledge and wisdom, designed only to delude and abuse men? It is no wonder that these men despise us and our writings, who thus undervalue God himself and his oracles; but it was a most foolish action to offer so great an affront to the word of God, that they might do us a small mischief.¹

¹ The following paragraph is added to the Apology itself in the Defence. 'But Hosius will here make exclamation and say, we do him wrong, these are not his words, but the words of the heretic Zwenkfeldius. But how then if Zwenkfeldius make exclamation on the other side, and say that the very same words be not his, but Hosius' own words? For tel' me, where hath Zwenkfeldius ever written them? Or if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter go, although Hosius will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For nearly in all controversies, and especially touching the use of the holy

28. And now, as if all this were too little, they commit the holy scriptures to the fire, as the wicked king Jehoiakim, and Antiochus and Maximinius, two heathen persecutors, did; calling them the books of heretics. And they seem altogether disposed to imitate Herod the great, in what he did for the establishing his power; for he, being an Idumæan, of another race and blood than the Jews were, and desiring to be thought a Jew, that so he might the better settle that his kingdom over them, which he had obtained from Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all their genealogies from Abraham's time, which they kept in their public register, and which were carefully preserved, by which, without any error, it was easy to find of what tribe any person was descended; to be burnt and abolished; that there might be nothing to be found for the future, by which it might be proved he was of another nation. So these men, pretending that all their innovations were con- signed to them by Christ and his apostles, and desir- ing they should be accordingly esteemed, lest there should be any thing, any where extant, which might contradict these dreams and shams, either burn or suppress the scriptures, and keep them from the people. St. Chrysostom has written very well and appositely against such men as these: 'Heretics,' saith he, 'shut the gates of truth; for they know, if they be kept open, the church will never be thought theirs.' And Theophylact styles the word of God a candle, by the light of which, a thief may be discovered. And Tertullian saith that the scriptures

communion under both kinds, although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them, as no better than cold and dead elements, and commandeth us to give faith to cer- tain new lessons appointed by his church, and to know not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighius saith, Men ought not to be- lieve, no not the most clear and manifest words of the scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and autho- rity of the church, whereby he meaneth the church of Rome.

convict the frauds and thefts of heretics. For why else do they hide and suppress the gospel, which Christ commanded his disciples to publish from the house-top? Why else do they endeavour to put that candle under a bushel which ought to be set in a candlestick? Why do they trust more to the ignorance, blindness, and folly of the multitude, than to the goodness of their cause? Do they think their arts are not disclosed? or that, as if they had Gyges' ring, they can go undiscovered? The world sees now, with both eyes, what is so carefully locked up in the cabinet of the pope's breast; this one argument is sufficient to prove that they do not act well and sincerely. That cause deserves to be suspected, which declines a scrutiny, and hates the light; for, as Christ saith, "he that doeth evil, seeks darkness, and hates the light," John iii. 20. "but a mind conscious of what is good, willingly comes forth, that the works which come from God may be seen." But these men are not so blind, but that they see what will become of their kingdom, if the scriptures come once to be generally known: and, as it is said of old, all the idols of the demons, which before gave oracles, suddenly became dumb upon the appearance of Christ upon earth; so, now, will all their arts, at the approach of the gospel, sink down into ruins and rubbish; for antichrist is not to be deposed by any other thing than the brightness of the coming of Christ. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

29. We do not, like them, presently betake ourselves to fire and sword, but to the scriptures; nor do we assault them with force and arms, but with the word of God. By them, as Tertullian saith, we nourish our faith; by them we erect our hope; by them we establish our confidence; for we know that the gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that in it there is eternal life; and, as St. Paul admonishes us, we would refuse to hear an

angel of God that came from heaven, if he endeavoured to turn us away from any part of this doctrine. Yea, as that most holy man, Justyn Martyr, said of himself, we would not believe God himself, if he should teach us another gospel; for whereas they make the holy scriptures, like silent masses, dumb and useless, and appeal rather to God himself speaking in the church and in councils; that is, to their own senses and opinions; that is a very uncertain and dangerous way of finding out truth, and in a sort fanatical, and which was never approved by the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith, indeed, that many boast of the Holy Spirit: but if then they speak what is their own, they glory falsely of what they have not: 'For,' saith he, 'as Christ denied that he spake from himself when he spake out of the law and the prophets; so, now, if any thing besides the gospel is obtruded upon us under the name of the Holy Ghost, it is not to be believed; for, as Christ is the completion of the law and the prophets, so the Spirit is the completion of the gospel.'¹

THE FIFTH PART.

1. But though they have not the scriptures on their side, perhaps they will pretend that they have the ancient doctors and the holy fathers; for they have ever boasted that all antiquity, and the perpetual consent of all times, is for them; and that all our pretences are novel, and were never heard of till within the course of a very few years last past.

2. Now, certainly, there can nothing of more weight be said against religion, than that it is new. We know not how this has come to pass; but, from

¹ In the Defence of the Apology the malpractices and abominations of the pope and the church of Rome described in the foregoing chapter, are treated very fully.

the beginning of the world, thus it hath ever been ; for, whensoever God hath discovered and restored to mankind the light of his truth, though it is not only of the utmost antiquity, but older than time itself, and eternal, yet it ever seems to wicked men, who hate it, to be new, and of no antiquity. That impious and bloody man Haman, that he might bring the Jews into disfavour, thus accused them to Ahasuerus : “ Thou, O king, hast here in thy dominions a certain people, scattered abroad, which observe new laws ; but are stubborn and rebellious against thy laws.” St. Paul, also, when he began first to preach the gospel to the Athenians, was said to be a setter forth of strange gods ; that is, of a new religion ; and, accordingly, thus they bespeak him : “ May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is ? ” Acts xvii. 18. And Celsus, when he wrote expressly against Christ and his gospel, that he might expose it to the scorn of men, under the pretence of its novelty, writes thus : ‘ What ! has God, after so many ages, now at last bethought himself ? ’ Eusebius, also, is our author, that from the beginning, the Christian religion was, in derision, styled ‘ the new and strange religion ; ’ and so our adversaries condemn all our doctrines as new and strange ; but then they desire that all their own, without exception, should be reputed most ancient. Just as the magicians and conjurers, whose business is with the infernal spirits, that their abominable art may be thought the more sublime and divine, as being derived from great patrons and inventors, and of a very ancient original, do commonly say, that they have their books, and all their rites and secret mysteries, from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, and Adam, and from the archangel Raphael. So our enemies, that their religion too, which they have not long since patched up for themselves, may with the more ease be recommended to ignorant men, and

those that rarely consider what they themselves or others do, pretend that it came down to them, just such as now it is, from St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, from the apostles and Christ; for they very well know that there is nothing more popular, and of greater esteem with men, than those venerable names.¹ But now, what if those things which they pretend are so new, do indeed prove to be most ancient? And what if, on the other side, almost all those things which they extol so very much upon the pretence of antiquity, when they are well and diligently examined, are in the end found to be new and of a very late original?

3. In truth, the laws and ceremonies of the Jews, although accused by Haman as new, could never be thought so by any man, who did well and rightly consider, for they were written on most ancient tables; and Christ, though many thought he departed from Abraham and the ancient fathers, and brought in a new religion in his own name, yet answered truly, John v. 46. "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also;" for my doctrine is not so new, for Moses, a very ancient author, and of great esteem with you, hath spoken of me. And St. Paul saith of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which many thought to be new, that it has the most ancient testimony of the law and the prophets. And our doctrine, which we may much better call the catholic doctrine of Christ, is not so new, but that it is commended to us by the Ancient of Days, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in most ancient monuments, the prophets and gospels, and the writings of the apostles; and these cannot now seem new to any man, but to him to whom the faith of the prophets,

¹ Some of the papists have asserted that Christ and his apostles founded the monastic life. Others make Elijah the founder of the Benedictines. With equal truth, the cardinal's hat is ascribed to Jerome, the monk's cowl to Augustine, and holy water to Eliezer!

the gospel, and Christ himself, seems new. But, then, as to their religion, if it be so ancient as they pretend, why do they not prove it so from the examples of the primitive church, from the old fathers, and the ancient councils? Why does so ancient a cause lie desolate, and without a patron, so very long? Indeed, they never want fire and swords; but then, as to the ancient fathers and councils, there is with them a deep silence. But it is the height of absurdity and folly to begin with those bloody and brutish reasons, if they could possibly have found out easier and milder arguments.

4. And, again, if they do indeed entirely trust to antiquities, and do not dissemble any thing, why did one John Clement, an Englishman, rend and burn some leaves of Theodoret, a most ancient father, and a Greek bishop, in the presence of several persons of good worth and credit, believing that another copy of that book was no where to be found, because this father had perspicuously and clearly taught, that the nature of the bread was not abolished in the eucharist? Why doth Albertus Pighius deny that the ancient father St. Augustine had a true notion of original sin? or of matrimony, in that he saith, that a marriage made after a vow entered, is a good marriage, and cannot be dissolved? upon which occasion Pighius saith, Augustine erred, and made use of false logic. And why did they, in a late impression of Origen upon the gospel of St. John, omit the whole sixth chapter, in which it is probable, or rather certain, that father has delivered many things contrary to their opinions concerning the eucharist; choosing rather to deface and mutilate this ancient father, than

¹ This report was made in the presence and hearing of M. Peter Martyr, and other learned men, of whom certain are yet alive. The reporter was a learned man and a grave father, and not long ago a bishop in England; he said he was present, and saw the thing done.
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to suffer any thing to appear in the world which might contradict their doctrine, by printing the book perfect? Is their rending, suppressing, maiming, and burning the writings of the ancient fathers, an argument of their reliance on antiquity? ¹

5. It is worth the while to see how rarely these gentlemen agree in matters of religion with those ancient fathers, of whose concurrence they boast so unmeasurably.

(1.) The ancient Elibertin council decreed, that what was the object of worship, should not be painted in churches.² The old father Epiphanius saith, 'It is a horrible wickedness, and an insufferable villainy, for any man to set up the picture even of Christ in Christian churches.'—But they have filled all their churches, and every corner of them, with pictures and statues, as if there were no religion without them.

(2.) The ancient fathers Origen and St. Chrysostom have exhorted the people to the diligent reading of the *scriptures*; they would buy books, and discourse among themselves of holy things in their families, the wives with their husbands, and the parents with their children. But our adversaries condemn the *scriptures* as dead elements, and drive the people from them as much as they possibly can.

(3.) The ancient fathers, Cyprian, Epiphanius, and St. Jerome, said, that if any person who had vowed to live a single life, did afterwards fall into impurity, and could not overcome the rages of his concupiscence, it was better for him to marry, and live chaste-

¹ Many interpolations and omissions were made by the Romanists, in the writings of the fathers, as is admitted by their own authors. See appendix to the book of Bertram, ed. 1686.—When the Apology was written, the design of a general Index Expurgatorius upon all the printed fathers was not known, which is an undeniable argument under their own hands, that the ancient fathers are not in their interest; the first of these indexes was found at the sack of Cales (Cadix) in Spain, Anno Domini, 1596, many years after this Apology was published. *Note, ed. 1686.*

² This council was held A. D. 306, at Eliberis, or Elvira, in Spain.

ly, in a state of matrimony; and such a marriage is, by St. Augustine, another ancient father, adjudged to be valid and good, and that it ought not to be recalled or rescinded. But they, if a man has once bound himself by a vow—although he afterwards burns,—although he lives ever so dissolutely, yet they will never suffer him to marry; or, if he does perhaps marry, they deny that it is a lawful marriage; and they teach, that it is much more holy to keep a concubine, or a harlot, than to live in a state of matrimony.

(4.) St. Augustine, an ancient father, complained of the excessive number of impertinent ceremonies with which the minds and consciences of men were, even then, oppressed. They, as if God regarded nothing else, have since swelled the number of them to so immense a quantity, that there is scarce any thing else left in their churches.

(5.) The same ancient father denies it to be lawful for a monk to live lazily in idleness, and, under the show and pretence of sanctity, to live on what is another's; and the ancient father Apollonius saith, such a monk is no better than a thief. But they have whole flocks, or herds shall I call them, of monks, who do nothing, nor do they so much as pretend to any show of holiness, and yet do not only live by the labour of others, but fare deliciously and luxuriously.

(6.) An ancient Roman council decreed, that no man should be present at that divine service which was celebrated by a priest whom he knew to keep a concubine. But they permit the priests to keep concubines for money, and by force, compel men to be present at their sacrilegious services.

(7.) The ancient apostolical canons command that bishop to be deposed, who shall exercise at the same time the office of a bishop and the functions of a civil magistrate;—but these men do, and will exercise both, or rather, indeed, totally neglect that which

is most of all their duty, and yet there is no man to remove and punish them.

(8.) The ancient council of Gangra forbade any man to put such difference between a married and a single priest, as to esteem the one more holy than the other, upon that account.—But they put such a difference, that they think all the holy services which are performed by a pious and good man who has a wife, are profaned.

(9.) The ancient emperor Justinian commanded all things in the divine service to be pronounced with an audible, loud, clear, articulate voice, that the people might thereby reap some benefit by it.—But they, that the people may never understand them, whisper their divine service not only in an obscure and low tone, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue.

(10.) The old Carthaginian council¹ forbade any thing besides the canonical scriptures to be read in the holy assemblies of the church.—But they read in their churches, what they themselves do not doubt to be mere lies and silly fables.² And now, if any man think these things are of no great consideration, because they were decreed by emperors, and small councils, consisting of bishops of less esteem, and not in full councils, and therefore they are more fond of the authority and names of the popes—

(11.) Julius expressly forbade the priest, in the celebration of the holy communion, to dip the bread in the chalice.—But they, contrary to this decree, divide the bread, and dip it.

(12.) Clemens the pope saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to bear both the spiritual and civil swords; and he saith, if thou wilt have both, thou deceiv-

¹ In the fourth century.

² Ludovius Vives, writing of your *Legenda Aurea*, which was the mother of all your ecclesiastical stories or fables, saith thus, 'I see no cause why it should be called the Golden Legend, seeing it was written by a man of an iron face, and a leaden heart, and is full of most shameless lies.'—*Defence of Apology.*

est thyself and those that hear thee. But now the pope claims both, and bears both; and therefore the wonder ought to seem the less, if that has followed which Clement foretold; and he has accordingly deceived himself and those which have heard him.

(13.) Pope Leo saith, it is not lawful to celebrate more than one mass in one day, in one church;—they say every day, sometimes ten, at others twenty, and at others thirty, and sometimes more, in the same church, at the same time; so that the spectator knows not which way to turn himself.

(14.) Gelasius the pope saith, that if any man divide the sacrament, and, when he has received one part refuses the other, he acts wickedly and sacrilegiously:—but they, contrary to the word of God, and the decree of this pope, command only one part of the eucharist to be given to the people, and, by so doing, have made their priests guilty of sacrilege.

6. But now, if they shall pretend that all these things are antiquated and worn out of use, and so are, in a sort, dead, and do not concern our times; yet that men may see what faith is to be given to these men, and with what hope they call councils, let us consider, in a few instances, how well they observe those things which have been ordained of late years, and which are fresh in memory, by councils which they pretend were lawfully called, and in which they themselves decreed those things I shall mention, to be religiously observed. In the last council of Trent, not much above fourteen years since, it was decreed, by the common vote of all orders there present, that two benefices should not be committed at one time to the same person. Where is that sanction now? Is that so soon antiquated and dead too? for they do frequently give not only two benefices, but sometimes, also, several monasteries too, and sometimes two, three, or four bishoprics, to one man, and he, too, sometimes not only

unlearned, and consequently thereby unfit for them, but also a soldier. In the same council it was decreed, that all bishops ought to preach the gospel; but they never preach, nor ever come in a pulpit, nor do they think it in the least any part of their duty. What, then, is the meaning of all that show of antiquity? Why do they glory so in the names of the fathers, and of the ancient and modern councils? why would they so fain seem to rely upon their authority, whom, as occasion serves, at pleasure, they despise?

7. But I have a great desire to have a little discourse with the pope himself, and to tell him some things to his face. Be pleased then, O holy father! who so often boastest of antiquity, and pretendest that all the ancients are entirely addicted to thy service, to inform us, which of all the ancient fathers ever called 'your holiness' the chief 'pontiff,' or 'the universal bishop,' or 'the head of the church?' Which of them ever said that both the swords were given to you? Which of them ever said that you have the right and authority to call councils? or that the whole world was your diocese? Which of them ever said that all bishops had received of your fulness? That all power, both in heaven and earth, was given to you? and that you could not be judged by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by all the people? Which of them ever said that kings and emperors, by the command and will of Christ, derived authority from you? Which of them ever affirmed, with a mathematical exactness and certainty, that your authority was precisely seventy-seven times greater than that of the greatest kings? Which of

¹ Verily when ye so proudly compare the pope to the sun, and the emperor to the moon, your meaning is that the emperor hath no authority, but only that he receiveth it from the pope. Notwithstanding, Isidore, your own doctor, saith, By the sun is meant kingly dignity, and by the moon the priesthood. Now therefore by this reckoning ye may cast your accounts, and say, The emperor is seventy and seven times greater than the pope.—*Defence of the Apology.*

them ever said that you had a greater power than the other patriarchs? Which of them ever said that you were 'the Lord God,' or not a mere man, like other mortals, or styled you a certain coagment¹ and hotch-potch, a mixture or concrete of God and man? Which of them ever said, that you were the fountain of all law, that you had an empire and dominion over purgatory, and that you might, at your pleasure, command the angels of God? Which of them ever said, that you were king of kings, and lord of lords? And now we are in, we may inquire of a few other things of the same nature. What one man, of all the ancient bishops and fathers ever taught you to say a private mass, whilst the people did nothing but look on; or to lift the eucharist above your head, in which you now place all your religion; or to curtail the sacrament of Christ, and, contrary to his institution and express command, to deprive the people of one half of it? And that we may conclude: what one, of all the ancient fathers, taught you to dispense the blood of Christ and the merits of the martyrs, and to sell your indulgences, and all the apartments and lodgings of purgatory, like commodities in the market, for money? They are wont often to celebrate their own wonderful secret learning, and their manifold and various readings. Now, let your partisans at last produce something of it, if they can, or let them at least show they have read, and do know more than ordinary; for they have often made hideous outcries amongst their hearers, that all the parts of their religion are ancient and approved, not only by the multitude, but also by the continuance and consent of all nations and times.

8. Well then, let them at least show this their boasted antiquity; let them make it appear, that what they so much extol, is indeed of so vast an extent; let them prove that all Christian nations have embraced

¹ Compound.

their religion. But, alas! as I said before, they flee from their own decrees, and have already plucked up those canons, which, but a very years since, they made to last for ever. Why, then, should we trust them in relation to what they pretend concerning the fathers, the ancient councils, and the scriptures? They have not, assuredly they have not, on their side what they pretend to have; they have neither antiquity, nor universality, nor the consent either of all times or of all nations; and of this they are not ignorant themselves, although they craftily dissemble their knowledge; yea, at times, they will not obscurely confess it, and therefore sometimes they will allege, that the sanctions of the ancient councils and fathers are such as may lawfully be changed; for different decrees, say they, will best suit the different state of the church in different times. And so they hide themselves under the name of 'the church,' and by a wretched sham delude mankind. And, in truth, it is a great wonder, that men should be so blind as not to see these things, or, if they do see them, so patient, as to bear and endure them with that stupidity and unconcern they seem to have.

9. But though they have abrogated the canons of the ancient councils, as too old and overworn, yet, perhaps, they have settled new and more useful rules in their place; for they have the confidence to say, that if Christ himself, or his apostles, should arise from the dead, they could not administer the affairs of the church of God better or more piously than it is now administered by them. Indeed they have put others in the place of the former; but, as Jeremiah saith, "Chaff instead of wheat;" or, as Isaiah saith, "What God never required at their hands;" for they have stopped up all the veins of living waters, and have hewn for the people of God broken and polluted cisterns, being full of mud and dregs, which neither have in them any pure water, nor can

hold it if it were in them. They have torn from the people the holy communion ; the word of God, from which all true comfort could only be expected ; the true worship of God ; the right use of the sacraments and prayers of the church ; and they have given us, to please ourselves withal, in the mean time, of their own pure invention, consecrated salts, waters, oils, spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, indulgences, crosses, censings, and an infinite number of ceremonies ; and as Plautus calls others of the like nature, ludos ludificables, shows and pageants, that are very diverting, and good for nothing else. In these things they have made all religion to consist ; and they have taught the people that by these things God is rightly appeased, and that by these things devils are put to flight, and the consciences of men quieted and confirmed. For these are the paints and perfumes of Christianity ; these are the grateful and acceptable things to the all-seeing God ; these are to be had in honour, that Christ's and his apostles' institutions may be taken away. And as heretofore, the wicked king Jeroboam, when he had taken away the true service of God, and persuaded the people instead of it to accept the golden calves, for fear they might change their minds, and fall from him, and return to the temple of God at Jerusalem—made a long oration to them, exhorting them to constancy, saying to them, ' These are thy gods, O Israel ; thus did your God command you to worship him. But it would be very grievous and troublesome for you to take so long a journey, and to go up every year to worship and adore God at Jerusalem : '—even so our adversaries, when they had once, by their traditions, quashed the laws of God ; lest the people should afterwards open their eyes, and fall off from them, and seek a better way of assuring their salvation ; oh ! how often have they exclaimed, that this is the true worship of God, which he is pleased with, and hath required of us,

and by which he will be appeased when he is angry! and that it is grievous and troublesome to the people to have recourse to Christ and the apostles and fathers, and to attend perpetually what they require of them.

Is this their way of bringing the people of God off from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the scribes and pharisees, and from human traditions? Are the commandments of Christ and his apostles to be taken away, that these goodly things may succeed them? Oh most righteous cause! why should an old doctrine, which hath been approved for many ages, be antiquated, and a new form of religion brought into the church of God? Ay, but say they, be it what it will, nothing ought to be changed; the minds of men are wondrously well satisfied with these things; the church of Rome has so decreed, and she cannot err; for Sylvester Prierias saith, 'The church of Rome is the rule and model of truth, and the holy scriptures have received from her all their faith and authority.' 'The doctrine of the church of Rome is the infallible rule of faith, from whence the holy scriptures have all their strength. For indulgences were not made known to us by the authority of scriptures, but they were made known by the authority of the church and popes of Rome, which is greater than the scriptures!' Pighius does not fear to say, That without the command of the church of Rome we are not to believe the most clear place of scripture; which is just as good as if one of those who cannot speak good and pure Latin, and yet by use and custom has got the faculty readily and fluently to blunder on in the lawyers' Latin, should therefore stand stoutly to it, that all others are bound to speak it after the same manner that was many years since in use with Mammetrectus and the Catholicon, which they still use in their pleadings; because by that means men might very easily be understood, and their humours might be gratified; but, on the

other side, that it were ridiculous to trouble the world now with a new way of speaking, and to reduce to practice the old purity and eloquence of the Latin tongue used in the times of Cicero and Cæsar.

10. So much are they indebted to the ignorance and blindness of the former times, that, as one saith, Many things are often had in great esteem, because they were once dedicated to the service of the gods. So now we see many things are magnified and applauded by them, not because they judge them worthy of this esteem; but only because by custom they were once received, and thereby in a sort dedicated to the service of God. But they pretend that their church cannot err. I suppose they speak this in the same sense as the Lacedemonians were wont to say, there was no such thing as adultery in their commonwealth; when in truth they were all adulterers, and used an uncertain sort of marriages, and had their wives in common; or, as the hungry canonists now say of the pope, that he being lord of all benefices, although he sells bishoprics, monasteries, and livings, and suffers nothing to go from him without money, yet because he claims all those as his own, though he would, yet he cannot commit simony. But then how well or rationally this is spoken, we poor men cannot see or understand, except that as the ancient Romans served victory, so they have served truth; for when she once came flying to them, they clipped her wings, that she might no more fly from them.

But what if Jeremiah should tell them, as we have observed above, that these are lying words? And what again, if he should say, that many pastors, who ought to have dressed, have destroyed my vineyard? chap. xii. 10. What if Christ should say, that those who should have taken the greatest care of the temple, have made the house of God a den of thieves? Matt. xxi. 13. For if the church of Rome cannot err, she is more beholden to her own good fortune,

than to their prudence or care; for such are their lives, doctrine, and diligence, that if we are to take our measures from thence, this church is not only in danger of falling into error, but of a total ruin and destruction. And certainly if that church can err, which hath departed from the word of God, the commandments of Christ, the institutions of the apostles, the examples of the primitive church, and from the canons and sanctions of the ancient fathers and councils; yea, and from her own too—which will be obliged by neither old nor new laws, by neither her own nor any others, by neither divine nor human laws; I say, if all this be to err, then it is certain that the church of Rome not only may err, but that she hath most wickedly and shamefully erred.

11. But they say, we were once of their communion, but now we are apostates, and have departed from them. Indeed we have departed from them, and we bless the great and holy God for it, and please ourselves mightily in it; but then we have not departed from the primitive church, from the apostles, from Christ; we were educated indeed with them in darkness and ignorance of God, as Moses was in the discipline and bosom of the Egyptians. 'We were of your number,' saith Tertullian, 'and I confess it; but what wonder is there in that? Men are made, and not born christians.' But then I may as well ask them, why they have decended from the seven hills on which the ancient city of Rome stood, to dwell in the plains in the Martiau field, to which, perhaps, they would reply, that the aqueducts, without which they could not conveniently dwell on those hills, have failed. Let them then but grant the same liberty in relation to the waters of life; which they expect we should afford them in regard of the common family water. The springs did now fail with them; "The elders," saith Jeremiah, xiv. 3. "sent their little ones to the waters; they came to the pits

and found no water ; they returned with their vessels empty ; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads." Or, as Isaiah saith, xli. 17. "The poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst." They had broken all their conduits and water-courses ; they had stopped up all the springs, and covered the fountains of living waters with mire and mud ; and as Caligula, by shutting up all the public granaries, enjoined the people of Rome to fast ; so they, by stopping up the fountains of the word of God, had enjoined the people to undergo the miseries of a destructive thirst ; "They have," as the prophet Amos saith, viii. 11. "brought upon the world a famine ;" Not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord." Miserable men went about searching for a small spark of divine light to cheer their consciences ; but they were all gone out, and they could find none : this was the miserable condition and state of their church ; men lived wretchedly in it, without the gospel, and without light or consolation.

12. And, therefore, how afflictive soever our departure from them may seem to them, yet they ought at the same time to consider how just the cause of it was. For if they say in general, it is not lawful to leave that society in which thou wert educated, this were in our persons to condemn the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself ; for why ? Is it not as reasonable to blame Lot for leaving Sodom ; Abraham for leaving Chaldea ; the Hebrews, for leaving Egypt ; Christ, for leaving the Jews ; and St. Paul, for leaving the pharisees ? For, except it be granted that there may be a just cause of departure, we can see no cause why these may not, in the same manner as we are, be accused of faction and sedition, But, if we are to be thought heretics because we will not obey all their unjust commands, what are they ?

Who or what are they to be thought who have contemned the commands of Christ and his apostles? If we are schismatics, who have forsaken them, by what name shall we call those who have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received the christian faith; the primitive church, Christ, and the apostles, who were their spiritual parents? For the Greek church, who at this day profess the religion and name of Christ, although they have in many things contaminated it, yet they still retain a great part of those things which they received from the apostles. And so they have no private masses, no maimed sacraments, no purgatory, nor indulgences: and as to the papal titles, and magnificent names, they have this esteem of them, that whoever calls himself 'the universal bishop,' and the 'head of the whole church,' is a proud man, and injurious to all the other bishops, who are his brethren; nor will they scruple on this single account to call him heretic.

13. But now, seeing it is apparent, and cannot be denied, that they have made a defection from those from whom they received the gospel, the Christian faith, and religion; yea, and the very being of a church—what cause is there to be given, why they should not return back to them as to their original? Why should they so much dread the times of the fathers and apostles, as if they had seen nothing? Why, do they see more, or love the church better, than they who delivered what they have to them? For as for us, we have forsaken a church in which we could neither hear the pure word of God, nor administer the sacraments, nor invoke the name of God, as we ought; which they themselves acknowledge to be faulty in many things, and in which there was nothing to retain a prudent man, who thought seriously of his salvation. Lastly, we have departed from a church which is not now what she was aforetime; and so we have departed as Daniel

did out of the den of lions; as the three children did out of the fiery furnace; or, to speak more properly, we have not so much departed from them, as been cast out by them with execrations and curses.

14. But then we have united ourselves to that church, in which if they would speak their minds truly and freely, they themselves cannot deny but that all things are purely and reverently administered, and, as far as we can possibly, according to the example and manner of the ancient times. 1. Let them compare their church and ours together, and they will soon see that they have most basely departed from the apostles, and we have most justly and reasonably departed from them. For we, with Christ, and the apostles and primitive fathers, give the entire and whole eucharist to the people; but they, contrary to the practice of all the fathers and apostles, and of Christ himself, divide that sacrament, with a high sacrilege, as Gelasius expresses it, and deprive the people of one half of it. 2. We have recalled the Lord's supper to its first institution and have made it common to as many as was possible, that it might be, as it is called, a communion. But they, contrary to the institution of Christ, of a holy communion have made it a private mass; and so we give the people the Lord's supper, but they entertain them with a vain show. 3. We affirm, with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is eaten by none but holy and faithful men, who are endowed with the Spirit of Christ. But they say, that the very body of Christ may be truly, and, indeed—or, as they express it—'really and substantially eaten, not only by impious and unbelieving men, but, which is abominable to be spoken, by mice and dogs. 4. We pray so in our churches, that according to St. Paul's admonition, 1 Cor. xiv. the people may know what is prayed, and understandingly answer Amen

to the common prayers. . They, like tinkling brass, pour out in the church unknown and strange words, without understanding, sense, or meaning ; and take all the care they can, that the people may understand nothing. 5. And that we may not mention all the differences, because they are almost infinite, we have turned the holy scriptures into all languages, and they will scarcely allow them to be extant in any tongue. We invite the people to read and hear the word of God ; they drive them away from it. We desire the cause in controversy should be understood by all ; but they fly from judgment. We trust to knowledge ; they to ignorance. We trust to the light ; and they to the darkness. We venerate, as it is fit we should, the words of the apostles and prophets ; they burn them. Lastly, in the cause of God, we desire to stand or fall by the judgment of God alone, and they would stand only by their own. Now, therefore, if they would consider all these things with a sedate and quiet mind, well disposed to hear and learn, they would not only approve our design, who, having left their errors, have applied ourselves to follow Christ and his apostles ; but they would likewise fall off from themselves, and certainly unite with us in our way.

THE SIXTH PART.

1. BUT in the next place they pretend, that it is altogether unlawful to attempt any of these things, without the consent of a general council ; because in that is lodged all the power of the church ; and Christ hath promised, that there he will never fail to be present. But, as I said, they have violated the commandments of God, the decrees of the apostles, and almost all the institutions and doctrines of the

primitive church, without ever expecting any such sacred council.

2. And whereas they pretend that it is not lawful for any church to change any thing without a general council,—who imposed these laws upon us, or from whence had they this edict? That king (Agesilaus) acted very ridiculously, who, when he was assured by an oracle of the will and pleasure of Jupiter, the great heathen god, referred the thing again to Apollo, that he might see whether he were of the same mind with his father Jupiter. But we should act much more imprudently, if when we have heard God himself speaking to us in the scriptures, and thereby know his will and pleasure, as if all this were nothing, we should after all refer the thing to a council; which is nothing better than to try whether God and men are both of one mind, and whether men will please to approve and enforce the laws of God by their authority. For, what! Shall not truth be truth except a council is pleased to will and require it? or shall not God be God without their consent? If Christ at the beginning would have acted thus, and would neither have taught nor spoken any thing without the authority of the high priests, and if he had referred his whole doctrine to Annas and Caiaphas, where had the Christian faith been now? or who had ever heard of the gospel? St. Peter, whom the pope mentions more frequently, and with greater eulogies, than he doth Jesus Christ himself, confidently withstood the sacred council, and replied, “It is better to obey God than man,” Acts iv. 19. And St. Paul, when he had once thoroughly imbibed the gospel, and that neither from man, nor by man, but only by the will of God, deliberated not with flesh and blood, Gal. i. 12, 16, nor did he refer the thing to his kinsmen and brethren, but straightway went into Arabia, that he might there publish the divine mysteries which he had learned of God himself.

3. We do not despise councils, nor the meetings and consultations of bishops and learned men; nor have we done what we have done, without bishops and a council—the thing was debated a long time in a full assembly of the states. But what we may expect from that council which is now pretended to be held by pope Pius IV.¹ in which men are with such facility condemned,—uncalled, unheard, and unseen,—is not very difficult to conjecture. When Nazianzen in his times saw men in these meetings so blind and obstinate that they were wholly led by their affections, and that they sought victory more than truth, he confidently said, that he never saw a good end put to any of the councils. What would he now say if he were living, and understood their transactions? for then, although there was some faction and partiality, yet causes were heard and considered, and manifestly apparent errors were taken away by their united suffrages. But our adversaries will not so much as suffer the cause to be freely debated, nor will they suffer any one of the many errors that are crept into the church to be changed; for they are wont frequently and impudently to boast that their church cannot err; that there is not the least fault in it; that nothing was to be yielded to us; or that, if any thing were granted, it was to be at the discretion of the bishops and abbots; that they were the sole moderators of affairs, and that they were the church of God. Aristotle saith, that bastards cannot make a civil society or state, and they may consider whether they are any better qualified for the making of a church of God; for certainly they are neither lawful abbots, nor genuine bishops. But suppose they are in the church, suppose they are to be heard in councils, and that they have the sole

¹ The later sessions of the council of Trent, which terminated in 1563. See Jewell's letter to Scipio.

right of voting, yet in ancient time, when the church of God was well governed, especially if it be compared with their church, as St. Cyprian acquaints us, the presbyters and deacons, and some part also of the laity, were then called to assist at the hearing of ecclesiastical causes.

4. But what now if those abbots and bishops know nothing? What if they know not what religion is, nor what they ought to believe of God? What if the law hath perished from the priests, and counsel from the elders? What if, as Micah saith, iii. 6. "the night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of a divination?" What if, as Isaiah saith, lvi. 10. "the watchmen of the city are all blind, they are all ignorant?" And what if "the salt," as Christ saith, Matt. v. 13. "hath lost its force and savour," and is become good for nothing, not fit even to be cast upon the dunghill? For they defer all to the pope who cannot err; but this would be absurd. It would be to suppose that the Holy Ghost should be sent by a carrier from the holy council to Rome, that if any doubt or stop happens which he cannot expedite, he may take better instruction and counsel from I know not what more learned spirit! For if it must come to this at last, what need is there that so many bishops should with

¹ The church of Rome would have it believed that the determinations of the general council at Trent were immediately influenced by the Holy Spirit; it however was notorious that no decision was made, excepting by the immediate directions of the pope. Several profane jests upon this assumption of the influences of the Holy Spirit upon its decrees were then current.

It was a common proverb in the time of the council of Trent, that the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to the council in a cloak-bag, which was spoken in derision of the council's depending too much upon the directions sent them very frequently from thence by carriers, as father Paul acquaints us in his history of that council; and to this proverb our author in this place alludes.

Jewell adds in the Defence, '*We jest not at God's Holy Spirit. We know that it is the same Spirit of Wisdom that hath renewed the face of the world and discovered the multitude of your follies.*'

such great expense be called from very distant places at this time to Trent? It had certainly been more prudent, and much better, a shorter and an easier way, to have at first turned over all this business to the pope, and have gone directly to the oracle of his sacred breast; besides, it is unjust to devolve our cause from so many bishops and abbots to the judgment of any one man, and, above all others, to the judgment of the pope, who is accused by us of many very great crimes; and though he hath not answered for his own misdemeanours, yet hath presumed to condemn us before we were called, and that without any trial.

Now, do we invent all this? Or is it not now the manners of our late councils? Are not all things referred to the pope by the council; so that as if nothing were done by so many sentences and subscriptions, he alone may add, diminish, abrogate, approve, relax, and restrain whatsoever he please? Whose words are these? why did the bishops and abbots, in the end of the late council at Trent, put in these words as a part of their decree: 'Saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see?' or why did pope Pascal write thus insolently of himself, 'As if any councils could prescribe a law to the church of Rome, when all councils are held by the authority of the church of Rome, and derive their force from it too; and whereas they do patiently in their decrees except the authority of the pope of Rome?' If they will confirm and approve these things, why are councils called? but if they are indeed repealed and abrogated, why are they still left in their books as if they were in force?

5. Well, but suppose, in the next place, that the pope, though one, is above all councils; that is, that he is a part greater than the whole, has more power, yea, and more wisdom too, than all his party besides; and that, in spite of Jerome's judgment, the autho-

riety of this one city is greater than that of the whole world. What if he has seen none of these things, and has neither read the holy scriptures, nor the ancient fathers, nor so much as any of his own councils? What if, like pope Liberius of old, he becomes an Arian? or, like pope John, who lived not many years since, thinks very ignorantly and wickedly of the immortality of the soul, and of the life to come? or, as pope Zozimus heretofore corrupted the council of Nice,¹ so he, for the enlarging of his own power, should corrupt the other councils, and aver, that those things were deliberated and constituted by the holy fathers in them which were never so much as thought of? and that, as Camontensis saith the popes do frequently, he should offer violence to the holy scriptures, that he might thereby possess himself of a plenitude of power? What if he renounce the Christian faith, and become an apostate, as Lyra saith many popes have done? What! will the Holy Spirit, for all these things, knock at the cabin of his breast, and obtrude such a light upon him contrary to his inclinations, and against his will, that he shall not err though he would? Or shall such a pope as this be the fountain of all laws, and all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge be notwithstanding found in him, as in a cabinet? Or, if these things be not in him, can he nevertheless judge well and conveniently of things of this great weight? Or, if he be not qualified to judge of them, does he yet desire that all these things should be referred to him alone? What now, if the pope's advocates, the abbots and bishops, dissemble nothing, but declare themselves openly to be the enemies of the gospel, and will not see what they do see, but wrest the scriptures, and knowingly and willingly deprave and adulterate the word of God, and

¹ See Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer.

foully and impiously transfer to the pope, what is perspicuously and properly spoken of the person of Christ only, and cannot be applied to any other mortal? What if they say, that the pope is all and above all; or that he can do all those things which Christ can do; or that the tribunal and consistory of the pope is the same with Christ's; or that the pope is that light which came into the world, which Christ spake of himself only, and that he that doth evil hateth that light, and fleeth from it; or that all other bishops have received of his fulness?¹ Or, lastly, what if they do without dissimulation or obscurity, clearly and manifestly determine contrary to the word of God? Shall whatever they say, nevertheless, presently become gospel? shall such as these be the army of God? will Christ be present with such men? will the Spirit of God move upon their tongues, or may they say truly, It seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to us? Acts xv. 28.

6. Petrus a Soto, and his voucher Hosius, make no scruple to affirm, that the very council which condemned our Saviour to death, had then the spirit of prophecy and truth, and the Holy Ghost, with them. And that what those high priests said, was not false and vain, when they said, We have a law, and by that law he ought to die; that in this, according to Hosius, they gave a true judgment, and that their decree was perfectly just, by which Christ was adjudged worthy of death! It is a wonder, in the mean time, these men cannot defend themselves, and propagate their own cause, except at the same time they undertake the patronage of Annas and Caiaphas. For what council will these men ever acknowledge to be vicious and erroneous, who say that was a lawful and good council in which the Son of God was

¹ These, and many other texts of scripture referring to Christ, have been applied to the pope! Some of them were openly cited in the speeches of prelates at the council of Trent.

most ignominiously condemned to the death of the cross? And yet considering what almost all these councils have been, it was necessary for them thus to pronounce of the council held by Annas and Caiaphas. But are they ever likely to be the men which are to reform the church, who are at once the judges and the criminals? Will they ever lessen their pride and ambition? Will they depose themselves, and give judgment against themselves, that the bishops shall not be unlearned, slow bellies, multiply benefices, carry themselves like princes, nor bear arms? Will the pope's beloved sons, the abbots, decree, that the monk who doth not earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, is a thief? or that it is not lawful for them to live in the city, or in a crowd of men, or of that which belongs to another; that a monk ought to lie upon the bare ground; to live hardly with herbs and peas, to study hard, dispute, pray, and labour to prepare himself for the service of the church? It is as reasonable to expect that the scribes and pharisees will reform the temple, and of a den of thieves will again make it become a house of prayer!

7. There were some amongst them who observed that many errors were crept into the church; pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, cardinal Pole, Pighius, and others, as we have said. After which, they had a council at Trent, in the same place where there is one now indicted.¹ Many bishops and abbots, and others who ought to be in a council, met; they were alone, and there was nobody to disturb them, whatever they did; for they had taken care to exclude all that were for the reformation, and there they sat with a great expectation six years. In the first six months they decreed many things concerning the holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which

¹ Summoned.

were pious, but no way necessary for those times ; and yet of all these clear, manifest, confessed errors which had gotten into the church, what one single error or corruption have they reformed ? from what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people ? what superstition have they taken away ? what part of their tyranny and pomp have they abated or diminished ? As if the world were so blind, that it could not see and observe that this is a conspiracy, rather than a council, and that all the bishops which the pope has there called together, are sworn and addicted to his interest, and resolved beforehand, not to do any thing but what shall please him and increase his power, and which they see he desires ; or that votes there are not numbered, rather than considered or weighed ; or that the wiser and better part of the council is not often overborne by the greater, but worse part of it ? And therefore we know perfectly well that many good men and catholic bishops, when such councils were indicted, and they saw clearly that parties and factions were served by them, and that they should lose their pains, and harden the minds of their adversaries by their opposition, without doing the least good, have wisely stayed at home, and refused to be present in them. Athanasius would not come to the council at Casarea, when he was called by the emperor, seeing he should there meet an enraged parcel of enemies ; and afterwards when he came to the council of Syrmium, and in his mind foresaw, from the fury and malice of his enemies, what the event would be, he packed up his carriages, and went away immediately. Chrysostom, though he was called four times by letters from Arcadius the emperor, to an Arian council, yet stayed at home. When Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, sat in a council in Palestine, the old father Paphnutius took him by the hand and led him out of it, and then told him, ' It is not lawful for us to consult about

these things with wicked men.' The bishops of the west would not be present at that council at Synnum, from which Athanasius departed. Cyril by letters appealed from the council of the Patropasians, as they were called; Paulinus, bishop of Treves, and many others, would not come to the council of Milan, when they saw the power and intrigues of Auxentius; for they saw it was to no purpose to go thither, where faction, and not reason, would be heard, and where causes would be certainly determined by affection and passion, and not by judgment. But then all these, though they were to deal with enraged and obstinate adversaries, yet if they had come, they should have been freely heard in the council.

8. But now no man need wonder, when none of us are permitted, not only not to sit, but not so much as to be seen in their council. So far are we from being freely heard, when the popes, legates, and all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, are in a conspiracy, and united by their common crimes, all sworn in the same oath, only sit, and have alone the power of voting—and, as if all this were not enough, have submitted all their judgments to the will and humour of the pope alone; that he who ought to answer for his own faults, shall give sentence in his own cause upon himself; when that ancient christian liberty when it is absolutely necessary should be very great in councils, is totally taken away. I say, after all this, wise and good men ought not to wonder, if we do now that which they have seen done in the like case, by so many fathers and catholic bishops; which is, that seeing we cannot be heard in the council, and that the ambassadors of princes are had in contempt and scorn there; and as if the thing were already determined and agreed, we are condemned before we are heard; if after all this we had rather sit at home and commit the business to

God, than go thither, where we shall have no place, nor effect any thing.

But though we can patiently and quietly bear our own injuries, yet why should they shut Christian and pious princes out of their councils? Why do they so rudely and insolently put them out, and not suffer them to hear the business of religion debated, or to understand the state of their own churches, as if they were not Christians, or could not judge well of it? or if these princes interpose their authority, and do that which they may, are commanded, and ought to do, and which we know David and Solomon, and other good princes have done; that is, if they restrain the luxury of the priests, and compel them to do their duty, and keep them to it; if they pluck down idols, extirpate superstitions, and restore the worship of God to its ancient purity, why do they presently make an outcry, that these princes disturb all things, break in upon other men's offices, and act ill things and immodestly? What scripture, I pray, hath excluded Christian princes from hearing these causes? Who, besides these men, ever decreed any such laws? But they will reply, that civil princes have learned to govern their states, and to manage arms, but they understand nothing of the mysteries of religion. And now, what is the pope at this day but a monarch or prince? and what are the cardinals, who are now scarcely suffered to be any other but the children of kings and princes? What are the patriarchs, and for the most part the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, other than princes, dukes, and earls in the papal kingdom? and accordingly whithersoever they go, they are attended with a great retinue, and adorned with chains and collars of gold, and other ensigns of honour. And they have sometimes a peculiar habit belonging to them, as crosses, pillars, hats, mitres, and galls; which pomp the ancient bishops Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, were not acquainted

with ; but then, excepting these outward ornaments, what do they teach, what do they speak, what do they do, and what do they live, so as becomes, I will not say a bishop, but a common Christian? Is it then of so mighty a consequence to go under this or that title ; and, by changing nothing but a man's clothes, to be called a bishop?

9. Certainly it is a proud, injurious, and unjust thing, and not to be borne by Christian and prudent princes, to permit the sum of all that concerns religion to be managed by such men as these alone, who know nothing of the mysteries of religion, nor care to know any thing more than what belongs to their bellies and kitchens, and do not value any thing of religion as worth a rush, who are no better than blind men placed in a watch-tower ; and that in the interim, a Christian and a catholic prince should stand like a trunk or a stock, and without vote, and without giving his judgment, only observe what they are pleased to command and impose upon him ; and as if he had neither ears, nor eyes, nor mind, nor heart of his own, to receive without exception, and with a blindfold submission to do, whatever they are pleased to command him, although they are blasphemous and wicked things ; yea, although they should command him to extinguish all religion, and to crucify his Saviour. For why? Can Caiaphas and Annas judge well of matters of religion, and cannot David and Hezekiah? Is it lawful for a cardinal, a martial and a bloody man, to sit in a council ; and is it unlawful for an emperor and a Christian prince? For we attribute nothing more to our princes than what is allowed them by the word of God, and approved by the examples of the best governments. For besides that, the care of both tables is committed by God to a faithful prince, that he may thereby understand, that not only civil affairs, but also sacred and ecclesiastical belong to his office. And besides this,

God hath often expressly commanded princes to cut down the groves, and overthrow the statues and altars of idols, to transcribe for himself a book of the law ; and Isaiah saith, chap. xlix. 23. " That kings should be nursing fathers to the church, and their queens her nursing mothers." Besides all these things, I say, we see by histories, and the examples of the best times, that pious princes never thought the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, a thing that was foreign to their duty.

10. Moses, who was the civil magistrate and leader of the people, received from God the whole body of their religion, and the order of their sacred rites, and delivered them to the people, and severely and sharply chastised Aaron, their bishop, for making the golden calf, and violating the religion by law established. And Joshua, though he were no other than a civil magistrate, yet when he was first inaugurated and set over the people, he received express command concerning religion and the worship of God. David, the king, when their religion had been miserably disordered by Saul, a wicked king, brought back the ark of God, that is, restored religion. And he was not only present as an admonisher or persuader of the work, but he published psalms and hymns, disposed the priests and Levites into classes and orders, and in a sort governed the priests as a priest. 1 Chron. xiii. Solomon, the king, built a temple to the Lord, which his father David had only designed in his thoughts ; and afterwards made an excellent oration to the people concerning religion and the worship of God. And after this, he removed Abiathar, the high-priest, and substituted Zadok in his place." 1 Kings viii. And when after this the temple was wretchedly ruined by the vice and negligence of the priests, Hezekiah the king commanded it to be cleansed of its rubbish and dirt, the lamps to be lighted, incense to be offered, and the sacred rites

to be performed according to the ancient order; and caused the brazen serpent that was then irreligiously worshipped by the people, to be taken away and reduced to dust. 2 Chron. xxix. Jehoshaphat the king overthrew and took away all the high places, and destroyed the groves; by which he perceived the worship of God was hindered, and the people by a private superstition diverted from attending the service of God in the temple, to which they were bound to go three times in the year, out of all parts of his kingdom. 2 Chron. xviii. Josiah, another king, diligently admonished the priests and bishops of their duty. Joash, the king, repressed the luxury and insolence of the priests. Jehu slew the wicked false prophets. 2 Kings x. And that I may trouble the reader with no more examples out of the scriptures, and rather pass to see and consider how the church has been governed since the birth of Christ and the publishing of the gospel: heretofore Christian emperors called councils of the bishops: Constantius called the Nicene council; Theodosius I. the Constantinopolitan; Theodosius II. the Ephesian; Martianus, the Chalcedonian; and when Rufinus had alleged a synod as making for him, his adversary, Jerome, that he might confute him, replied, Tell us what emperor commanded it to be assembled? And he also, in his funeral oration for Paula, a Roman lady, cites the letters of the emperors who had commanded the Greek and Roman bishops to meet at Rome for the holding of a council.

11. It is most certain, that for five hundred years the emperors alone took care of calling all the general councils and sacred meetings, and therefore we do now the more wonder at the unreasonableness of the bishop of Rome, who, though he knows that during the subsistence of the Roman empire in its greatness, this was the sole right of the emperor, and that now kings have succeeded to part of the

Cæsarean or imperial majesty, this right is devolved to all princes in common, yet has so unjustly usurped it to himself alone, and thinks it sufficient to communicate his design of holding a council to the greatest prince in christendom as to his servant. But if the modesty of Ferdinand the emperor be so great, perhaps because he does not thoroughly understand the papal arts, that he can digest this injury ; yet the pope, who pretends to so much sanctity, ought not to have offered him this affront, and thus to have arrogated to himself another man's right.

12. But some of his party may reply, that the emperor then called the councils, because the bishop of Rome was not then arrived to that height of greatness ; and yet he did not even then sit with the bishops, or at all interpose his authority in their deliberations and consultations : yet, as Theodoret acquaints us, Constantine the great did not only sit with the bishops, but admonished them to determine the controversy then depending out of the prophetic and apostolic writings. In this disputation, said the emperor, concerning divine things, there is set before us, which we ought to follow, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost ; for the books of the evangelists and apostles, and the oracles of the prophets, do sufficiently shew us what we ought to think of the will of God. Theodosius, another emperor, not only sat amongst the bishops, as Socrates saith, but also was moderator of the dispute, and rent the papers of the heretics, and approved the sentiments and doctrine of the catholics. And in the council of Chalcedon, the civil magistrates, who under the emperor governed that council, condemned three bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, by his sentence, for heretics, and gave judgment that they should be deposed from that degree. In the third, the Constantinopolitan council, the civil magistrate not only sat with the bishops, but also subscribed the canons with

them. We have read, said he, and subscribed them.

In the second council of Orange, the ambassadors of the princes, being noblemen themselves, sat, and not only voted concerning matters of religion, but also subscribed amongst the bishops; for thus it is written in the end of that council, Petrus Marcellinus and Felix Liberius, two noble and illustrious prætorian prefects of Gaul, and patricians, have consented and subscribed. Syragius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariatho, and Marcellus, honourable men and magistrates, have subscribed. But if the prætorian prefects, and patricians or noblemen, could then subscribe the councils, may not emperors and kings do it now? There were no need to prosecute so plain and apparent a point as this is, but that we have to do with a parcel of men who use to deny the clearest things, even those things which lie plain and open before their eyes, out of a contentious disposition and desire of victory. The emperor Justinian made a law for the correcting the manner and curbing the insolence of the clergy; and although he was a most christian and catholic emperor, yet he deposed Sylvorius and Vigilius, two popes, successors of St. Peter, and vicars of Jesus Christ, as they are now called!

13. And now seeing that princes have employed their authority upon bishops, received commands from God concerning religion, brought back the ark of God, composed sacred hymns and psalms, governed the priests, made public discourses concerning the worship of God, purged the temple, demolished high places, burnt idolatrous groves; and have admonished the priests concerning their office, and given them laws of living, have slain wicked prophets, deposed bishops, called councils of bishops, and sat with them, and taught them what they should do; have punished heretical bishops, have taken cogai-

zance of religion, subscribed councils, and given sentence in them, and done all this, not by the command of another, but in their own names, and that rightly and piously;—shall we say after all this, that the care of religion belongs not to them? or that a christian prince, who is pleased to concern himself in these things, acts ill, immodestly, and wickedly? In all these affairs, the most ancient and most christian kings and emperors have intermeddled, and yet were never accused of impiety or immodesty for so doing; and will any pretend to find either more catholic princes or more illustrious examples?

14. But now, if they might do all these things, though they were only civil princes, and governed their several states; wherein have our princes offended, who, though they are in the same authority, may, it seems, not do the same things? Or, wherein consists the wonderful force of their learning, wisdom, and holiness, that, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who have heretofore deliberated with princes concerning religion, they should now reject and exclude christian princes from the cognizance of the cause now depending, and from all participation and congress with them in their councils? But yet it cannot be denied they have taken a prudent care for themselves, and the upholding their kingdom, which they foresaw otherwise would soon have perished. For if they who are placed by God in the highest station, had once seen and understood these men's arts; that the commands of Christ are contemned by them, that the light of the gospel is obscured and extinguished by them, that they play tricks with and delude them, and shut up against them the entrance into the kingdom of God—they would never so patiently have suffered themselves to be so proudly despised, and injuriously scorned and abused. But now, on the

other hand, they have rendered all princes obnoxious and subject to them by their blindness and ignorance.

15. We, as I said before, have done nothing in the changing of religion, either insolently or rashly; nothing but with great deliberation and slowly; nor had we ever thought of doing it, except the will of God, undoubtedly and manifestly opened to us in the most sacred scriptures, and the necessity of our salvation, had compelled us so to do. For although we have departed from that church, which they call the catholic church, and thereupon they have kindled a great envy against us, in them who cannot well judge of us; yet it is enough for us, and ought to be so to any prudent and pious man, who considers seriously of his salvation, that we have only departed from that church which may err, which Christ, who cannot err, so long since foretold should err, and which we see clearly with our eyes has departed from the holy fathers, the apostles, Christ himself, and the primitive and catholic church. And we have approached, as much as we could, the church of the apostles and ancient catholic bishops and fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry or great and public error. We have directed, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments and the form of common prayer, according to their customs and ordinances. And so we have only done that which we know Christ himself and all pious and godly men have in all ages ever done; for we have called home religion, which was foully neglected and depraved by them, to her original and first state; for we considered that the reformation of religion was to be made by that which was the first pattern of it; for this rule will ever hold good against all heretics, saith the most ancient father Tertullian, That is true which is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later. Irenæus often appeals

to the most ancient churches, who were the nearest to Christ, and which therefore were not at all likely to have erred. And why is not that course now taken also? why do we not return to a conformity with the most ancient churches? Why cannot that be now heard amongst us, which was pronounced in the council of Nice, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many bishops and catholic fathers; 'Let the old customs stand firm?' When Ezra was to rebuild the temple, he did not send to Ephesus, though there was there a most beautiful temple of Diana, which was adorned most exquisitely; and when he was to restore the rites and ceremonies, he did not send to Rome, though perhaps he might have heard there of hecatombs,¹ &c. and the ritual books of Numa Pompilius. He thought it was sufficient for him if he set before him as an example, and followed the ancient temple built by Solomon, according to the prescription of God almighty, and the ancient rites and ceremonies which God had expressly commanded Moses. When the temple was rebuilt by Ezra, and the people might seem to have a just cause to rejoice in so very great a blessing granted to them by the great and holy God, yet Haggai the prophet brought tears from all their eyes, because they that were yet living, and had seen the structures of the former before it was destroyed by the Babylonians, did well remember how far this latter was from the splendour of the former temple. But, on the contrary, they would have thought it excellently restored, if it had answered the model, and represented the majesty of the old temple.

16. St. Paul, that he might reform the abuses of the Lord's supper, which the Corinthians began even then to corrupt, proposed to them to follow the institution of it by Christ. "That," saith he, "have I

¹ Hecatombs were offerings of a hundred victims Jewell also mentions other ceremonials and rites used by the ancient Romans.

delivered to you which I received of the Lord." And Christ, that he might refute the errors of the pharisees in another case, sends them up to the beginning. "In the beginning," saith he, "it was not so." And that he might show the sordidness and avarice of the priests, This, saith he, in the beginning, was a house of prayer, that men might pray to God in it religiously and purely; and so you ought still to have kept it, for it was not built to be a den of thieves. So all religious and approved princes in scripture, are especially honoured with this commendation, that they walked in the ways of David their father; that is, that they returned to the original and fountain, and restored religion to its first integrity. And so we, seeing all things perverted by them, and that there was nothing left in the church of God but miserable ruins, thought it was but reasonable to set before us those churches for our example, which we were sure had not erred, and had neither private masses, nor unintelligible and barbarous prayers, nor that corruption of the holy rites, or other fooleries. And desiring to restore the church of God to its first integrity and purity, we would not seek any other foundation to build upon, than what was laid by the apostles, that is, by our Saviour Jesus Christ.

17. When, therefore, we had heard God himself speaking to us in his word, and had seen and considered the illustrious examples of the ancient and primitive church, and that the expectation of a general council was very uncertain, and the event that would follow it much more uncertain; and especially when we had the utmost certainty what was the will of God, and therefore thought it a sin to be too solicitous and anxious what the opinion of men might be—after all this, I say, we could no longer deliberate with flesh and blood; but proceeded, and have accordingly done that which may both lawfully be done, and which hath already been often done by

many pious men and catholic bishops ; that is, to take care of our own church in a provincial synod. For so we see the ancient fathers ever took that course, before they came to a general and public council of the whole world ; and there are still extant the canons made in municipal or provincial councils, at Carthage under Cyprian, at Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and at Gangra also in Paphlagonia ; all which, as some think, were held before the name of the Nicene general council was thought of. And in this manner, without any general council, by a private dispute, they of old opposed the Pelagians and Donatists. So, when Constantine the emperor openly favoured Auxentius, a bishop of the Arian party, Athanasius, a most christian bishop, did not appeal to a general council, in which he saw nothing could be done, by reason of the power of the emperor, and the great partiality and stiffness of the faction, but to his own clergy and people, that is, to a provincial council.

18. So it was decreed in the Nicene council, that twice in the year, and in a Carthaginian council, that at least once in a year, meetings of the bishops should be celebrated in every province ; which the council of Chalcedon saith was done, that if any errors or abuses arose any where, they might presently and upon the spot be extinguished. And so when Secundus and Palladius rejected the council of Aquileia, because it was not a public and general council, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, replied, that it ought not to seem new or strange, if the bishops of the west assembled in provincial conventions or synods ; for it had been not seldom done by the western bishops before, and was very frequently by the Greek bishops. So Charles the great, emperor of Germany, held a provincial council in Germany, for the taking away images out of the church, against the second Nicene council, which had determined for them ; nor is the thing new and unheard of in England ; for we have

heretofore had many provincial synods, and have governed our church by our own domestic laws, without the interposition of the popes of Rome, or any other foreign bishops or churches. What need is there of many words? Certainly, those greatest and fullest councils, of which these men so often glory, if they be compared with all the churches which throughout the world own and confess the name of Christ—what, I pray, can they seem to be, more than some private councils of the bishops, and a sort of great provincial synods? For though perhaps Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark; and Scotland should meet; yet Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there are many christians and bishops, would yet be absent; and how could such a council as this, ever be reputed a general council by any understanding man? And when so many and such considerable parts of the world are absent, how can they pretend to have the consent of the whole world? or what kind of council was the last at Trent, or how could it in any sense be said to be general, when only forty bishops met there, out of all the christian kingdoms in Europe, and some of them too were so very eloquent that it had been fit to send them to the grammar-schools again; and so learned, that they had never in all their lives read the bible over?

‘But be these things as they will, the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ depends not upon general councils, nor, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. iv. 3. “upon man’s judgment.” But if they who ought to take care of the church will not understand, and will be wanting to their duty, and will harden their hearts against God and against his Christ, and still go on to pervert the direct and straight ways of the Lord, God will make the stones to cry out, and endow infants with an oratorical eloquence, that there may ever be

some to confute their shams ; for God can protect and enlarge his church, not only without the help, but against the opposition of councils. " There are many devices in man's heart," saith Solomon, Prov. xix. 21. " but the counsel of the Lord that shall stand ; for there is neither wisdom, nor prudence, nor counsel against the Lord ;" for, saith Hilary, ' Those things that are set up by human industry, do not continue long ; the church was otherwise built, and must be preserved by other means ; for she was built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, and is fixed and cemented together by one corner-stone, Jesus Christ.'

18. Very elegant, and to our times most seasonable, are the words of Jerome : ' As often as the devil lulls any asleep with the sweet blandishments of his syrens, the holy scriptures never fail to awaken them with, " Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light," Eph. v. 14. At the coming of Christ, and of the word of God, and of the ecclesiastical doctrine, when the time of the ruin of Nineveh, that beautiful harlot, is come, then shall the people awake, who had before been lulled asleep under their former teachers, and they shall pass to the mountains of the scriptures. There shall they find the mountains of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun ; the mountains of the prophets, and the mountains of the new testament, the apostles and evangelists ; and when the people are fled to these mountains, and are exercised in the reading of them, though they find no teacher, for the harvest shall be great and the labourers few, yet the industry of the people shall be approved, in that they have fled to these mountains, and the negligence of their teachers shall be reprehended.'

Thus hath Jerome writton so very plainly, that here is no need of an interpreter, and with so great a congruity to the events which have happened in

our times, that it looks as if he had designed to foretel and describe to us, with a prophetic spirit, the whole state of our times, the ruin of that richly-adorned Babylonish harlot, and the reformation of the church of God, the blindness and negligence of the bishops, and the alacrity and zeal of the people. For who can be so blind, as not to see that these were the masters, who, as Jerome saith, led the people into error, and stupified them in it? or, that Rome, their Nineveh, which was once painted with the most lively colours, is not now better known and less valued; or, that pious men, being now as it were awakened out of a deep sleep, have not betaken themselves to the mountains of the scriptures, the word of God, and the light of the gospel, without ever expecting the councils of such teachers as these?

19. But without the pope's consent at least, some may think, these things ought not to have been attempted, because, say they, he is the bond that unites the Christian society; he is that one priest, whom God means in Deuteronomy, from whom counsel was to be expected in all difficult cases, and from whom the judgment of truth was to be fetched; and if any man should dare to disobey him, he was to be put to death in the sight of his brethren; and whatsoever he doeth, he can be judged by no mortal man; that as Christ reigns in heaven, so he rules on earth; that he can do whatever Christ or God himself can do; that his consistory and Christ's are one and the same; that without him there is no faith, no hope, no church; that he who forsakes him, rejects his own salvation.

For thus the canonists, the flatterers of the pope, write not very modestly of him, for they could scarcely say more, and certainly not greater things, of Christ himself. As for us, we have not forsaken the pope for any human pleasure or worldly profit, and we wish rather, he would so conduct himself that there

should be no need of a departure from him : but so it was, that except we left him, there was no coming to Christ ; nor will he now enter a league with us upon any other terms than those proposed by Nahash, king of Ammon, to the men of Jabesh Gilead, that he may thrust out all our right eyes, 1 Sam. xi. 2, for he will deprive us of the Holy Scriptures, the gospel of our salvation, and of all that hope which we have in Christ Jesus ; for upon other conditions no peace with him can be had.

20. And as to that which so many of them accustomed themselves to extol so very much—that the pope only is St. Peter's successor—as if upon that account he always carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and so could not err, it is an airy and a silly pretence. The grace of God is promised to pious souls, and to those that fear God, and is not affixed to chairs and successions. 'Riches,' saith Jerome, 'may render one bishop more powerful than another ; but yet all bishops, whatever they are, are the successors of the apostles.' But if the place and inauguration be what they so much rely on, Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas, Aaron ; and an idol has often stood in the house of God. Long since, one Archidamus, a Lacedemonian, made a mighty boasting that he was descended from Hercules. One Nicotratus chastised his insolence, by telling him it did not seem probable that he could be descended from Hercules, because Hercules made it his business to rid the world of bad men, but, saith he, you make all the good men you can become bad. And when the pharisees boasted of their succession and lineage, that they were of the blood of Abraham, Christ replied, "Ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God ; this did not Abraham ; ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do," John viii. 40, 44.

But now suppose we should grant something to

successions, does the pope only succeed St. Peter? In what thing? in what religion? in what function? in what part of his life? what one thing ever had St. Peter like the pope, or the pope like St. Peter, unless they will say, that when St. Peter was at Rome, he never taught the gospel, he never fed the flock; that he took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven; hid his Lord's treasure; that he only sat in the Lateran, and with his finger pointed out all the spaces of purgatory, and the several sorts of pains there; presently, and at his pleasure, dismissed some souls for money, and sent other miserable souls into torture; that he taught them the use of private masses, which might be mumbled over in every corner; that he muttered the sacred mysteries in a soft low voice, and in a strange language; that he hanged up the eucharist, or consecrated bread, in every church, and enshrined it on every altar, and carried it before him wherever he went on an ambling jennet, with lights and bells; that he consecrated oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, temples, and altars, with his sacred breath; that he sold jubilees, graces, immunities, expectancies, preventions, first fruits, palls, the use of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; that he called himself the head of the church, the high priest, the bishop of bishops, and the only most holy; that he usurped authority over other churches; that he exempted himself from all civil power; that he made wars, set discord amongst princes; that he was carried upon the shoulders of noblemen in a gilded chair, with a triple crown full of labels or tassels, with a Persian gallantry, adorned with a royal sceptre, and a golden diadem glittering with jewels. Did St. Peter heretofore do all these things at Rome, and, as it were, from hand to hand deliver them down to his successors? for all these things are now done at Rome, and that in such manner as if nothing else ought to be done.

21. Unless perhaps they would be better pleased with turning the table, and saying, that the pope does all those things which we know heretofore St. Peter did; that he travels into all countries, preaches the gospel, not only publicly, but privately from house to house; that he insists opportunely and inopportunely, in season and out of season; that he does the work of an evangelist, and performs the ministry of Christ; that he is the watchman of the house of Israel; that he receives the oracles and word of God, and delivers them, as he received them, to the people; that he is the salt of the earth, the light of the world; that he feeds not himself, but the flock; that he does not entangle himself with the civil affairs of this life; that he does not exercise lordship and dominion over the people of the Lord; that he does not seek to be ministered to by others; but rather that he may minister to others. That he thinks, with St. Peter, that all bishops are his companions and equals;¹ that he submits himself to princes, as to them that are sent by God; that he renders to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and, which all the ancient bishops of Rome without exception have done, calls the emperor his lord. Now, unless the pope at this day do these things, or that St. Peter did the others which we have set forth in the foregoing paragraph, there seems to be no reason why he should so strangely value himself upon the account, either of St Peter's name or succession.

22. There is much less cause for them to complain so dreadfully as they do, of our departure from them, and to recall us back again to their society and faith. There is a story, that one Cobilon, a Lacedemonian, being sent to make a league with the king of Persia, and finding by chance his courtiers playing at dice,

¹ 1 Peter v. 1.—St. Peter there styles himself, "Your fellow presbyter or co-priest."

he returned forthwith, without despatching or mentioning the business he came about. Being examined upon his return home, why he had not executed the public commission they had given him; he replied, that it seemed to him to be a great dishonour to their commonwealth, if he had made an alliance with a parcel of dicers. Now, if we should return to the pope and the popish errors, and make a league, not only with dicers, but with men infinitely more debauched, it would not only bring an ill report upon our fame and reputation, but would be pernicious and destructive to us, by incensing the wrath of God against us, and burdening and wasting our consciences. For we have only left him, whom we saw had for many ages blinded the nations of the earth, and departed from him who with too much insolence pretends that he cannot err, and that whatever he does, he cannot be judged by any mortal man, no, not by kings nor emperors, nor all the clergy, nor all the people, though he should carry a thousand souls with him to hell—from him who assumed dominion not only over men, but over the angels of God, commanding them, when he please, to go and come, and carry souls to purgatory, and bring them back again, as his holiness thought fit; whom Gregory the great styled plainly the forerunner and harbinger of anti-christ, and an apostate from the faith; from whom those champions, who now so vigorously oppose the gospel, and that truth they are very well satisfied of, have every man of them heretofore fallen, and would now again freely and willingly leave him, if the note and shame of being thought too inconstant, and their credits with the people, did not hinder them from it.¹

¹ See Jewell's letters to P. Martyr. Jewell in this place refers to several English bishops who had been protestants in the reign of Edward the sixth, and turning papists again in the reign of queen Mary, were ashamed to take a third turn now in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and so not only stiffly persisted now in popery, but were more clamorous against the Reformation than others were.

Lastly, we have departed from him to whom we were no way bound, and who hath nothing to pretend for our submission to him ; but I know not what genius of the place and the succession he possesseth.

23. And we, of all the nations in christendom, have had the greatest reason to desert the pope. For our kings, even those who followed the faith and authority of the bishops of Rome, with the utmost observance and deference, a long time since, sufficiently felt the weight of their yoke, and groaned under the tyranny of the papal kingdom. For the Roman bishops plucked the diadem from off the head of our Henry II. and compelled him to wait upon their legate in a private habit, without any of the ensigns of majesty, that he might be exposed to the contempt of all his subjects. And another bishop of Rome armed against king John, another of our princes, the bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, and absolved all his subjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him, and at last, by the highest impiety, not only deprived him of his kingdom, but his life. And they wounded Henry VIII. with their curses and excommunications, and stirred up against him sometimes the emperor, and sometimes the king of France, and, as much as in them lay, exposed our kingdom to be a prey and a booty to them ; like a company of silly men as they were, to think so great a prince would be frightened with vizors and rattles, or that so great a kingdom could be devoured at one mouthful. And, as if all this had not been enough, they would needs make England a tributary province, and yearly most unjustly exacted a considerable revenue out of it—so much has the friendship of the city of Rome cost us.

Now, if they extorted these great advantages from us by impostures and ill arts, there is no reason why we should not by good methods and laws recover them back again. But if, on the other side, our

kings, induced by an opinion of their simulated holiness, in the darkness of those times freely bestowed these things on them, upon the account of religion, there is now very good reason that our latter kings, having discovered the errors of their ancestors, should take them away again, they being possessed of the same power with the former kings; for every donation becomes void, when it is no longer approved by the will of the giver; but it can never seem a will, which is clouded and impeded by error.

THE CONCLUSION.

1. Thus I have acquainted thee, my reader, that it is no new nor strange thing, to see the Christian religion in these days, upon its restitution and revival in the world, entertained with slanders and reproaches, for the same things happened to Christ himself and his apostles. And yet, lest thou shouldst be misled and imposed upon by these clamours of our adversaries, we have represented to thee what the whole manner of our religion is; what we believe concerning God the Father, concerning his only Son Jesus Christ, and concerning the Holy Ghost; what our opinion is concerning the church, the sacraments, the ministry, the holy scriptures, the ceremonies of the church, and all the other parts of the Christian religion. We have declared also, that we detest, as pernicious to the souls of men, and as plagues, all those ancient heresies that have been condemned by the old councils and holy scriptures; that we have reduced into practice again, as much as we can possibly, the ecclesiastical discipline, which our adversaries had much weakened; and that we punish all licentious courses of life and debauchery in manners, by our ancient and established laws, and that with as much security as is fit and possible; that we pre-

serve all kingdoms in the same state we found them, without any diminution or mutation, and preserve the majesty of our princes entire as much as we can possibly. Also that we have departed from that church, which they had made a den of thieves, in which they had left nothing sound or like a church, and which they themselves confessed to have erred in many things, as Lot left Sodom, or Abraham Chaldea, not out of contention, but out of obedience to God; and have sought the certain way of religion out of the sacred scriptures, which we know cannot deceive us, and have returned to the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is, to the beginning and first rise of the church, as to the proper fountain.

2. That we have not indeed expected the authority or consent of the council of Trent, in which we saw that nothing was managed well and regularly; where all that entered took an oath to one man; where the ambassadors of our princes were despised and ill-treated; where none of our divines could be heard; where partiality and ambition openly carried all things; and according to the practice of the holy fathers, and the customs of our own ancestors, we have reformed our churches in a provincial synod; and according to our duty we have cast off the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, who had no just authority over us, nor was like either Christ or St. Peter, or the apostles, or indeed like a bishop in any thing. Lastly, we do all agree amongst ourselves, in all the doctrines and points of the christian religion, and do with one spirit and one mouth worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Wherefore, O Christian and pious reader, now thou seest the reasons and causes of the reformation of religion with us, and our departure from them, thou oughtest not to wonder that we should rather choose to obey our Saviour than men. St. Paul

hath admonished us, Rom. xvi. 17, 18, that "we should not be carried away with every wind of false doctrine," and especially that we should mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple. Their impostures accordingly, like bats and owls, do now sometime since begin to fly and steal away before the rising sun, and cannot endure the light of the gospel; and although they were in some sense built and heaped almost up to heaven, yet they sink down into ruins of their own accord; for thou oughtest not to think that those things happened accidentally or by chance. It was certainly the will of God, that in these times the gospel of Jesus Christ should, in defiance of all opposition, be spread abroad in the world; and therefore men, being moved by the word of God, freely betook themselves to the doctrine of Christ; and as for us, we sought neither riches nor pleasure, nor ease, by this change; for our adversaries abound in all these, and we had a much larger share of them, whilst we continued with them.

4. Nor do we decline concord and peace with men; but yet we will not continue in a state of war with God, that we might have peace with men. 'The name of peace,' saith Hilary, 'is pleasant, but then peace and servitude are not the same thing; for if, according to their desire, the name of Christ should be suppressed, the truth of the gospel betrayed, their wicked errors be dissembled, the eyes of christian men be deluded, and a plain and apparent conspiracy be carried on against God himself; this is not peace, but the conditions of a most base slavery.' 'There is,' Nazianzen saith, 'an unprofitable peace, and there is a useful sort of discord; for we must pursue peace with conditions, as far as is lawful, and in us

lieth!' and unless these limitations may attend it, Christ himself came not to bring peace into the world, but a sword.

5. Wherefore if the pope does indeed desire we should be reconciled to him, he ought first to reconcile himself to God; for, as Cyprian saith, 'Schisms arise from hence, that the head is not sought, and a return is not made to the fountain of the holy scriptures, and the precepts of our heavenly Master are not kept; for else, it is not peace, but war; neither can any man be united to the church, who is separated from the gospel.' But these men, with whom we are concerned, do use to make a base gain by the name of peace; for the peace they seek is only a peace of idle bellies; for all these controversies betwixt us and them might with great facility be ended, if ambition, gluttony, and luxuries did not hinder it; and from hence proceed all their tears; their souls are in their dishes, and all their loud clamours and noise are only that they may basely and wickedly keep what they have acquired knavishly.

6. In these times the pardoners, dataries, collectors, and pimps of the court of Rome make the greatest complaints against us, who, with others of their trade, think that great gain is godliness, and serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; for in the foregoing ages this sort of men had a very profitable employment; but now whatever is gained to Christ, turns, as they think, to their loss. Yea, his holiness too complains sadly, that piety is grown cold, and his revenue is become much smaller than heretofore it was; and therefore the 'good man' does his utmost to make us hated, loads us with reproaches, and condemns us for heretics, without any mercy, that they who know not the real cause of all this, may thereby be induced to believe us the very worst of men. And yet in the interim we are not therefore

ashamed, nor indeed ought we to be so, of the gospel of Jesus Christ, because we esteem the glory of God more than the good opinion of men. We know that all we teach is true, and we cannot offer violence to our own consciences, nor give testimony against God; for if we deny any part of the gospel of Jesus Christ before men, he will in like manner deny us before his Father; and if there be any that will be offended, and cannot bear the doctrine of Christ, they are blind, and the leaders of the blind; but the truth is still to be preached and owned, and we must patiently expect the judgment of God.

7. And in the interim our adversaries should do well to bethink themselves seriously of their own salvation, and to put an end to their raging hatred and persecution of the gospel of the Son of God, that at last they may not find him the vindicator and avenger of his own cause; for God will not be had in derision; and men, too, now see what is doing; that the flame, the more it is repressed, with so much the greater violence it breaks out again, and displays itself. Their infidelity and unbelief shall never be able to frustrate or put a stop to the faith of God; and if they shall still persist in the hardness of their hearts, and refuse to receive the gospel of Jesus Christ, the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before them, Matt. xx. 31.

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open all their eyes, that they may see that blessed hope to which they are called, that we may altogether glorify the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent down to us from heaven; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be rendered all honour and glory to all eternity. Amen. Amen.

A SERMON
OF THE SALVATION OF MANKIND,

BY ONLY CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR,

FROM SIN AND DEATH EVERLASTING.

BY ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BECAUSE all men be sinners and offenders against God; and breakers of his law and commandments; therefore can no man by his own acts, works, and deeds, seem they never so good, be justified and made righteous before God: but every man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness of justification, to be received at God's own hands; that is to say, the forgiveness of his sins and trespasses, in such things as he hath offended. And this justification or righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God for our perfect and full justification.

For the more full understanding hereof, it is our parts and duties ever to remember the great mercy of God: how that, all the world being wrapped in sin by breaking of the law, God sent his only Son our Saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the law for us; and, by shedding of his most precious blood,

to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or, as it may be called, amends to his Father for our sins, to assuage his wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same.

Inasmuch that infants, being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children, and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven. And they, which in act or deed, do sin after their baptism, when they turn again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins, in such sort, that there remaineth not any spot of sin, that shall be imputed to their damnation. This is that justification, or righteousness, which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith, "No man is justified by the works of the law, but freely by faith in Jesus Christ." And again he saith, "We believe in Jesus Christ, that we be justified freely by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; because that no man shall be justified by the works of the law." Gal. ii. 16.

And although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all.

Objection. But here may man's reason be astonished, reasoning after this fashion: If a ransom be paid for our redemption, then is it not given us freely. For a prisoner that payeth his ransom, is not let go freely; for if he go freely, then he goeth without ransom; for what is it else to go freely, than to be set at liberty without payment of ransom?

Answer. This reason is satisfied by the great wisdom of God in this mystery of our redemption; who hath so tempered his justice and mercy together, that he would neither by his justice condemn us unto the everlasting captivity of the devil, and his prison of hell, remediless for ever without mercy; nor by his mercy deliver us clearly, without justice, or pay-

ment of a just ransom : but with his endless mercy he joined his most upright and equal justice. His great mercy he showed unto us in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made upon our parts ; which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas it lay not in us to do that, he provided a ransom for us ; that was, the most precious body and blood of his own most dear and best beloved Son Jesus Christ ; who, besides this ransom, fulfilled the law for us perfectly. And so the justice of God and his mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption.

And of this justice and mercy of God knit together, speaketh St. Paul in the third chapter to the Romans, 23—25 : “ All have offended, and have need of the glory of God ; but are justified freely by his grace, by redemption which is in Jesus Christ ; whom God had set forth to us for a reconciler and peace-maker through faith in his blood, to show his righteousness.” And in the tenth chapter, ver. 4. “ Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness, to every man that believeth.” And in the eighth chapter, ver. 3, 4, “ That which was impossible by the law, inasmuch as it was weak by the flesh, God sending his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, by sin condemned sin in the flesh ; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.”

In these foresaid places, the apostle toucheth specially three things, which must go together in our justification. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace : upon Christ's part, justice ; that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption, by the offering of his body, and shedding of his blood, with fulfilling of the law perfectly and thoroughly : and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ ; which yet is not ours,

but by God's working in us. So that, in our justification, there is not only God's mercy and grace, but also his justice; which the apostle calleth the justice of God: and it consisteth in paying our ransom, and fulfilling of the law: and so the grace of God doth not shut out the justice of God, in our justification; but only shutteth out the justice of man: that is to say, the justice of our works, as to the merits of deserving our justification. And therefore St. Paul declareth here nothing, upon the behalf of man, concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith: which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work without God.

And yet that faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified: but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether. Neither doth faith shut out the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterwards of duty towards God; for we are most bounden to serve God, in doing good deeds, commanded by him in his holy scripture, all the days of our life: but it excludeth them, so that we may not do them to this intent—to be made just by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do be imperfect, and therefore not able to deserve our justification; but our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God; and of so great and free mercy, that, whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood; whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied.

So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them

that truly do believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now, in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked, Christ's justice hath supplied.

THE SECOND PART.

YE have heard, of whom all men ought to seek their justification and righteousness; and how also this righteousness cometh unto men by Christ's death and merits. Ye heard also, how that three things are required to the obtaining of our righteousness: that is, God's mercy, Christ's justice, and a true and lively faith, out of the which faith spring good works. Also before was declared at large, that no man can be justified by his own good works; because that no man fulfilleth the law, according to the strict rigour of the law.

And St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, proveth the same, chap. iii. 21, saying thus: "If there had been any law given, which could have justified, verily righteousness should have been by the law." And again he saith: "If righteousness be by the law, then Christ died in vain," chap. ii. 21. And again he saith: "You that are justified by the law are fallen away from grace," chap. v. 4. And furthermore, he writeth to the Ephesians on this wise, chap. ii. 8, 9: "By grace are ye saved, through faith: and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any man should glory." And, to be short, the sum of all Paul's disputation is this, Rom. xi. 6, that, if justice come of works, then it cometh not of grace; and if it come of grace, then it cometh not of works.

And to this end tend all the prophets, as St. Peter

saith, in the tenth of the Acts v. 43 : “ Of Christ all the prophets,” saith St. Peter, “ do witness, that, through his name, all they that believe in him shall receive the remission of sins.”

And after this wise to be justified, only by this true and lively faith in Christ, speak all the old and ancient authors, both Greeks and Latins ; of whom I will specially rehearse three ; Hilary, Basil, and Ambrose. St. Hilary saith these words plainly in the ninth canon upon Matthew, Faith only justifieth. And St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus : This is a perfect and whole rejoicing in God. when a man advanceth not himself for his own righteousness ; but acknowledgeth himself to lack true justice and righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ. And Paul, saith he, doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness ; and that he “ looketh for the righteousness of God by faith,” Phil. iii. 9. These be the very words of St. Basil.

And St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith these words : This is the ordinance of God, that they which believe in Christ should be saved without works—by faith only—freely receiving remission of their sins. Consider diligently these words: without works—by faith only—freely—we receive remission of our sins. What can be spoken more plainly, than to say, that freely—without works—by faith only—we obtain remission of our sins ?

These and other like sentences, that we be justified by faith only—freely—and without works—we do read oftentimes in the best and most ancient writers ; as, beside Hilary, Basil, and St. Ambrose, before rehearsed, we read the same Origen, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Prosper, Oecumenius, Phocius, Bernardus, Anselm, and many other authors, Greek and Latin.

Nevertheless, this sentence, that we be justified by faith only, is not so meant of them, that the said jus-

tifying faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear of God, at any time and season. Nor when they say, that we be justified freely, do they mean that we should or might afterward be idle; and that nothing should be required on our parts afterward: neither do they mean so to be justified without our good works, that we should do no good works at all; like as shall be more expressed at large hereafter. But this saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works; as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands; and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man, and the goodness of God; the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfection of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ; and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding.

This faith the Holy Scripture teacheth us: this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion: this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's church do approve; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain glory of man: this whosoever denieth, is not to be accounted for a Christian man; nor for a setter-forth of Christ's glory; but for an adversary to Christ and his gospel, and for a setter-forth of men's vain-glory.

And although this doctrine be never so true—as it is most true indeed—that we be justified freely, without all merit of our own good works, as St. Paul doth express it; and freely, by this lively and perfect faith in Christ only, as the ancient authors use to speak it; yet this true doctrine must be also truly understood, and most plainly declared; lest carnal men should take unjustly occasion thereby to live carnally, after

the appetite and will of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

And because no man should err by mistaking of this doctrine, I shall plainly and shortly so declare the right understanding of the same, that no man shall justly think, that he may thereby take any occasion of carnal liberty, to follow the desires of the flesh; or that thereby any kind of sin shall be committed, or any ungodly living the more used.

First, you shall understand that, in our justification by Christ, it is not all one thing, The office of God unto man, and the office of man unto God. Justification is not the office of man, but of God; for man cannot make himself righteous by his own works, neither in part nor in the whole: for that were the greatest arrogancy and presumption of man, that Antichrist could set up against God, to affirm that a man might by his own works take away and purge his own sins, and so justify himself. But justification is the office of God only; and is not a thing which we render unto him, but which we receive of him: not which we give to him; but which we take of him by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly-beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier, Jesus Christ.

So that the true understanding of this doctrine—We be justified freely by faith, without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only—is not, that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us, and deserve our justification unto us; for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue, that is within ourselves: but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, dread, and fear of God within us, and do never so many good works thereunto: yet we must renounce the merit of all our

said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and insufficient, and imperfect, to deserve remission of our sins, and our justification: and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to him again.

So that, as St. John Baptist, although he were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving of sin, he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them, "Behold, yonder is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," John i. 29: even so, as great and as godly a virtue as the lively faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth or appointeth us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of our sins, or justification. So that our faith in Christ, as it were, saith unto us thus: It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only; and to him only I send you for that purpose, forsaking therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and only putting your trust in Christ.

THE THIRD PART.

It hath been manifestly declared unto you, that no man can fulfil the law of God; and therefore by the law all men are condemned: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that some other thing should be required for our salvation than the law; and that is, a true and lively faith in Christ, bringing forth good works, and a life according to God's commandments. And

also you heard the ancient authors' minds of this saying, Faith in Christ only, justifieth man, so plainly declared, that you see that the very true meaning of this proposition or saying, We be justified by faith in Christ only, according to the meaning of the old ancient authors, is this: we put our faith in Christ, that we be justified by him only; that we be justified by God's free mercy, and the merits of our Saviour Christ only; and by no virtue or good work of our own that is in us, or that we can be able to have, or to do, for to deserve the same; Christ himself only being the cause meritorious thereof.

Here you perceive many words to be used, to avoid contention in words with them that delight to brawl about words; and also to shew the true meaning, to avoid evil taking and misunderstanding; and yet peradventure all will not serve with them that be contentious; but contenders will ever forge matter of contention, even when they have none occasion thereto. Notwithstanding, such be the less to be passed upon, so that the rest may profit, which will be more desirous to know the truth, than, when it is plain enough, to contend about it, and with contentious and captious cavillation to obscure and darken it.

Truth it is, that our own works do not justify us, to speak properly of our justification: that is to say, our works do not merit or deserve remission of our sins, and make us, of unjust, just before God: but God of his mere mercy, through the only merits and deservings of his Son Jesus Christ, doth justify us. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins; and that, by faith given us of God, we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins—which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth—therefore the scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify. And forasmuch as it is all

one sentence in effect to say, faith without works, and only faith, doth justify us; therefore the old ancient fathers of the church, from time to time, have uttered our justification with this speech, Only faith justifieth us; meaning no other thing than St. Paul meant, when he said, "Faith without works justifieth us."

And because all this is brought to pass through the only merits and deservings of our Saviour Christ, and not only through our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us; therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we forsake, as it were, altogether again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of original sin, that all is imperfect that is within us—faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works—and therefore not apt to merit and deserve any part of our justification for us. And this form of speaking use we, in the humbling of ourselves to God, and to give all the glory to our Saviour Christ, who is best worthy to have it.

Here you have heard the office of God in our justification; and how we receive it of him freely—by his mercy—without our deserts—through true and lively faith. Now you shall hear the office and duty of a Christian man unto God; what we ought on our part to render unto God again for his great mercy and goodness.

Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are baptized, or justified; not caring how few good works we do, to the glory of God, and profit of our neighbours; much less is it our office, after that we be once made Christ's members, to live contrary to the same; making ourselves members of the devil, walking after his enticements, and after the suggestions of the world and the flesh; whereby we know that we do serve the world and the devil, and not God.

For that faith which bringeth forth, without repentance, either evil works, or no good works, is not a right, pure, and lively faith; but a dead, devilish, counterfeit, and feigned faith, as St. Paul and St. James call it. For even the devils know and believe that Christ was born of a virgin; that he fasted forty days and forty nights without meat and drink; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God: they believe also, that Christ for our sakes suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from everlasting death; and that he rose again from death the third day: they believe that he ascended into heaven; and that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and at the last end of this world shall come again, and judge both the quick and the dead. These articles of our faith the devils believe; and so they believe all things that be written in the New and Old Testament to be true: and yet for all this faith they be but devils, remaining still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true Christian faith.

For the right and true Christian faith is, not only to believe that holy scripture, and all the aforesaid articles of our faith, are true; but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ; whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments. And this true Christian faith neither any devil hath; nor yet any man, which in the outward profession of his mouth, and in his outward receiving of the sacraments, in coming to the church, and in all other outward appearances, seemeth to be a Christian man, and yet in his living and deeds sheweth the contrary.

For how can a man have this true faith, this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins be forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodlily, and

denieth Christ in his deeds? Surely no such ungodly man can have this faith and trust in God. For as they know Christ to be the only Saviour of the world; so they know also that wicked men shall not enjoy the kingdom of God. They know that God hateth unrighteousness; that he will destroy all those that speak untruly; (Psalm v. 6.) that those which have done good works—which cannot be done without a lively faith in Christ—shall come forth into the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil shall come unto the resurrection of judgment. Very well they know also, that to them that be contentious, and to them that will not be obedient unto the truth, but will obey unrighteousness, shall come indignation, wrath, and affliction, &c.

Therefore to conclude: considering the infinite benefits of God, shewed and given unto us mercifully without our deserts;—who hath not only created us of nothing, and from a piece of vile clay, of his infinite goodness, hath exalted us, as touching our soul, unto his own similitude and likeness; but also, whereas we were condemned to hell, and death everlasting, hath given his own natural Son, being God eternal, immortal, and equal unto himself in power and glory, to be incarnated; and to take our mortal nature upon him, with the infirmities of the same; and in the same nature to suffer most shameful and painful death for our offences, to the intent to justify us, and to restore us to life everlasting; so making us also his dear children, brethren unto his only Son our Saviour Christ, and inheritors for ever with him of his eternal kingdom of heaven:—These great and merciful benefits of God, if they be well considered, do neither minister unto us occasion to be idle, and to live without doing any good works; neither yet stir us by any means to do evil things; but contrariwise, if we be not desperate persons, and our hearts harder than stones, they move us to render ourselves

unto God wholly, with all our will, hearts, might, and power; to serve him in all good deeds, obeying his commandments during our lives; to seek in all things his glory and honour, not our sensual pleasures and vain glory; evermore dreading willingly to offend such a merciful God and loving Redeemer, in word, thought, or deed. And the said benefits of God, deeply considered, move us for his sake also to be ever ready to give ourselves to our neighbours; and, as much as lieth in us, to study with all our endeavour to do good to every man.

These be the fruits of true faith: To do good as much as lieth in us to every man; and, above all things, and in all things, to advance the glory of God; of whom only we have our sanctification, justification, salvation, and redemption: To whom be ever glory, praise, and honour, world without end.
Amen.

TINDAL.

A LIVELY DESCRIPTION

OF OUR

JUSTIFICATION.¹

MARK therefore, the way toward justifying, or forgiveness of sin, is the law. God causeth the law to be preached unto us and writeth it in our hearts, and maketh us by good reasons feel that the law is good, and ought to be kept, and that they which keep it not, are worthy to be damned. And on the other side, I feel that there is no power in me to keep the law, whereupon it would shortly follow that I should despair, if I were not shortly holpen. But God, who hath begun to cure me, and hath laid that corrosive unto my sores, goes forth in his cure, and setteth his Son Jesus before me, and all his passion and death.

¹ Sir Thomas More wrote a dialogue in which he found much fault with Tindal's translation of the New Testament; he also objected to many of the doctrines of truth taught by the reformers. Tindal wrote in reply an 'Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, wherein first he declareth what the church is, and giveth a reason of certain words which master More rebuketh in the translation of the New Testament; after that he answereth particularly unto every chapter which seemeth to have any appearance of truth through all his four books.' The motto prefixed was, "Awake thou that sleepest and stand up from death, and Christ shall give thee light." (Eph. v.) The whole of this treatise would not be interesting to readers in general at the present day; but the 'lively description of our justification,' here given, is too valuable to be omitted.

and saith to me, this is my dear Son, and he hath prayed for thee, and hath suffered all this for thee, and for his sake I will forgive thee all that thou hast done against this good law ; and I will heal thy flesh, and teach thee to keep this law, if thou wilt learn. And I will bear with thee, and take all in good part that thou doest, till thou canst do better. And in the mean season, notwithstanding thy weakness, I will yet love thee no less than I do the angels in heaven, so thou wilt be diligent to learn. And I will assist thee, and keep and defend thee, and be thy shield, and care for thee.

And the heart here begins to mollify and soften, and to receive health, and believe the mercy of God, and, in believing, is saved from the fear of everlasting death, and is made sure of everlasting life ; and then being overcome with this kindness, begins to love again, and to submit herself unto the laws of God, to learn them and to walk in them.

Note now the order ; first God gives me light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law, and mine own sin and unrighteousness. Out of which knowledge springeth repentance. Now repentance teaches me not that the law is good, and I evil, but is a light which the Spirit of God hath given me, out of which light repentance springeth.

Then the same Spirit worketh in mine heart, trust, and confidence to believe the mercy of God and his truth, that he will do as he hath promised, which belief saveth me. And immediately out of that trust springeth love toward the law of God again. And whatsoever a man worketh of any other love than this, it pleases not God, nor is that love godly.

Now love does not receive this mercy, but faith only ; out of which faith love springeth, by which love I pour out again upon my neighbour that goodness which I have received of God by faith. Hereof ye see that I cannot be justified without repentance,

and yet repentance justifies me not. And hereof ye see that I cannot have a faith to be justified and saved, except love spring thereof immediately, and yet love justifies me not before God. For my natural love to God again, does not make me first see and feel the kindness of God in Christ, but faith through preaching. For we love not God first, to compel him to love again; but he loved us first, and gave his Son for us, that we might see love, and love again, saith St. John in his first epistle: which love of God to usward we receive by Christ through faith, saith Paul.

And this example have I set out for them in divers places, but their blind eyes have no power to see it, covetousness hath so blinded them. And when we say, Faith only justifies us; that is to say, faith only receiveth the mercy wherewith God justifies us and forgives us; we mean not faith which has no repentance, and faith which has no love unto the laws of God again, and unto good works, as wicked hypocrites falsely belie us.

For how then should we suffer, as we do, all misery, to call the blind and ignorant unto repentance and good works, which now do but consent unto all evil, and study mischief all day long, for all their preaching their justifying by good works? Let M. More improve this with his sophistry, and set forth his own doctrine, that we may see the reason of it and walk in light.

Hereof ye see what faith it is that justifies us. The faith in Christ's blood, of a repenting heart toward the law, justifies us alone, and not all manner of faiths. Ye must understand therefore, that ye may see to come out of More's blind maze, that there are many faiths, and that all faiths are not one faith, though they all are called with one general name. There is an historical faith, without feeling in the heart, wherewith I may believe the whole history of

the Bible, and yet not set mine heart earnestly thereto, taking it for the food of my soul, to learn to believe and trust God, to love him, to dread him, and fear him by the doctrine and examples thereof; but to seem learned, and to know the history, to dispute and make merchandise, as we have examples enough. And the faith wherewith a man doeth miracles is another gift than the faith of a repenting heart, to be saved through Christ's blood, and the one is no kin to the other, though M. More would have them so appear. Neither is the devil's faith, and the pope's faith, (wherewith they believe that there is a God, and that Christ is, and all the story of the Bible, and may yet stand with all wickedness and full consent to evil,) kin unto the faith of them that hate evil, and repent of their misdeeds, and acknowledge their sins; and are fled with full hope and trust of mercy unto the blood of Christ.

And when he saith, If faith certify our hearts that we are in the favour of God, and our sins forgiven, and become good, ere we do good works; as the tree must be first good, ere it bring forth good fruit, by Christ's doctrine; then we make good works but a shadow wherewith a man is never the better. Nay, sir, we make good works fruits, whereby our neighbour is the better, and whereby God is honoured, and our flesh tamed. And we make of them sure tokens whereby we know that our faith is no feigned imagination and dead opinion, made with captivating our understandings after the pope's traditions, but a lively thing wrought by the Holy Ghost.

And when he disputes that if they that have faith, have love unto the law, and purpose to fulfil it, then faith alone justifies not; how will he prove that argument? He juggles with this word 'alone:' and would make the people believe that we said, how a bare faith that is without all other company, of repentance, love, and other virtues, yea, and without

God's Spirit too, did justify us, so that we should not care to do good. But the scripture so takes not 'alone,' nor do we so mean, as M. More knows well enough. When a horse bears a saddle and a man is therein, we may well say, that the horse only, and alone, bears the saddle, and is not helped of the man in bearing thereof. But he would make men understand that we meant, the horse bare the saddle empty, and no man therein; let him mark this, to see his ignorance, which, would that it were not coupled with malice. Every man that hath wit, hath a will too, and then by M. More's argument, wit only gives not the light of understanding. Now the conclusion is false, and the contrary true. For the wit without help of the will gives the light of the understanding; neither does the will work at all, until the wit have determined this or that to be good or bad. Now what is faith, save a spiritual light of understanding, and an inward knowledge or feeling of mercy? Out of which knowledge love doth spring. But love brought me not that knowledge, for I knew it ere I loved. So that love in the process of nature, to dispute from the cause to the effect, helps not at all, to the feeling that God is merciful to me, no more than the loving heart, and kind behaviour of an obedient wife to her husband makes her see his love and kindness to her, for many such have unkind husbands. But by his kind deeds to her, does she see his love. Even so my love and deeds make me not see God's love to me in the process of nature; but his kind deeds to me, in that he gave his Son for me, make me see his love, and to love again.

Our love and good works make not God first love us, and change him from hate to love, as the Turk, Jew, and vain papists mean, but his love and deeds make us love, and change us from hate to love. For he loved us when we were evil, and his enemies, as Paul testifies in divers places; and he chose us, to

make us good and to show us love, and to draw us to him, that we should love again.

The father loves his child, when it has no power to do good, and when it must be suffered to run after its own lusts without law, and he never loves it better than then, to make it better, and to show it love, to love again. If ye could see what is written in the first epistle of John, though all the other scripture were laid aside, ye should see all this.

And ye must understand, that we sometimes dispute forward, from the cause to the effect, and must beware that we are not therewith beguiled. We say, summer is come, and therefore all is green, and dispute forward. For summer is the cause of the greenness. We say the trees are green, and therefore summer is come, and dispute backward from the effect to the cause. For the green trees make not summer, but make summer known. So we dispute backward—the man doth good deeds, and profitable unto his neighbour, he must therefore love God; he loves God, he must therefore have a true faith and see mercy.

And yet my works make not my love, nor my love my faith, nor my faith God's mercy; but contrary, God's mercy makes my faith, and my faith my love, and my love my works. And if the pope could see mercy, and work of love to his neighbour; and not sell his works to God for heaven, after M. More's doctrine, we needed not so to settle disputing of faith.

And when M. More alleges Paul to the Corinthians, to prove that faith may be without love, he proves nothing, but juggles only. He saith, it is evident by the words of Paul, that a man may have a faith to do miracles without love, and may give all his goods in alms without love, and his body to burn for the name of Christ, and all without charity. Well, I will not stick with him; he may so do, with-

out charity, and without faith thereto. Then a man may have faith without faith. Yea, verily, because there are many differences of faith, as I have said, and not all faiths one faith. We read in the works of Cyprian, that there were martyrs who suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ, all the year long, and were tormented and healed again, and then brought forth afresh. Which martyrs believed as ye do, that the pain of their martyrdom should be a deserving, and merit enough, not only to deserve heaven for themselves, but to make satisfaction for the sins of other men thereto, and gave pardons of their merits, after the example of the pope's doctrine, and forgave the sins of other men, who had openly denied Christ, and wrote unto Cyprian, that he should receive those men that had denied Christ into the congregation again, at the satisfaction of their merits. For which pride, Cyprian wrote to them, and called them the devil's martyrs, and not God's. Those martyrs had a faith without faith. For had they believed that all mercy is given for Christ's blood-shedding, they would have sent other men thither, and would have suffered their own martyrdom for love of their neighbours only, to serve them, and to testify the truth of God in our Saviour Jesus, unto the world, to save at the least some, that is, the elect, for whose sake Paul suffered all things, and not to win heaven. If I work for a worldly purpose, I get no reward in heaven: even so if I work for heaven or a higher place in heaven, I get there no reward. But I must do my work for the love of my neighbour, because he is my brother, and the price of Christ's blood, and because Christ hath deserved it, and desires it of me, and then my reward is great in heaven.

And all they which believe that their sins be forgiven them, and they received, as the scripture testifies, unto the inheritance of heaven for Christ's

merits, the same love Christ, and their brethren for his sake; and do all things for their sakes' only; not once thinking of heaven when they work, but of their brethren's need. When they suffer themselves above might, then they comfort their soul with the remembrance of heaven; that this wretchedness shall have an end, and we shall have a thousand fold pleasures and rewards in heaven, not for the merits of our deservings, but given us freely for Christ's. And he that hath that love, hath the right faith, and he that hath that faith, hath the right love. For I cannot love my neighbour for Christ's sake, except I first believe that I have received such mercy of Christ. Nor can I believe that I have received such mercy of Christ, but I must love my neighbour for his sake, seeing that he so urgently desires me.

And when he alleges St. James, it is answered him in the Mammon,¹ and Augustine answers him. And St. James expounds himself. For he saith in the first chapter, God, which begat us of his own will with the word of truth, which word of truth is his promises of mercy and forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus, by which he begat us, gave us life, and made us a new creature through a fast faith. And James goes and rebukes the opinion and false faith of them that think it enough to be saved by, if they believe that there is but one God, and that Christ was born of a virgin, and a thousand things which a man may believe, and yet not believe in Christ, to be saved from sin through him. And that James speaks of another faith than that at the beginning, appears by his example. The devils have faith, saith he: yea, but the devils have no faith that can repent of evil, or to believe in Christ to be saved through him, or that can love God and work his will of love. Now Paul speaks of a faith that is in Christ's blood, to be

¹ Another of Tindal's Works.

saved thereby, which works immediately through love of the benefit received. And James at the beginning speaks of a faith that abides trial, saying, The trying of your faith worketh, or causeth, patience; but the faith of the devils will abide no trying, for they will not work God's will, because they love him not. And in like manner is it of the faith of them that repent not, or that think themselves without sin. For except a man feel out of what danger Christ hath delivered him, he cannot love the work. And therefore James saith right, that no such faith that will not work, can justify a man.

And when Paul saith, "faith only justifieth;" and James saith, that "a man is justified by works and not by faith only," there is a great difference between Paul's only and James's only. For Paul's only is to be understood, that faith justifies in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and ere I can work. For I must receive life through faith to work with, ere I can work. But James's only is thus to be understood, that faith does not so justify, that nothing justifies save faith. For deeds do justify also. But faith justifies in the heart and before God, and the deeds before the world only, and make the other seen; as ye may perceive by the scripture.

For Paul saith, Rom. iv. If Abraham have works, he hath whereof to rejoice, but not before God. For if Abraham had received those promises of deserving, then had it been Abraham's praise and not God's, as thou mayest see in the text; neither had God showed Abraham mercy and grace, but had only given him his duty and deserving. But in that Abraham received all the mercy that was showed him, freely through faith, out of the deservings of the seed that was promised him, as thou mayest see by Genesis and by the gospel of John, where Christ testifies that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced, and of that joy

doubtless he wrought, it is God's praise, and the glory of his mercy. And the same mayest thou see by James, when he saith, " Abraham offered his son, and so was the scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend."

How was it fulfilled? Before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before, and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him. Abraham received promises of all mercy, and believed and trusted God, and went and wrought out of that faith. But it was fulfilled before us who cannot see the heart, as James saith, " I will show thee my faith out of my works," and as the angel said to Abraham, " Now I know that thou darest God." Not but that he knew it before; but for us spake he that, who can see nothing in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

And what works meant James? Verily the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or sustenance, and ye be not moved to compassion nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith, be sure, that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ. For they that feel that, are merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our spirituality, which will not only be justified with works before the world, but also before God. They have had all christendom to rule this eight hundred years, and as they only are anointed in the head, so have they only been king and emperor, and have had all power in their hands, and have been the doers only, and the leaders of those shadows that have had the name of princes, and have led them whither they would, and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare; and are become alone well at ease, only free, only at liberty

only have all things and only do nought therefore, only lay on other men's backs, and bear nought themselves. And the good works of them that wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to find the poor, they devour them also alone. And what works preach they? Only those that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences as God; to offer, to give, to be prayed for, and to be delivered out of purgatory, and to redeem your sins of them, and to worship ceremonies, and to be shriven, and so forth.

And when M. More is come to himself, and saith, The first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving—God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe me what he means by the second justifying. I know no more to do, than that when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.

M. More saith, David lost not his faith when he committed adultery. I answer, No, and therefore he could not continue in sin, but repented as soon as his fault was told him. But was he not reconciled by faith only, and not by deeds? Said he not, "Have mercy on me, Lord, for thy great mercy, and for the multitude of thy mercies put away my sin?" And again, "Make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice." That is, Let me hear thy voice that my sin is forgiven, and then I am safe and will rejoice. And afterwards he acknowledges that God delighteth not in sacrifices for sin, but that a troubled spirit and a broken heart is that which God requireth. And when the peace was made, he prays boldly and familiarly to God, that he would be good to Sion and Jerusalem, and saith that then last of all, when God hath forgiven us of mercy, and hath done us good for our evil, we shall offer sacrifices of thanks to him again. So that

our deeds are but thanksgiving. . When we have sinned, we go with a repenting heart unto Christ's blood, and there wash it off through faith.¹ And our deeds are but thanksgiving to God to help our neighbours at their need, for which our neighbours and each of them owe us as much again at our need. So that the testament or forgiveness of sins, is built upon faith in Christ's blood, and not on works. M. More will run to the pope for forgiveness. By what merits does the pope forgive? By Christ's. And Christ hath promised all his merits to them that repent and believe; he has not given them unto the pope to sell. And in your absolutions ye oft absolve without enjoining of penance. He must have a purpose to do good works, will ye say. That condition is set before him to do, out of the mercy that he hath received, and not to receive mercy out of them. But the papists cannot repent out of the heart. And therefore cannot feel the mercy that faith brings, and therefore cannot be merciful to their neighbours, to do their works for their sakes. But they feign a sorrow for their sin in which they ever continue, and so mourn for them in the morning, that they laugh in them ere mid-day again. And then they imagine to themselves popish deeds, to make satisfaction to God, and make an idol of him.

And finally, that good works, as to give alms and such like, justify not of themselves, is manifest. For as the good who are taught of God, do them well, of very love to God and Christ, and of their neighbours for Christ's sake; even so the evil do them of vain glory and a false faith, wickedly, as we have examples in the pharisees; so that a man must be good ere he can do good. And so is it of the purpose to do them; one's purpose is good and another's evil; so that we must be good ere a good purpose come.

¹ When we have offended God, we must return quickly by repentance, and call upon God to hear us for Christ our Saviour's sake. For.

Now then, to love the law of God, and to consent thereto, and to have it written in thine heart, and to profess it, so that thou art ready of thine own accord to do it, and without compulsion, is to be righteous: that I grant, and that love may be called righteousness, before God, passive, and the life and quickness of the soul passive. And so far as a man loves the law of God, so far he is righteous, and so much as he lacketh of love toward his neighbour, after the example of Christ, so much he lacketh of righteousness. And that which makes a man love the law of God, makes a man righteous, and justifies him effectively, and actually, and makes him alive as a workman, and cause efficient. Now what is it that makes a man to love? Verily not the deeds, for they follow and spring of love, if they be good. Neither the preaching of the law, for that quickens not the heart, (Gal. iii.) but causes wrath, (Rom. vi.) and utters sin only. (Rom. iii.) And therefore, Paul saith, that righteousness springs not out of the deeds of the law into the heart, as the Jews and the pope mean; but contrary, the deeds of the law spring out of the righteousness of the heart, if they be good. As when a father pronounces the law, that the child shall go to school, it saith Nay. For that killeth his heart, and all his lusts, so that he has no power to love it. But what makes his heart alive to love it? Verily, fair promises of love and kindness, that it shall have a gentle schoolmaster, and shall play enough, and shall have many gay things, and so forth. Even so the preaching of faith works love in our souls, and makes them alive, and draws our hearts to God. The mercy that we have in Christ makes us love only, and only bringeth the Spirit of life into our souls.

And therefore, saith Paul, we are justified by faith and by grace without deeds; that is, ere the deeds come. For faith only brings the Spirit of life, and delivers our souls from fear of damnation, which is in

the law, and ever maketh peace between God and us, as oft as there is any variance between us. And finally, when the peace is made between God and us, and all is forgiven through faith in Christ's blood, and we begin to love the law, we were never the nearer except faith went with us, to supply the lack of full love, in that we have promises, that the little we have is taken as of worth, and accepted till more come. And again, when our frailty has overthrown us, and fear of damnation has invaded our consciences, we were utterly lost, if faith were not by, to help us up again, in that we are promised that whensoever we repent of evil and come to the right way again, it shall be forgiven for Christ's sake. For when we are fallen, there is no testament made in works to come, that they shall save us. And therefore the works of repentance, or of the sacraments, can never quiet our consciences, and deliver us from fear of damnation.

And last of all, in temptation, tribulation, and adversities, we should perish daily, except faith went with us to deliver us, in that we have promises, that God will assist us, clothe us, feed us, and fight for us, and rid us out of the hands of our enemies. And thus the righteous lives ever by faith, even from faith to faith, that is, as soon as he is delivered out of one temptation another is set before him, to fight against, and to overcome through faith. The Scripture saith, "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and his sins hid, and unto whom the Lord reckons not unrighteousness." So that the only righteousness of him that can but sin, and hath nought of himself to make amends, is the forgiveness of sin, which faith only brings. And as far as we be unrighteous, faith only justifies us actively, and nothing else on our part. And as far as we have sinned, be in sin, or do sin, or shall sin, so far must faith in Christ's blood justify us only, and nothing else. To love is to be

righteous, so far as thou lovest, but not to make righteous, nor to make peace. To believe in Christ's blood with a repenting heart, is to make righteous, and the only making of peace and satisfaction toward God. And thus because terms be dark to them that be not expert and exercised, we always set out our meaning with clear examples, reporting ourselves unto the hearts and consciences of all men.

BECON.

FAITH IN CHRIST.

THE GOSPEL FOR WHIT-MONDAY.

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoso believeth in him should not perish, &c.—John iii 16—21.

THIS gospel is one of the most notable that a man can find in the New Testament, and worthy to be commended with all kinds of commendation. But as it is not possible that a man should sufficiently express this sermon of Christ by words; first let us call unto God, that he will expound these words more plainly in our hearts, than we can by our words and interpretation, and that he will enkindle them, and make them so plain, that our conscience may receive comfort and peace thereby. Amen.

The pith of this excellent sermon is, that God so greatly loved the world, that he delivered his only begotten Son for it, that we men should not die, but have everlasting life. And first let us see who is the giver. He is the Giver, in respect of whom all princes and kings, with all their gifts, are nothing in comparison. And our hearts might worthily be lifted up and exalted with a godly pride, since we have such a giver, so that all who should come unto us by any other liberality, might be counted of no price in comparison of this. For what can be set before us that is more magnificent and excellent than God almighty.

Here God, who is infinite and unspeakable, gives after such a manner as passes also all things. For that which he gives, he gives not as wages of desert, or for a recompense, but, as the words sound, of mere love. Wherefore this gift wholly proceeds of God's exceeding and divine benevolence and goodness, as he saith, God loved the world. There is no greater virtue than love, as it may hereby be well understood, that when we love anything, we will not hesitate to put our life in danger for it. Verily, great virtues are patience, chastity, sobriety, &c., but yet they are nothing to be compared with this virtue, which comprises and includes within itself all other virtues. A good man does no man wrong, he gives every man his own; but by love, men give their own selves to others, and are ready with all their heart to do all that they can for them. So Christ saith here also, that God gives to us, not by right or merit, but by this great virtue, that is by love. This ought to encourage our hearts, and to abolish all sorrow, when this exceeding love of God comes in mind, that we might trust thereto and believe stedfastly, that God is that bountiful and great Giver, and that this gift of his, proceeds of that great virtue of love. This sort of giving, which has its spring of love, makes this gift more excellent and precious. And the words of Christ are plain, that God loveth us. Wherefore for this love's sake ought we greatly to esteem all things that he gives us.

And as hitherto we have spoken of the Giver and of his loving mind, so is the gift itself no less to be esteemed. For God giveth not riches here, nor kingdoms, nor any creature, but giveth his only begotten Son, who is no less than the Father. If wealth and prosperity cause joy, how great joy ought this gift to be to them that it is given unto! For as God the Giver is exceedingly great, and his love also whereof the gift proceeds; so is the gift that he giveth, which

is his only Son: For he giveth himself wholly in this gift, as Paul saith to the Romans, Seeing God hath given his Son for us all, how can it be that with him, he should not give us all things also? Sin, death, hell, heaven, righteousness and life, all are ours, because the Son as by gift is ours also, in whom are all things.

Wherefore if we believe truly, and receive this most excellent gift by faith, it must needs be that every creature, faulty or not-faulty, must be ours, and given for our good; as St. Paul saith. But here incredulity and misbelief trouble us, as Christ himself afterwards complains; and also incredible darkness and ignorance, as when we hear of this so great a gift, and yet we do not believe it, and the words of such great matter go in at the one ear, and run out at the other, and never pierce to the heart. When men conceive any hope of purchasing possessions, or of buying lands, they can never have their hearts at rest for the fervent care and greedy desire to obtain the same. But whereas it is declared here, that God hath given unto us his Son, of mere love, we are slothful and sluggish, without all desire to receive it. What is the cause that we set so lightly by such a high gift, and do not embrace it worthily as we ought to do? The devil truly, who casts a mist over our hearts, that we care not for the word and promise as touching this gift, but in the mean time we bestow all our cares in worldly things. Wherefore, in the beginning, I said that these words ought daily to be rehearsed and used, when we rise in the morning, and when we go to bed at night, that we might print them in our hearts, and give God thanks for this so great benefit. For all things are so great, that they can be no greater; the Giver, the love of the Giver, and the gift itself which is given us of mere love, not of merit, and is so given that it remains with us, not as borrowed, or lent, or recompensed. For which also is

nothing given again, neither is anything required therefore, but that thou shouldest joyfully embrace it, and so declare thy mind. But alas, what an unworthy thing is this, that there be neither hearts nor hands to receive this gift as it is proffered; that this should be our Christ, and should remain with us for ever, unto everlasting life. But herein is a very wicked and grievous thing, that they to whom this gift is offered, although they have great need thereof, yet they regard it not, but refuse to receive it. And yet God demands nothing else of us, but to receive it and to take it as our own; but this is our madness, that although we are mere beggars, yet we think scorn to be provided for. Judge thou therefore hereof, what a grievous sin is unbelief. It is not agreeable to man's nature to be against our own profit and gains, and not to receive it when it is proffered.

Hereof it appears how mad the world is, that it has no joy and felicity in this gift of God, and puts itself into such great blame, that it will not receive and take to its use that which is proffered. If it were ever so little gold that were proffered, we would be ready to receive it with both hands, yea, and with all the other limbs of the body also. Whereas though the Son of God is proffered for a gift, all men are in doubt whether they may embrace him or no, and bear themselves in hand that they have no need of him. Wherefore he hath his proper name given him, to whom the gift is proffered, and is called, The world—which is worthy to be hated, and especially if it be compared with the gift. For so little does he deserve this love and gift of God, that nothing can be more against God or nearer unto the devil, than the world is. And yet this is the true testimony and witness of Christ, saying, God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son. But because of these sins and this misery wherewith we sinners are encumbered, and so encumbered that we could never escape with-

out the help of God, doth God put forth this love, and bestows this gift freely upon us.

Is not the merciful Lord, therefore, worthy to be loved again? And ought we not to put our whole confidence in him, who forgiveth us our sins, yea, and the sins of all the world, and doth not reckon them, although they are innumerable? For seeing that the sins of one man are infinite, who can number the sins of the whole world? And yet is this sentence true and certain, that God forgiveth the world all their sins. For wheresoever is the love of God, there is also remission of sins. We should have ready hearts diligently to meditate on this love, whereas God gives to the world, which is his enemy, even his own self, so that we should look for no other thing of him but mere grace and mercy. Whatsoever befalls us in this life, yet should our hope be in this love, and our faith remain constant in the mercy of God, for Christ. Such thoughts must needs be full of great joy, as I and many other godly men do protest, that we have formerly lived in all kinds of abomination and idolatry, and have been defiled with divers sins. This ungodliness, God has not punished in us after our deserving, but has declared his love, and has by the gospel opened again his Son, whom he had given to the world before, that now we may hear again the wholesome doctrine, and understand that God is not angry with the world, but loves it, in that he gave his son to it. But alas, how execrable is our ingratitude! What exceeding dullness of understanding is this, that we cannot consider this great goodness of God! For if we would truly consider it, there should rise in us the affection of such joy, that we would not only show high obedience unto God, but also gladly suffer all things for his sake. But we may thank our unbelief for this, which regards not this great joy, but sets his pleasure in worldly trifles, and seeks for vain pleasures.

Thus far have we shortly rehearsed these four things; who is the Giver—what is the gift—how it is given—and to whom. Which things are all so great that no man can express them sufficiently by words. Now follows the intent, wherefore God gave this gift. It appears plainly that Christ Jesus was given to this intent, that all who believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Here is it declared with plain words, that, in this matter, there is no respect had unto riches, or worldly desires, but that we might thereby be delivered from death and sin, and that we might not perish. This is the cause and intent why this gift was given. Wherein we have just cause to believe and trust stedfastly. For we hear by the mouth of Christ that he himself is given unto us, and that the power of the devil is weakened and overthrown; and power to pacify the troubled conscience is restored to us for the attainment of everlasting life and salvation. Death shall be abolished, and all joy shall rise, for this sure faith, wherewith we believe that God is merciful unto us, that he loveth us, and of very love gave his Son unto us, that we should not perish but have everlasting life. The words are such that they cannot be sufficiently comprehended with thought. Wherefore a Christian must daily pray that God, by his Spirit, will make these words sweet and pleasant to our hearts, and kindle and inflame them in our minds. But whereas it is so, that we hear this doctrine, and yet care not for it, whether it take root in us or not, and whether it bring forth fruit or not, alas so are we never the better. And there is no doubt but that the damned in the latter judgment shall chiefly be confounded in themselves for this fault, that they despised this preaching.

But now let us go forth and see what is the way to come by this gift. For all things are not of like force to obtain this gift. Christ himself shows it

plainly by his word, when he saith, that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. This is an evident proof that only faith, that is, the trust in the grace and mercy of God, is the very hand wherewith we must take unto us this gift. For even, as God giveth by love and mercy, so we do take and receive by faith, and can receive no otherwise. As for thy merit for doing this or that, it hath no place. For our works are nothing requisite to the obtaining of this gift, only is it necessary to show ourselves ready through faith, and even as it is given of God, by love; so we ought to receive it by faith in Christ. As for an example, we are told here that God is merciful and ready to forgive, and that he declares his love and charity towards us by this—when he sends us his only begotten Son into the flesh, and lays our sins upon him; according to this saying of John, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world;” that by this gift and love our hearts may be confirmed against sin and the biting worm of conscience; forasmuch as God is not now angry with us, but standeth sure by his promise of grace and mercy which he has made with us, for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake. He that believeth this is sure to be saved. For this gift is given to make us safe from death and sin. For even as a great flame is in comparison with a drop of water: so is Christ in comparison with the sins of the world. As soon as they touch Christ, and as soon as the gift is received by faith, our sins are quite consumed and abolished, even as a dry stalk is by a hot fire. For here thou hearest by the word of Christ, that God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son for the world, that all who believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. He saith precisely here, They that believe in him. He saith not, He that taketh upon him this or that work, and is thereby endeavouring himself to purchase God’s favour. It

is only faith that purchases this gift. Wherefore let our adversaries withstand this sentence ever so much, let them rail ever so much against it, yet is this sentence sure and invincible; that they who believe in him shall have everlasting life, and shall not perish. And see thou put nothing hereto, nor take any thing from it, lest thou shouldest seem to take upon thee to correct Christ's judgment. These are excellent words and the words of life; God grant us his grace to print them in our hearts. For he that hath these words surely fixed in his heart, can neither be afraid of the devil, nor of sin, nor of hell, but will be of a quiet heart, and say, I am without all fear; for I have with me the Son of God, whom God hath given unto me by love and by the word of God, that is, by the gospel, which certifies me thereof. And thy word, O Lord, and thy Son Jesus, will not deceive me, in whom alone I put my trust. If I be weak in faith, grant me grace that I may believe more steadfastly. For besides this, I have no other help in this evident gift and love of God, but that we should all, by a little and a little, believe more and more in this gift. For faith is requisite, as thou hearest here of Christ. And the stronger faith is, the greater is the joy, pleasure, and security that is felt rising in the mind, so that after that the mind is most prone and ready to do and to suffer all things which we know God requires of us, and wills us to do, knowing that he is loving, and uses nothing but love toward us.

But thou wilt say, If I were as Peter, Paul, and Mary were; this gift would be comfortable unto me. For they are saints, and doubtless this saying pertains but unto them. How should I, who am a sinner, by any means understand that it pertains unto me, who have so often offended God by my sins, and have made him my enemy? Such thoughts cannot be avoided, when the heart, after this kind of preach-

ing and reasoning, beholds itself, and considers its sins. And here must we be circumspect and wary, lest we, laying aside God's word, give ourselves any long time to such thoughts, but forthwith must we return to the word, and order our judgment according to the same. For those thoughts are nothing but mere incredulity and unbelief, which goeth about to withdraw us from this sweet gospel. And truly unbelief can be overcome by no other means than by the word of God. Of this Christ spake—that we should not doubt of this word; saying, that his Father, the true and eternal God in heaven, did so love the world, that he delivered his only begotten Son. And this is sure, that the world here does not signify Mary, Peter, and Paul only; but the world signifies all mankind. Therefore; if thou takest thyself to be of mankind, or if thou dost not believe that, compare thyself with other mortal men, that thou mayest understand that thou art a man. For why shouldst thou not suffer thyself to be of this name, seeing that Christ with plain words saith, that God gave not his son only for Mary, Peter, and Paul, but for the world, that all should receive him that are the sons of men. Then if thou or I would not receive him, as though he did not appertain unto us, truly it would consequently follow, that Christ's words are not true, whereas he saith he was given and delivered for the world. Wherefore hereof appears, that the contrary thereto is most assuredly true, that is, that this gift belongs as well unto thee as to Peter and Paul, forasmuch as thou also art a man as they were, and a portion of the world, that God may not be judged in his word, and this thought rise in our heart, thinking on this wise: Who knoweth whether I am also of their number, to whom the son of God is given, and eternal life promised? For that is as much as to make God untrue to his promise. Wherefore when this thought comes upon

thee, suspect it, as thou wouldest suspect the devil, lest thou be therewith deceived. And say thou, What is that to me, that I am neither Peter nor Paul? If God would have given this gift to them only that should have been found worthy, he would have given it to the angels, to the sun, and to the moon; for they are pure and undefiled creatures, which always obey God, and never decline or swerve from his precepts. But this is the truth of the matter, he gave Him to the world, and the world is no worthier thereof than as I said before. Wherefore, although I am neither Peter nor Paul, yet will I not suffer myself to be put beside this gift, but will challenge as much for my part as David and all the holy apostles did. Whatsoever I am, yet God is not to be taken as unfaithful to his promise. I am a portion of the world, wherefore if I take not this gift as mine-own I make God untrue.

But thou wilt say, Why does He not show this to me alone? Then I would believe and think surely that it appertained unto me. But it is for a great consideration that God speaks here so generally; to the intent verily that no man should think that he is excluded from this promise and gift. He that excludes himself must give account why he does so. I will not judge them, saith he, but they shall be judged of their own mouth. For this gift was given to all the world, and they by their unbelief and mistrust of God's word will not receive it. Yet if a man consider well, he shall perceive that baptism, and also the communion of the body and blood of Christ, were ordained to the intent, that every man should take this gift freely and frankly as his own. And thus much have we spoken generally for the understanding of this sentence, which can never be sufficiently declared and perceived. For it is the principal doctrine, by the faith whereof we die and obtain salvation, in the which Christ describes plainly

to our great comfort, that he himself is wholly given unto us from the Father, of pure love ; which love he, as a merciful God, performs to the wicked and unkind world. And here it is plainly set forth to all men, what a great treasure we christians have. We learn here also what God and the world are, and how we are made partakers of this grace only through faith ;—as Christ saith, all who believe in him have everlasting life. For the doctrine of works, which after this faith ought to ensue, by the power of the Holy Ghost, is to be placed in another matter. What a christian ought to do as the obedient son of God, and as one showing himself kind and mindful for so great a gift of eternal life, and love of God ; as touching that, I say, Christ teaches nothing in this place. Wherefore we will now treat no further of this matter, that we are saved only by the mercy of God, and that we obtain this grace only by faith, without virtue, without merits, and without our works. For all the whole matter that is requisite and necessary to the getting of everlasting life and remission of our sins, is altogether and fully comprehended in the love and mercy of God through Christ. God grant us his grace, that we may believe and trust thereunto surely, and that we may abide and suffer all things with a glad and a ready heart, and that we may so die that we may be saved for ever. Our God grant us this through his Son and our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.

SERMON
ON THE
COMING OF OUR LORD CHRIST,
FOR
THE SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT,
BY
THOMAS BECON.

TAKEN FROM HIS POSTILS, PRINTED IN 1567.

" There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars, and in the earth, the people shall be at their wits end through despair. The sea and the water shall roar, and men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which shall come on the earth. For the powers of heaven shall move and then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with great power and great glory. When these things begin to come to pass then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh. And he showed them a similitude. Behold the fig tree and all other trees, when they shoot forth their buds, ye see and know of your own selves that Summer is nigh at hand. So likewise ye also when ye see these things come to pass, be sure that the kingdom of God is nigh. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass." Luke xxi.25- 32.

THE EXPOSITION.

THIS manner hath the Lord our God used always from the beginning, when he is about to do any unwonted thing, he has always sent before great and marvellous signs. As when he would punish the Egyptians and deliver his children; and make him a

peculiar people; then were set forth before, many great and wonderful tokens of all kinds of plagues. For the frogs, locusts, botches, and such like did greatly hurt the Egyptians, until at length all their first-born were slain in one night, and the remnant of the people drowned in the Red Sea. But among the Jews, these things were good signs, whereas he led them dry foot through the Red Sea, and drowned their enemies, and gave manna, and such like things. This was a token that God would work some new practice with this people; that it should be a kingdom and commonwealth. This was it also when he would punish the Jews, and ordain a congregation; for when Christ hung upon the cross, the graves were opened, and the dead came out, and went into Jerusalem; a strange eclipse of the moon chanced, the vail of the temple was rent. All this did signify some strange thing to come, and an abolition of the old, as experience proved after that; when the service of the Jews vanished away, and Christ set up a new kingdom. This had the Jews learned often to their own peril. Wherefore the Apostles here come to Christ with a question: What signs should come before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the world, before the only and eternal kingdom of Christ cometh? Christ answers as concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. When ye shall see, saith he, Jerusalem besieged with an host, then know ye that her desolation is not far off. And therefore he counsels them to flee unto the mountains, for God's wrath cannot then be pacified. After like manner he teaches also as concerning the last day: When ye shall see signs in the sun and moon, in the stars, and in the sea, in the floods, in men and in heaven: when these things, says he, begin to come to pass, (for we must not defer it until men think that all is passed, or make light of it, as though such things had changed before then;) take good heed and think,

that there is no time to jest and laugh at these signs. For these signs are certain, that the last day draws nigh. And here is a question, what signs these shall be? and whether they shall fall all together? But this ought not to be demanded; for Christ says himself: When this begin to come to pass, then must ye look up. And therefore I believe that certain things, and perchance the most part, shall then come to pass, when that day begins to be opened. Wherefore this is sufficient that Christ teaches, where these signs must be marked and looked for, in heaven, in the sun, moon, and stars, in men and in the sea. When some of them shall be seen, ye must not look that all shall come to pass. But we must make us ready in season, that we may be prepared to the receiving of this day. Two manner of signs are shewed in the sun and moon. First when they have eclipse; and although this be of a natural motion (for by art may it well be known before the sign chance,) yet it is a sign, as it is plainly expressed in Matthew. But likewise also may there be signs in the sun that could not be known before, but chance suddenly before they were perceived of prognosticators or any thing thought upon: As the eclipse at the time when Christ was on the cross. For the reason of the art is this, that the eclipse of the sun is at the conjunction, or at the beginning of the moon; but when it is in the opposition, as it was then, or in another day of the month, now it is not natural, wherefore the eclipse was a great sign. And although we have seen no such sign, yet it may chance suddenly before we look for it. We also these twenty years have seen many strange things, which all are counted strange and seldom. [He mentions then some remarkable appearances of the sun in his day.] Wherefore we have signs sufficient in the sun, that we need not to be careless but to look for the true and healthful coming of our Lord.

The other signs that Christ speaketh of, are great roarings, and noises of the sea, whereas these things never chance commonly, but with great destruction. For even as a man, when natural death approaches, is first vexed with sickness, and begins to be diseased with a fever, pestilence, or with some other disease; all these things are tokens that he must leave this life: so the world also shall, as a man would say, wax sick, so that heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, men, waters, and all things may signify and give warning by a notable infirmity and sickness, and by miserable affliction, before it utterly perish. As touching the signs in men, I think that they are fully declared in our time, that the most detestable pope, with his doctrine hath promoted and set forward these signs, because the fearful consciences have been much vexed, for as much as they taught this, that it was a grievous sin not to go to confession, not to pray, fast, and hear mass, &c. But in such vexation no man could learn how to rid himself out thereof; for the true comfort, that is the remission of sins through Christ, was abolished; and there at last was set up a very place of torment, now by this satisfaction, now by that. So that I may well believe, that was the chiefest misery in the earth. As indeed I saw many, the which could not hide this trembling and dread, and did for very fear and pensiveness despair, because they mistrusted that they were not able to sustain God's judgment. For the pope's doctrine brought us to this opinion, that we feared Christ as a horrible judge. And many have been in that case, that they thought there was no hope of salvation to be looked for of Christ for them; and for that cause they prayed to the Virgin Mary, that she would be their patroness, and make intercession for them to such a judge. For no man knew any other thing but that Christ was clean lost; wherefore there was no other thing looked for, but that

we did tremble and quake when we thought of this judge.

Wherefore think this, that the greatest part of this sign is past. And I judge likewise of the celestial signs, that the least part of them remains. And if they be not all yet come to pass: yet it may chance daily that they be done. But, nevertheless, we must be nothing slack in caring therefore, that we may be ready to meet at that day. As Christ hereafter exhorts us so to do. In the end Christ speaks also of the other prodigious sign, and saith: "Men shall pine away for fear, and for the dreadful expectation of these things that shall chance to the world." Here speaks he of another confusion, which is exceeding great. And thereof it chanceth, that men fear the signs of the last day. But such are not the wicked, and the ungodly, but the godly and timorous. Wherefore they join with the signs the meaning thereof, which the wicked do foolishly despise, and think themselves wise in so doing, because many such signs have chanced before; and yet the day came not. Wherefore they see these signs daily, and are not any the better; neither do they think that the things that chance on the last day, are showed to make them to be beware and circumspect. Such despisers does Christ cast from him. For seeing, they are so dull-hearted that they are nothing moved with the signs, much less will they care for word and doctrine. But the good, which mark these signs, and are moved with them, doth Christ take to his cure, and comforts them sweetly after this sort: Forasmuch as they confess Christ, and see by his word, and will not depart from it willingly, or deny it, that they ought not to be afraid or abashed at the sight of any signs, be they never so horrible and dreadful. "Then shall they see," says Christ, "the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory." This magnificence passeth all the triumphs of kings and empe-

rors ; for then shall the air be full of angels and saints, which shall shine more bright than the sun, and Christ shall be in the midst of them, and with his elect shall give sentence against the damned, which shall stand beneath on the earth, with the devil, trembling and quaking. Wherefore, says Christ, “ when these things begin to come to pass, look up ; and lift up your heads, be of good cheer, and see that ye be merry. For all these things must be done.”—If the world must needs fall, it must first give a crack. For such a great building cannot fall, except all things thereof be first shaken and plucked in pieces ; as a man that is now at the point of death—he is restless, and rolls his eyes, mouth, and all his members ; his face waxeth pale, and all about him is seen great deformity. Such shall be the fashion of the world, when it shall now perish. But I say unto you, be not discouraged in your minds ; Lift up your heads : For to you it may be a pleasure to behold these things. And this occasion of joy is not to be despised. Your redemption, says he is at hand : yours, I mean, that believe. But the other, that do not believe, shall be condemned. Wherefore they ought to fear, but they do not so. For Christ shall bring with him both these things,—that is, heaven for the believers and godly, and hell and damnation for the other. This speaks Christ to the godly, which shall also be afraid, when the sun and moon shall change their countenances, and the world shall be full of signs. For the saints be not so strong ; yea, Peter and Paul would think these signs fearful, if they were living. But be strong, says Christ : there shall be an horrible sight, but it shall not hurt you ; it shall hurt the devil and the ungodly : but there shall come thereof salvation, and most joyful redemption to you, which ye have desired so greatly, and have prayed that my kingdom should come ; your sins be forgiven : and you yourselves delivered from all

evil. That thing, therefore, that ye have prayed for so long and so heartily, shall now be given unto you ; for this is called the day of your redemption. Wherefore, this latter day may well be called the day of damnation and redemption ; the day of sorrow and joy ; the day of hell, and of the kingdom of heaven.

As Christ, in the 24th of Matthew says, " Then shall all the tribes of the earth lament." We shall not, by God's grace, be amongst them : but here will we leave the pope, the fantastical spirits, the wrongful extortioners, the wicked citizens, the seditious people, and such other, which leave no kind of wrong undone ; which persecute the gospel, and are the beginners of all these evils : then shall they smoke for this. But we that are now oppressed with their might, and dare not look them on the face ; which weep and are vexed ; shall at that time see before our faces how they are driven with the devil into hell. Wherefore, although it shall seem dreadful unto you, be not afraid ; seek no corners to hide you in, when these things begin to come to pass : but lift up your heads merrily, and strive against your temptations. Remember that ye would have me such a one : for if ye would have me your redeemer, first must I oppress them that hold you captive. Is it not so ? If the robbers had taken thee, and put thee in a castle, and thou heardest that the castle were strongly besieged, thou wouldest not care so much for the extremity of thy enemies, but wouldest rather rejoice, if thou knewest that this were done for thy sake, that thou mightest be delivered from them. So think ye here also, that it ought not to seem terrible, when the world shall plunge miserably, and grievously be tormented. For this punishment is not for you, but provided for them on whom ye made complaint. Wherefore take this coming as the coming of your salvation : for I come not to condemn you to hell, but to deliver you out of

this wicked, froward, and corrupt world, and to separate you from the devil and his guard; and to put ye amongst the angels, where ye shall suffer no evil, but have the fruition of everlasting life.

•And to this comfort belongs the goodly similitude of the trees. In the spring, says he, when winter is at an end, and all the earth is renewed, when cold departs, and heat approaches, and the bare trees begin to be green with new boughs: no other thing follows hereof, but that the trees bring forth buds, and after that spread abroad their leaves. Then it is as the common saying, Winter is gone, and goodly summer draws nigh: we gladly let winter depart, and embrace pleasant summer at his coming.

Therefore in his similitude of the trees, may we have evident reasons, declaring after what manner we ought to look for this last day. For as after leaves comes summer, so when the earth shall be moved, and the heavens shall tremble, and when the sun and moon shall appear mournful, let these things seem no more dreadful unto us, than when the tender leaves creep forth of the trees, when summer begins to come in. For these signs are to us even as the leaves and juice of the trees, that we may joyfully look for that everlasting summer. For this present miserable life is very well compared to barren and evil-favoured winter, in the which all things die and wither away. But these things shall then come to their end, and everlasting summer shall come in their stead; that is, the kingdom of God, whereby the kingdom of the devil shall perish. Why are there so many miseries given as a punishment in the earth? Because ye live amongst the covetous and wicked, that blaspheme and curse the gospel, and stir up all mischief in the world. This must we see and hear, and look daily for worse.

From all these things will I deliver you by my coming, that ye may not be constrained to behold

any longer their wickedness. Wherefore this terrible state of the world does not come for you, but for your enemies. They have a good cause to be afraid and sorrowful: but rejoice ye, as godly Lot did, which, says Peter, dwelt in Sodom, and was constrained with his innocent eyes and ears, to hear and see the detestable sins, until they grew to such fullness and ripeness, that God could no longer refrain. There came two angels, which led godly Lot out of the city. Surely this thing was not without a terrible sight: when the element was horrible with clouds; when thunder was heard, and the cloud went apart with a great wideness, and brimstone and fire fell down by rain: and the gasping of the ground ensued, and swallowed in all things. It is not otherwise to be thought, but that Lot was greatly dismayed at these things. But this comfort was at hand, that this horrible and dreadful tempest did not strike him, but the Sodomites, which believed not the word of God, but gave themselves to all kind of most abominable lewdness, yea. and that without all measure. These must needs be marvellously troubled at this fiery rain. But godly Lot beheld this tempest as a pleasant tree in the spring time, that puts forth his buds, and begins to be green. For he feels and receives help and merciful deliverance against the wicked. So, shall it chance to us also in the latter day, if it befall in our lifetime! It shall seem a terrible thing, when heaven and earth shall burn, and we shall be changed in a moment and die. But a christian man must not here take his eyes for judges, but mark how Christ expounds it: that these flowers and boughs are most pleasant. So that, albeit that the grievous sight of the world shall terrify and abash reason, yet let the heart trust to the word of God, that it may not fear that outward sight, but say, **Mistrust not**, there is no hurt or damage. This does not signify, as Christ says, any evil; but, "that

my redemption, and my Redeemer is at hand." Hail, my Redeemer Christ, therefore, and come on as thou art wished for, as I have desired oftentimes, and prayed for while I lived, that thy kingdom might come unto me. He that can receive Christ at his coming after this manner, shall in a moment be changed into that glory, that he may shine with the sun for ever. After this sort does Christ teach us to know truly the last day, that we may learn how great succour we have therein, and why also we ought to look for, and fervently to desire his coming.

The pope preacheth of Christ, that he is a severe Judge, and that we must have help before him by our good monks, and that the intercession of saints are to be had, if any man will be sure from damnation. For so has he put it forth in picture, how Christ comes to judgment, and how he holds a sword and a rod in his mouth, which both are signs of wrath. And whereas Mary and John stand on both sides, it shews that the prayers and intercessions of them and of other such good saints, must be sought for and trusted in. As the good father Bernard persuaded himself, that when the mother shews her paps to the Son, that he cannot deny her any thing; which was an evident proof, that Christ should come like a severe Judge. But in this gospel he teaches us otherwise, that is, that he shall not come to judge and condemn us, but to deliver and redeem us, and that he will grant indeed that which we prayed for, and bring us to his kingdom. And as for others that believe not in him, and vex the Christians with railing and reviling, he will by his sharp sentence, punish grievously. This, (says he,) believe ye only, and look for my coming joyfully: for it shall be to your wealth, that ye may be saved by me for ever, from sin, devil, death, hell, and the world. This is a great comfort. But in this place one thing remains, whereby the fearful consciences are troubled. For

Christ says that that day shall come unlooked for. So that it shall chance likewise to men as it chanceth to birds, which flee in the morning hungry out of the woods, to find meat somewhere, suspecting no evil, because they were not deceived of their hope in that place before; and suddenly they are wrapped in the nets, taken and killed. But they that fear God will take heed thereof. And because they prove by daily examples how soon they that stand, fall: they are weakhearted, and soon overthrown. For they think it uncertain, what shall become of them to-morrow. Perchance the hour will come when thou shalt be most unready, and didst not see it before; or else thou shalt be entangled with this or that sin. Then art thou undone, and this joyful day shall be changed into mourning.

In this doubt, Christ leaves us not comfortless, but teaches christian men how they shall be rid from their pensiveness, and says: See that your heart be not overladen with surfeit and drunkenness, and with the cares of this life, lest this day oppress you unawares. But watch at all times, and pray, that ye may be found worthy to escape these things, which shall chance, and to stand before the Son of Man. This is an excellent and a necessary doctrine, which ought never to fall out of our minds. Christ gives here no injunction, to forbear meat and drink wholly, neither as the pope commands, to cast away all things—to live out of the world's trouble. God does not disallow the use of meat and drink: neither is it ungodly to provide things necessary for our household. For God for this cause made us to work. But take heed of this, that your hearts be not oppressed with these things so much that ye forget my coming, but watch, that is, look that at all times ye wait, and be armed with the fear of God, and with a good conscience. Do this first: then join with this prayer, that your temptations and cumbrances may be es-

caped, and that ye may stand before the Son of Man. As it is comprised in the two last petitions of the Lord's Prayer: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." If ye do so, there will be no peril, whether this day come when we be supping or sleeping: whether we be in the church, or in the market-place, it is all one; for it shall find us in the fear and protection of God.

But in this place, it is to be noted, that God cannot well be prayed unto, neither can the prayer be true, when a man careth not to leave certain vices, and to amend his life. Wherefore to true prayer is required true repentance, and that no man sin wittingly, and so hinder his conscience. After that, let us call upon God for mercy, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he will keep us in the true fear of him; and by the Holy Ghost help us against sin, and preserve us in true faith unto the end, that we may joyfully look after this healthful day, and that we receive Jesus Christ as our Saviour with all confidence. Such prayer through Christ is heard without doubt. Wherefore let us follow this counsel and precept, and on this wise prepare ourselves to the expectation of this day. The which thing our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ grant us. Amen.

BRADFORD.

A FRUITFUL SERMON

OF

REPENTANCE,

MADE BY THE CONSTANT MARTYR OF CHRIST,

JOHN BRADFORD, 1553.

THE life we have at this present is the gift of God, in whom we live, move, and are, and therefore he is called JEHOVAH. For this life we should be thankful, and we may not in any wise use it after our own fancy, but only to the end for which it is given and lent us; that is, to the setting forth of God's praise and glory, by repentance, conversion, and obedience to his good will and holy laws; whercunto his long-suffering, as it were, even draws us, if our hearts were not hardened by impenitency. And therefore our life in the scripture is called a walking; for as the body daily draweth more and more near its end, that is, the earth, even so our soul draweth daily more and more near unto death, that is, to salvation or damnation, to heaven or hell!

Since we are most careless of this, and very fools, (for we, alas! are the same to-day we were yester-

day, and not better or nearer to God, but rather nearer to hell, Satan, and perdition; being covetous, idle, carnal, secure, negligent, proud, &c.) I think my labour cannot be better bestowed, than with the Baptist, Christ Jesus, and his apostles, to harp on this string, which of all other is most necessary, and most especially in these days. What string is that? says one. Truly, brother, it is the string of repentance, which Christ our Saviour used first in his ministry; and as his minister at this present time, I will use it to you all, "REPENT, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND." Matt. iv.

This sentence, thus pronounced and preached by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as it commands us to repent, so to the doing of the same, it shows us a sufficient cause to stir us up thereunto, namely, because the kingdom of heaven, which is a kingdom of all joy, peace, riches, power and pleasure, is at hand, to all such as do repent. So that the meaning hereof is, as though our Saviour should thus speak at present: Sirs, since I see you all walking the wrong way, even to Satan and unto hell-fire, by following the kingdom of Satan, which now is coloured under the vain pleasures of this life, and foolishness of the flesh most subtilly, to your utter undoing and destruction—behold and mark well what I say unto you, The kingdom of heaven, that is, another manner of joy and felicity, honour and riches, power and pleasure, than you now perceive or enjoy, is even at hand, and at your backs; as, if you will turn again, that is, repent you, you shall most truly and pleasantly feel, see, and inherit. Turn again therefore, I say, that is, REPENT; for this joy I speak of, even THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, IS AT HAND.

Here we may note, first, the corruption of our nature, since to this commandment, "Repent you," he adds a clause, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" for by reason of the corruption and sturdiness of our

nature, God unto all his commandments commonly either adds some promise to provoke us to obedience, or else some sufficient cause which cannot but excite us to hearty labouring for doing the same ; as here, to the commandment of doing penance, he adds this cause, saying, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Again, since he joins the cause to the commandment, saying, "For the kingdom of heaven is at hand," we may learn, that of the kingdom of heaven, none, to whom the ministry of preaching doth appertain, can be a partaker, but such as repent, and do penance. Therefore, dearly beloved, if you regard the kingdom of heaven, as you cannot enter therein except you repent, I beseech you all, of every estate, as you desire your own weal, to repent and do penance: the which that you may do, I will do my best now to help you by God's grace.

But first, because we cannot well tell what repentance is, through ignorance and for lack of knowledge and false teaching, I will show you what repentance is. Repentance, or penance, is no English word, but we borrow it of the Latinists, to whom penance is 'forethinking' in English ; in Greek, it means 'being wise afterwards;' in Hebrew, 'conversion or turning;' which conversion or turning cannot be true and hearty, unto God especially, without some good hope or trust of pardon for that which is already done and past. I may well in this sort define it, namely, that penance is a sorrowing or thinking upon our sins past, an earnest purpose to amend, or turning to God, with a trust of pardon.

This definition may be divided into three parts ; first, a sorrowing for our sins,—secondly, a trust of pardon, which otherwise may be called a persuasion of God's mercy by the merits of Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins,—and thirdly, a purpose to amend, or conversion to a new life ; which third or last part cannot properly be called a part ; for it is

but an effect of penance, as towards the end you shall see by God's grace. But lest such as seek for occasion to speak evil should have any occasion, though they tarry not out to the end of this sermon, I therefore divide penance into the three aforesaid parts: I. Of sorrowing for our sins: II. Of good hope or trust of pardon: and III. Of a new life. Thus you now see what penance is, a sorrowing for sin, a purpose to amend, with a good hope or trust of pardon.

I.—This penance not only differs from that which men commonly have taken to be penance, as saying and doing our enjoined lady-psalters, seven psalms, fastings, pilgrimages, alms-deeds, and such like things, but also from that which the more learned have declared to consist of three parts, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

Contrition they call a just and a full sorrow for their sin. For this word, just and full, is one of the differences between contrition and attrition.

Confession they call a numbering of all their sins in the ear of their ghostly father; for as, say they, a judge cannot absolve without knowledge of the cause or matter, so the priest or ghostly father cannot absolve from other sins, than those which he hears.

Satisfaction they call amends-making unto God for their sins, by their undue works, or *opera indebita*, works more than they need to do, as they term them. This is their penance which they preach, write, and allow. But how true this their plan is, how it agrees with God's word, how it is to be allowed, taught, preached, and written, let us a little consider. Dearly beloved, if a man repent not until he have a just and full sorrowing for his sins, when shall he repent? For inasmuch as hell-fire, and the punishment of the devils, is a just punishment for sin,—inasmuch as in all sin there is a contempt of God, who is all goodness, and therefore there is a deserving of all illness,¹

¹ Suffering.

alas! who can bear or feel this just sorrow, this full sorrow for our sins, this their contrition, which they do so discern¹ from their attrition? Shall not man by this doctrine rather despair than come by repentance? If a man repent not until he has made confession of all his sins in the ear of his ghostly father,—if a man cannot have absolution of his sins until his sins are told by tale and number in the priest's ear,—since, as David saith, none can understand, much less utter, all his sins; who can be absolved from his sins? Since David complains of himself elsewhere, how his sins have flowed over his head, and as a heavy burden do depress him,—alas! shall not a man by this doctrine be utterly driven from repentance? Though they have gone about something to make plaster for their sores, of confession or attrition to assuage their pain, bidding a man to hope well of his contrition, though it be not so full as is required, and of his confession, though he have not numbered all his sins, if so be that he do so much as in him lieth. Dearly beloved, since there is none but that herein he is guilty; for who doth as much as he may? trow ye,² that this plaster is not like salt for sore eyes? Yes, undoubtedly, when they have done all they can for the appeasing of consciences in these points, this is the sum, that we yet should hope well, but yet so hope that we must stand in a mammering³ and doubting whether our sins are forgiven. For to be certain of forgiveness of sins, as our creed teaches us, they count it a presumption. Oh! abomination, and that not only herein, but in all their penance as they paint it.

As concerning satisfaction by their *opera indebita*, undue works, that is, by such works as they need not to do, but of their own voluntariness and wilfulness, (wilfulness indeed,) who sees not here monstrous

¹ Distinguish.

² Do you suppose.

³ Hesitating.

abomination, blasphemy, and even open fighting against God? For if satisfaction can be done by man, then Christ died in vain for him that so satisfieth; and so he reigneth in vain, so is he a bishop and a priest in vain. God's law requires love to God, with all our heart, soul, power, might, and strength, (Deut. vi. Matt. xxii. Mark xii. Luke x.) so that there is nothing can be done toward God which is not contained in this commandment, nothing can be done over and above this. Again, Christ requireth of men, "that we should love one another as he hath loved us." (1 John iv.) And trow we that we can do any good thing toward our neighbour which is not herein comprised?

Yea, let them tell me when they do anything in the love of God and their neighbour, so that they had not need to cry, "Forgive us our sins?" (Matt. vi.) So far are we off from satisfying, doth not Christ say, "When you have done all things that I have commanded you, say that you are but unprofitable servants." (Luke xvii.) "Put nothing to my word," saith God. (Deut. iv.) Yes, works of supererogation, (yea, superabomination,) say they. "Whatsoever things are true, (saith the apostle Paul,) whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things pertain to love, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, have you them in your mind, and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you." I mean, this well looked on will pull us from popish satisfactory works, which do deface Christ's treasure and satisfaction.

In heaven and in earth was there none found that could satisfy God's anger for our sins, or get heaven for man, but only the Son of God, Jesus Christ, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, who by his blood hath wrought the work of satisfaction, and alone is worthy

of all honour, glory, and praise, for he hath opened the book with the seven seals.

Dearly beloved, therefore abhor this abomination, even to think that there is any other satisfaction toward God for sin, than Christ's blood only. Blasphemy it is, and that horrible, to think otherwise. "The blood of Christ purifieth (saith St. John) from all sin," and therefore he is called the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, because there never was sin forgiven of God, nor shall be, from the beginning unto the end of the world, but only through Christ's death, though the pope and his prelates prate as please them, about their pardons, purgations, placebos, trentals, dirges, works of supererogation, superabomination, &c.

"I am he (saith the Lord) which putteth away thine offences, and that for mine own sake, and will no more remember thine iniquities. Put me in remembrance, (for we will reason together,) and tell me what thou hast for thee, to make thee righteous. Thy first father offended sore, &c." (Isa. xliii.) And thus writeth St. John: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation, or satisfaction, for our sins." As in chapter iv. he says, that God hath sent his Son to^e be a propitiation or mean for the taking away of our sins, according to that which Paul writeth, where he calls Christ a merciful and faithful priest, to purge the people's sins, (Heb. ii. ;) so that blind buzzards and perverse papists are they, which yet will prate of our merits or works to satisfy for our sins, in part or in whole, before baptism or after. For to omit the testimonies I brought out of John and Paul, which the blind cannot but see, I pray you remember the text out of Isaiah, which even now I rehearsed, being spoken to such as were then the people of God, and had been a long time, but yet were fallen into grievous sins after their adop-

tion into the number of God's children. "It is for mine own sake (saith God) that I put away thy sins." Where is your parting of the stake now? If it is for God's own sake, if Christ is the propitiation; then recant, except you will become idolaters, making your works God and Christ. Say as David teaches us, "Not to us, Lord, not to us, but to thy name be the glory."

And it is to be noted, that God casts in their teeth even the sin of their first father, lest they should think that perchance for the righteousness and goodness of their good fathers, their sins might be the sooner pardoned, and so God accept their works.

If they had made satisfaction for that which is done to the congregation, publicly, by some notable punishment, as in the primitive church was used to open offenders, sparkles whereof and some traces yet remain, when such as have sinned in adultery go about the church in their shirts with a taper: Or if they had made satisfaction for restitution toward man, of such goods as wrongfully are gotten, which true penance cannot be without; or if by satisfaction they had meant a new life to make amends to the congregation thereby, as by their evil life they offended the congregation, in which sense the apostle seems to take that which he writeth in 2 Cor. vii., where the old interpreter calleth apologium, satisfaction, which rather signifies a defence or answering again; if, I say, they had taken satisfaction any of these ways, then they had done well, so that the satisfaction to God had been left alone to Christ.

Again, if they had made confession either that which is to God privately, or that which is to the congregation publicly, either that which is a free consultation with some one learned in God's book, and appointed thereto, as first it was used, and I wish were now used amongst us; or that which is a reconciliation of one to another, it had been some-

thing. Yea, if they had made it for faith, because it is a true demonstration of faith, as in Paul we may see, when he calleth Christ the captain of our confession, that is, of our faith, and so confessors were called in the primitive church—such as manfully did witness their faith with the peril of their lives; if, I say, they had taken it thus, then had they done right well.

And so contrition, if they had left out their subtle distinction between it and attrition, by this word just or full, making it a hearty sorrow for their sins, then we would never have cried out against them therefore. For we say penance has three parts; contrition, if you understand it for a hearty sorrowing for sin: confession, if you understand it for faith of free pardon in God's mercy by Jesus Christ; and satisfaction, if you understand it not to be towards God, (for that must be left alone, only to Christ,) but toward man in restitution of goods wrongfully or fraudently gotten, of name hindered by our slanders, and in newness of life; although, as I said before, and presently will show more plainly, by God's grace, that this last is no part of penance indeed, but a plain effect or fruit of true penance.

I might here bring in examples of their penance, how perilous it is to be embraced; but let the example of their grandsire Judas serve, in whom we see all the parts of their penance, as they describe it, and yet notwithstanding he was damned. He was sorry enough, as the effect showed; he had their contrition fully, out of the which he confessed his fault, saying, "I have betrayed innocent blood;" and thereunto he made satisfaction, restoring the money he had received. But yet all was but lost, he hanged up himself, his bowels burst out, and he remaineth a child of perdition for ever. I would wish that this example of Judas, in whom we see the parts of their penance, contrition, confession,

and satisfaction, would move them to penance, and to describe it a little better, making hope or trust of God's free mercy a piece thereof, or else with Judas they will mar all.

Perchance these words contrition, confession, and satisfaction, were used at the first as I have expounded them. But as we see so much danger and hurt by using them without expositions, either let us always join to them open expositions, or else let us not use them at all, but say as I write, that penance is a hearty sorrow for our sins, a good hope or trust of pardon through Christ, which is not without an earnest purpose to amend, or a new life. This penance is the thing whereto all the scripture calls us. This penance I now call you all unto; this must be continually in us, and not for a Lent season, as we have thought; this must increase daily more and more in us; without this, we cannot be saved.

Search therefore your hearts, all ye swearers, blasphemers, liars, flatterers, filthy or idle talkers, jesters, bribers, covetous persons, drunkards, gluttons, whoremongers, thieves, murderers, slanderers, idle livers, negligent in their vocation, &c. All such and all other as lament not their sins, as hope not in God's mercy for pardon, as purpose not heartily to amend, to leave their swearing, drunkenness, fornication, covetousness, idleness, &c.; all such, I say, shall not and cannot enter into God's kingdom, but hell-fire is prepared for them, weeping and gnashing of teeth, whereunto, alas! I fear, very many will needs go, since very many will be as they have been, let us even, to the wearying of our tongue to the stumps, preach and pray ever so much to the contrary; and that even in the bowels of Jesus Christ, as now I beseech you all, and every one, to repent and lament your sins, to trust in God's mercy, and to amend your lives.

Now methinks you are somewhat astonished,

whereby I gather that at present you desire this repentance, that is, this sorrow, good hope, and newness of life; to the which that you may the rather attain, and get to your comforts, as I have gone about to be a mean to stir up in you, by God's grace, this desire of repentance, so through the same grace of God will I now go about to shew you, how you may have your desire in this behalf.

And first, concerning this part, namely, sorrow for your sins and hearty lamenting of the same; for this, if you desire the having of it, you must beware that you think not that of yourselves, or of your own free will, you can by any means get it. You may easily deceive yourselves, and mock yourselves, thinking more of yourselves than is seemly. All good things, and not pieces of good things, but all good things, saith St. James, come from God, the Father of light. If therefore penance is good, as it is good, then the parts of it are good: from God therefore do they come, and not of our free will. It is the Lord that mortifieth, that bringeth down, that humbleth, saith the scripture in sundry places. "After thou hadst stricken my thigh (saith Jeremiah, xxxi.) I was ashamed." Lo!" he saith, "After thou hadst stricken me," and therefore prayeth he; even in the last words almost he writeth, "Turn us, Lord, and we shall be turned," which David uses very often. Wherefore, first of all, if thou wouldst have this part of penance, as the whole is God's gift, so for this part go thou unto God, and make some little prayer, as thou canst, unto his mercy for the same, in this or the like sort:

' Merciful Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, because I have sinned, and done wickedly, and through thy goodness have received a desire of repentance, whereto this thy long-sufferance doth draw my hard heart, I beseech thee, for thy mercy's sake in Christ, to work the same repentance in me, and by thy Spirit, power, and grace, so to humble, mor-

tify, and fear my conscience for my sins, to salvation, that in thy good time thou mayst comfort and quicken me again, through Jesus Christ, thy dearly beloved Son. Amen.'

•After this sort, I say, or otherwise, as thou thinkest good, if thou wilt have this first part, contrition or sorrow for thy sins, do thou beg it of God through Christ. And when thou hast asked it, as I have laboured to drive thee from trusting in thyself, so now I go about to move thee from flattering of thyself, from sluggishness and negligence, to be diligent to use these means following.

First unto prayer which I would thou shouldst use as thou canst; secondly, get God's law as a glass to look in, for in it and by it cometh the true knowledge of sin, without which knowledge there can be no sorrow. For how can a man sorrow for his sins, who knows not his sins? As when a man is sick, the first step to health is to know his sickness; even so to salvation, the first step is to know that thy damnation is due for thy sins.

The law of God therefore must be gotten and well looked in, that is, we must look in it spiritually, and not corporeally or carnally, as the outward word or letter declares and utters; and so our Saviour teaches us in Matthew, expounding the sixth and seventh commandments, not only after the outward deed, but also after the heart; making there the anger of the heart a kind of murder, and lusting after another man's wife, a kind of adultery.

And this is one of the differences between God's law and man's law: that of this, man's law I mean, I am not condemnable, so long as I outwardly observe the same. But God's law goes to the root, and to the heart, condemning me for the inward motion, although outwardly I live most holily. As for example: if I kill no man, though in my heart I hate, man's law condemns me not, but God's law doth

otherwise. And why? for it sees the fountain whence the evil doth spring. If hatred were taken out of the heart, then loftiness in looks, detraction in tongue, and murder by hand, could never ensue. If lusting were out of the heart, curiosity in countenance, wantonness in words, indecent boldness in body, would not appear.

Since therefore this outward evil springs out of the inward corruption, seeing God's law also is a law of liberty, as saith St. James, (chap. i.) and spiritual, as saith St. Paul, (Rom. vii.) it is to be understood perfectly and spiritually, if we will truly come to the knowledge of our sins. For of this inward corruption, reason knows but little or nothing. "I had not known," saith Paul, (Rom. vii.) "that lusting," (which to reason, and to them which are guided only by reason, is thought but a trifle,) "I had not known," saith he, "this lusting to have been sin, if the law had not said, Thou shalt not lust."

To the knowledge therefore of our sins, without which we cannot repent, or be sorry for our sin, let us secondly get us God's law as a glass to look in; and that not only literally, outwardly, or partly, but also spiritually, inwardly, and thoroughly. Let us consider the heart, and so shall we see the foul spots we are stained withal, at least inwardly; whereby we may the rather be moved to hearty sorrow and sighing. For, as St. Austin saith, it is a glass which feareth¹ nobody; but even look, as thou art, so it paints thee out.

In the law we see it is a foul spot, not to love the Lord our God with all, all, I say, our heart, soul, power, might and strength; and that continually.

In the law it is a foul spot, not only to make to ourselves any graven image or similitude, to bow thereto, &c., but also not to frame ourselves wholly

after the Image¹ whereto we are made, not to bow to it, to worship it.

In the law we see that it is a foul spot, not only to take God's name in vain, but also not earnestly, heartily, and even continually to call upon his name only; to give thanks unto him, to believe, to publish, and live according to his holy word.

In God's law we see it is a foul spot to our souls, not only to be an open profaner of the Sabbath-day, but also not to rest from our own words and works, that the Lord might both speak and work in us and by us. Also not to hear his holy word, not to communicate his sacraments, not to give occasion to others to holiness by our example in godly works, and reverent esteeming of the ministry of his word.

In God's law we see it is a foul spot to our souls, not only to be an open disobeyer of our parents and magistrates, masters, and such as are in any authority over us, but also not to honour such even in our hearts, not to give thanks to God for them, not to pray for them, to aid, to help, or relieve them, to bear with their infirmities, &c.

In God's law we see it is a foul spot in our souls, not only to be a mankiller in hatred, malice, proud looks, brags, backbiting, railing, or bodily slaughter, but also not to love our neighbours, yea, our enemies, even in our hearts, and to declare the same in all our gestures, words, and works.

In God's law we see it is a foul spot to our souls, not only to be a whoremonger in lusting in our hearts in wanton looking, in unclean and wanton talking, in actual doing dishonestly with our neighbour's wife, daughter, servant, &c.; but also not to be chaste, sober, temperate in heart, looks, tongue, apparel, deeds, and to help others thereunto accordingly, &c.

In God's law we see it is a foul spot to our souls,

¹ Of God, Gen. 1. 26.

not only to covet in heart,—to flatter in look or word, lie, colour, &c. in deed, and to take away anything which pertains to another, but also in heart, countenance, word, and deed, not to keep, save, and defend that which pertains to thy neighbour, as thou wouldst thine own.

In God's law we may see it is a foul spot, not only to lie or bear false witness against any man, but also not to have as great care over thy neighbour's name, as over thine own.

Sin in God's law we may see it is, and a foul spot, not only to consent to evil, lust, or carnal desires, but even the very natural or carnal lusts and desires themselves, (for so I may call them, nature itself being now so corrupted,) are sin; as self-love, and many such. By reason whereof I trow there is none that looketh well herein; but though he is blameless to the world, and fair to the show, yet certainly inwardly his face is foul arrayed, and so shameful, proud, diseased, and loathsome, that he cannot but be sorry at the contemplation thereof, and that so much more, by how much he continueth to look in this glass accordingly.

And thus much concerning the second mean to the stirring up of sorrow for sin, that next unto prayer we should look in God's law spiritually; the which looking, if we use with prayer, as I said, let us not doubt but at length God's Spirit will work as now, to such as believe; for to the unbelievers all is in vain, their eyes are stark blind, they can see nothing; to such as believe, (I say,) I trust something is done even already. But if neither by prayer, nor by God's law spiritually, as yet, thy hard unbelieving heart feels no sorrow nor lamenting for thy sins; thirdly, look upon the penalty attached to God's law: for as to man's law there is a penalty affixed, so is there to God's law a penalty, and that no small one, but such a great one as cannot but make us fear if we believe

it, for all is in vain if we are faithless so as not to believe before we feel.

This penalty is God's malediction or curse: "Lo! accursed," saith he, "is all," no exception, all, saith God, "which continueth not in all things, (for he that is guilty of one is guilty of the whole, saith St. James,) in all things therefore (saith the Holy Ghost) which are written in the book of the law to do them." He saith not to hear them, to talk of them, to dispute of them, but to do them.

Who is he now that doth these? *Rara avis*,¹ few such birds, yea none at all. For all are gone out of the way, though not outwardly by word or deed, yet inwardly, at least by default and wanting of that which is required; so that a child of one night's age is not pure, (but by reason of birth-sin) in danger of God's malediction; much more, then, we, which, alas! have drunken in iniquity, as it were water, as Job saith. (Chap. xv.) But yet, alas! we quake not.

Tell me now, good brother, why do you so lightly consider God's curse, that for your past sins you are so careless, as though you had made a covenant with death and damnation, as the wicked did in Isaiah's time? What is God's curse? At the pope's curse with book, bell, and candle, oh! how we trembled which heard it, and though the same was not directed unto us, but unto others. For this God's curse, which is incomparably more fell and importable,² and is directed to us, yea, hanging over us all by reason of our sins, alas! how careless are we! Oh! faithless hard hearts! oh! Jezebel's guests! rocked and laid in a sleep in her bed! (Rev. ii.) Oh! wicked wretches! which being come into the depth of sin, do contemn the same. Oh! sorrowless sinners, and shameless harlots!

Is not the anger of a king death? And is the

• 1 A rare bird.

2 Severe and unbearable.

anger of the King of all kings a matter to be so lightly regarded as we do regard it, who are so reckless for our sins that we slug and sleep it out? As wax melteth away at the heat of the fire, (saith David,) so do the wicked perish at the face or countenance of the Lord. If, dearly beloved, his face is so terrible and intolerable for sinners and the wicked, what think we his hand is? At the face or appearing of God's anger, the earth trembleth, but we, earth, earth, yea, stones, iron, flints, tremble nothing at all. If we will not tremble in hearing, woe unto us, for then we shall be crushed in pieces, in feeling. If a lion roar, the beasts quake; but we are worse than beasts, which quake not at the roaring of the lion; I mean the Lord of hosts. And why? because the curse of God, hardness of heart, is already fallen upon us, or else we could not but lament and tremble for our sins, if not for the shame and foulness thereof, yet at least for the malediction and curse of God, which hangeth over us for our sins.

Lord, be merciful unto us, for thy Christ's sake, and spare us; in thine anger remember thy mercy towards us. Amen.

And thus much for the third thing to the moving of us to sorrow for our sins, that is, for the penalty affixed to God's law, I mean, for the malediction and curse of God. But if our hearts are so hard, that we feel not yet hearty sorrow for our sins, let us, fourthly, set before us examples past and present, old and new, that thereby the Holy Spirit may be effectual to work in his time this work of sorrowing for our sin.

Look upon God's anger for sin in Adam and Eve, for eating a piece of an apple. Were not they, the dearest creatures of God, cast out of paradise? Were not they subject to mortality, travail, labour, &c.? Was not the earth accursed for their sins? Do not we all feel the same, men in labour, women in travail-

ing with child, and all in death, mortality, and misery, even in this life? And was God so angry for their sin, and will he, being the same God, say nothing to us for ours, (alas!) much more horrible than the eating once of one piece of one apple?

In the time of Noah and Lot, God destroyed the whole world with water, and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, Zeboim and Admah, with fire and brimstone from heaven for their sins; namely, for their whoredoms, pride, idleness, unmercifulness to the poor, tyranny, &c. In which wrath of God even the very babes, birds, fowls, fishes, herds, trees, and grass perished; and think we that nothing will be spoken to us, who are much worse and more abominable than they? For all men may see, if they will, that the whoredoms, pride, unmercifulness, tyranny, &c. of England in this age far passes any age that ever was before. Lot's wife looking back was turned into a salt stone; and will our looking back again, yea, our running back again to our wickedness, do us no hurt? If we were not already blind, we should blush. Pharaoh's heart was hardened, so that no miracle could convert him; if ours were any thing soft, we should begin to sob.

Of six hundred thousand men, only two entered into the land of promise, because they had ten times sinned against the Lord, as he himself saith, (Numb. xiv. ;) and think we that God will not swear in his wrath, that we shall never enter into his rest, which have sinned so many ten times as we have hairs of our heads and beards, (I fear,) and yet we repent not.

The man that sware, and he that gathered sticks on the sabbath-day, were stoned to death; but we think our swearing is no sin, our bibbing,¹ rioting, yea, fornication on the sabbath-day, pleases God, or else we would something amend our manners.

¹ Drinking.

Eli's negligence in correcting his sons, brake his neck in two ; but ours, which pamper up our children like puppets, will put us to no plunge.¹ Eli's sons, for disobeying their father's admonition, brought over them God's vengeance ; and will our stubbornness do nothing ?

Saul's malice to David, Ahab's displeasure against Naboth, brought their blood to the ground for dogs to eat ; yea, their children were hanged up and slain for this ; but we continue in malice, envy, and murder, as though we were able to wage war with the Lord.

David's adultery with Bathsheba was visited on the child born ; on David's daughter, defiled by her brother ; and on his children, one slaying another ; his wives defiled by his own son ; on himself driven out of his realm in his old age, and otherwise also, although he most heartily repented his sin. But we think we are more dear unto God than David, which yet was a man after God's own heart, or else we could not but tremble, and begin to repent.

The rich glutton's gay paunch-filling, what did it ? It brought him to hell ; and have we a placard² that God will do nothing to us ?

Achan's subtle theft provoked God's anger against all Israel ; and our subtlety, yea, open extortion, is it so fine and polite that God cannot espy it ?

Gehazi's covetousness brought the leprosy upon him and all his seed. Judas also hanged himself. But the covetousness of England is of another cloth and colour. Well, if it were so, the same tailor will cut it accordingly.

Ananias and Sapphira, by lying, linked to themselves sudden death ; but ours now prolongeth our life, the longer to last in eternal death.

The false witnesses of the two judges against

¹ Difficulty.

² A notice or declaration.

Susanna lighted on their own pates; and so will ours do at length.

But what go I about to avouch ancient examples, where daily experience teaches? The sweating sickness of the other year; the storms the winter following, call upon us to weigh them in the same balances. The hanging and killing of men themselves, which are (alas!) too rife¹ in all places, require us to register them in the same rolls. At the least in children, infants, and such like, which cannot yet utter sin by word or deed, we see God's anger against sin in punishing them by sickness, death, mishap, or otherwise, so plainly that we cannot but groan and lament again, in that we have gushed out this more abundantly in word and deed.

And here with me a little look on God's anger yet so fresh, that we cannot but smell it, although we stop our noses never so much; I pray God we smell it not more fresh hereafter; I mean it forsooth, for I know you look for it, in our dear late sovereign lord the king's majesty.² You all know he was but a child in years; defiled he was not with notorious offences. Defiled, quoth I? nay, rather adorned with so many goodly gifts and wonderful qualities, as never prince was from the beginning of the world; should I speak of his wisdom, of his ripeness in judgment, of his learning, of his godly zeal, heroical heart, fatherly care for his commons, nurse-like solicitude for religion, &c. Nay, so many things are to be spoken in commendation of God's exceeding graces in this child, that, as Sallust writeth of Carthage, I had rather speak nothing than too little, for too much is too little. This gift God gave unto us Englishmen before all nations under the sun, and that of his exceeding love towards us. But, alas, and well away, for our unthankfulness' sake, for our

¹ Frequent.

² King Edward VI.

sin's sake, for our carnality, and profane living, God's anger has touched not only the body, but also the mind of our king by a long sickness, and at length has taken him away by death, death, cruel death, fearful death.

Oh! if God's judgment is begun in him, which, as he was the chiefest, so I think he was the holiest and godliest in the realm of England, alas! what will it be on us, whose sins are overgrown to our heads, so that they are climbed up into heaven! I pray you, my good brethren, know that God's anger towards us for our sins cannot but be great; yea, we see it was so great, that our good king could not bear it. What followed to Jewry after the death of Josias? May God save England, and give us repentance! My heart will not suffer me to tarry longer herein. I think this will thrust out some tears of repentance.

If therefore prayer for God's fear, the looking in God's glass, and the penalty thereto, will not burst open thy blockish heart, yet I think the tossing to and fro of these examples, and especially of our late king, and this troublesome time, will tumble some tears out of your heart, if you still pray for God's Spirit accordingly. For who are you, (think always with yourself,) that God should spare you more than them whose examples thou hast heard? What friends have you? Were not these kings, prophets, apostles, learned, and come of holy stocks? I deceive myself, (think you with yourself) if I believe that God, being the same God that he was, will spare me, whose wickedness is no less, but much more than some of theirs. He hates sin now as much as ever he did. The longer he spares, the greater vengeance will fall; the deeper he draws his bow, the sorer will the shaft pierce.

But if yet your heart is so hardened, that all this will not move you, surely you are in a very evil state, and remedy now know I none. What! said I, none?

know I none? Yes; there is one which is sure to serve, if any thing will serve. You look to know what this is; it is the passion and death of Jesus Christ. You know that the cause why Christ became man, and suffered as he suffered, was the sins of his people, that he might save them from the same. Consider the greatness of the sore, I mean sin, by the greatness of the Surgeon and of the remedy. Who was the Surgeon! No angel, no saint, no archangel, no power, no creature in heaven or in earth, but only He by whom all things were made, all things are ruled, also even God's own darling and only beloved Son becoming man.

Oh! what a great thing is this, that could not be done by the angels, archangels, potentates, powers, or all the creatures of God, without his own Son, who yet must needs be thrust out of heaven, as a man would say, to take our nature, and become man. Here have you the Surgeon; great was the cure that this mighty Lord took in hand.

Now what was the remedy? It was purchased dearly, and of many compositions; I cannot recite all, but rather must leave it to your hearty consideration. Three-and-thirty years was he curing our wounds: he sought it earnestly by fasting, watching, praying, &c. The same night that he was betrayed, I read how busy he was about a remedy in the garden, when he, lying flat on the ground, praying with tears, and that of blood, not a few, but so many as flowed down on the ground, crying in this sort: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" that is, if it be possible that the sin of mankind can be otherwise taken away, grant that it may be so. Thou heardest Moses crying for the idolaters; thou heardest Lot for the Zoarites; Samuel, David, and many others, for the Israelites; and dear Father, I only am thine own Son, as thou hast said, in whom thou art well pleased; wilt thou not hear me? I

have by the space of three-and-thirty years done always thy will; I have so humbled myself, that I would become an abject among men to obey thee; therefore, dear Father, if it be possible, grant my request, save mankind now without any further labour or remedy.' But yet, (saith he,) "Not as I will, but as thou wilt."

But, sirs, what heard he? Though he sweat blood and water in making his remedy for our sore of sin, yet it framed¹ not. Twice he cried without comfort; yea, though God sent an angel to comfort him, we yet know that this remedy was not allowed for sufficient, until Christ Jesus was betrayed, forsaken of all his disciples, forsworn of his dearly-beloved, bound like a thief, belied, buffeted, whipped, scourged, crowned with thorns, derided, crucified, racked, nailed, hanged up between two thieves, cursed and railed upon, mocked in misery, and had given up the ghost. Then bowed down the head of Christ; that is God the Father, which is the head of Christ; then he allowed the remedy to be sufficient and good for the healing of our sore, which is sin. Now God would abide us, because the damnation or guiltiness was taken away by this Lamb, thus offered once for all.

So that here, dearly beloved, we as in a glass may see God's great judgment and anger against sin for the bruising of our blockish hard hearts. The Lord of lords, the King of kings, the brightness of God's glory, the Son of God, the darling of his Father, in whom he is well pleased, hangeth between two thieves, crying for thee and me, and for us all, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Oh! hard hearts that we have, which make light of sin. Look on this; look on the very heart of Christ, pierced with a spear, wherein you may see and read God's horrible anger for sin. Woe to thy hard heart that pierced it.

¹ Sufficed.

And thus much for the first part of repentance ; I mean, for the means of working contrition : first, use prayer ; then look on God's law ; thirdly, see his curse ; fourthly, set examples of his anger before you ; and last of all, set before you the death of Christ. From this and prayer cease not until you feel some hearty sorrow for your sin ; which when you feel, then labour for the *second* part, that is, for faith, on this sort.

II.—As first, in contrition, I willed you not to trust to your free will for the attaining of it, so do I will you in this. Faith is so far from the reach of man's free will, that to reason it is plain foolishness ; you must first go to God, whose gift it is ; you must, I say, get you to the Father of mercy, whose work it is, that, as he has brought^d you down by contrition, and humbled you, so he would give you faith, raise you up, and exalt you.

On this manner therefore with the apostles, and the poor man in the gospel, that cried, " Lord, increase our faith ; Lord, help my unbelief ; " pray you and say, " O merciful God, and dear Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom as thou art well pleased, so hast thou commanded us to hear him ; forasmuch as he often biddeth us to ask of thee, and thereto promises that thou wilt hear us, and grant us that which in his name we shall ask of thee : lo ! gracious Father, I am bold to beg of thy mercy, through thy Son Jesus Christ, one sparkle of true faith, and certain persuasion of thy goodness and love towards me in Christ, through which I, being assured of the pardon of all my sins, by the mercies of Christ, thy Son, may be thankful to thee, love thee, and serve thee, in holiness and righteousness all the days of my life."

On this sort I say, or otherwise, as God shall move you, pray first of all, and look for your request at God's hand, and without any doubting, though forth-

with you feel not the same; for oftentimes we have things of God given us long before we feel them as we would do. Now unto this prayer, use these means following:

After prayer for faith, which I would should be first; secondly, because the same springs out of the hearing, not of masses, matins, canons, councils, doctors, decrees, but out of the hearing of God's word; get God's word, but not that part which serves especially to contrition, that is, the law, but the other part, which serves especially to consolation and certain persuasion of God's love towards thee, that is, the gospel or publication of God's mercy in Christ; I mean the free promises.

But here you must know, that there are two kinds of promises; one, which is properly of the law, another, which is properly of the gospel. In the promises of the law we may indeed behold God's mercy, but so that it hangeth upon the condition of our worthiness; as, if thou love the Lord with all thy heart, &c., thou shalt find mercy. This kind of promises, though it declare unto us God's love, which promises where he need not, yet unto him that feeleth not Christ, which is the end of the law, they are so far from comforting, that with the law they utterly bring man to deep despair, so greatly are we corrupted, for none loveth God as he ought to do. From these therefore get thee to the other promises of the gospel, in which we may see such plenty and frank liberality of God's goodness, that we cannot but be much comforted, though we have very deeply sinned.

For these promises of the gospel do not hang on the condition of our worthiness, as the promises of the law do, but they depend and hang on God's truth; that as God is true, so they cannot but be performed to all them which lay hold on them by faith—I had almost said, which cast them not away by unbelief.

Mark in them therefore two things, namely, that they are free promises without any condition of our worthiness, as also that they are universal, offered to all; all, I say, who are not so stubborn, as by unbelief to keep their hands still, whereby they should receive this alms in their bosom. As concerning infants and children, you know I now speak not, but concerning such as are of years of discretion; and now you look that I should give you a taste of these promises, which are both free and universal, excepting none but such as except themselves. Well, you shall have one or two for a say.¹

“In the third of John, saith our Saviour, “So God loved the world, that he would give his darling, his own only Son, that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” Lo! sir, he saith not that some might have life; but all, saith he. And what all? All that love him with all their hearts, all that have lived a godly life? Nay, all that believe in him; although thou hast lived a most wicked and horrible life, if now thou believe in him, thou shalt be saved. Is not this sweet?

Again, saith Christ, “Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you.” Let us a little look on this letter. “Come unto me.” Who should come? Lords, priests, holy men, monks, friars; yea, cobblers, tinkers, harlots, thieves, murderers also, if they lament their sins. “Come unto me (saith he) all ye that labour and are laden,” that is, which are afraid of your sins. And what wilt thou do, Lord? “And I will refresh you,” saith he. Oh! what a thing is this, “And I will refresh you.” Wot² you who spake this? He that never told a lie; he is the truth, there was never guile found in his mouth, and now will he be untrue to you, good brother, who are sorry for your grievous sins? No, truly! Heaven

¹ Specimen.

² Know.

and earth shall pass and perish, but his word shall never fail. Saint Paul saith, "God would have all men saved." Lo! he exempteth none. And to Titus, "The grace of God bringeth salvation to all men." As from Adam all have received sin to damnation, so by Christ all have grace offered to salvation, if they reject not the same. I speak not now of infants, I say, and I need not enter into the matter of predestination. In preaching of repentance, I would gather where I could with Christ. "As surely as I live, (saith God,) I will not the death of a sinner." Art thou a sinner? Yea. Lo! God sweareth he desireth not thy death. How canst thou now perish? Consider with yourself what profit you should have to believe this to be true to others, if not to yourself also. Satan does so. Rather consider with Peter, that the promise of salvation pertains not only to them which are nigh, that is, to such as are fallen a little, but also to all whom the Lord hath called, be they ever so far off.

Lo! now by me the Lord calleth thee, thou man, thou woman, that art very far off. The promise therefore pertaineth to thee: needs must thou be saved, except thou with Satan say God is false; and yet if thou do so, God is faithful, and cannot deny himself, as thou shalt feel by his plagues in hell, for so dishonouring God as to think that he is not true. Will he be found false now? The matter hangeth not on your worthiness; but it hangeth on God's truth. Take hold on it, and I warrant you Christ is the propitiation for our sins, yea, for the sins of the whole world; believe this, man, I know you believe it; say therefore in your heart, still, Lord, increase my faith; Lord, help my unbelief. Blessed are they which see not this by reason, but yet believe;—hope, man, past all hope, as Abraham did.

And thus much for a taste of these promises which

are everywhere not only in the New Testament, but also in the Old. Read the latter end of Leviticus, xxvi., the prophet Isaiah, xxx., where he saith, God tarrieth, looking for thee to show thee mercy; also the 40th, and so on to the 60th. Read also Psalm xxxii., Joel, ii., &c.

Howbeit, if this will not serve, if yet thou feelest no faith, no certain persuasion of God's love, then unto prayer add diligent considering of the free and universal promises of the gospel. Thirdly, set before thee those benefits which God hath heretofore given thee, and at present gives thee. Consider how he has made you a man or a woman, who might have made you a toad, a dog. And why did he this? Verily, because he loved you. And do you think, that if he loved thee when thou wast not, to make thee such a one as he most graciously hath made thee, will he not now love thee, being his handywork; Does he hate anything that he has made? Is there unableness with him? Does he love for a day, and so farewell? No, indeed, he loveth to the end, his mercy endureth for ever. Say therefore with Job, "To the work of thy hands put thy helping hand." Again, has he not made you a christian man or woman, whereas if he would, he might have made you a Turk or pagan? This you know he did of love. And do you think his love is lessened, if you lament your sin? Is his hand shortened for helping you? Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And though she should do it, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord. He has given you limbs to see, hear, go, &c.? he has given you wit, reason, discretion, &c.; he has long spared you, and borne with you, when you never purposed to repent; and now you repent, will he not give you mercy? Wherefore does he suffer you to live at this present to hear me speak this, and suffer me to speak this; but of love to us all? Oh! therefore let us pray him, that he would add to this, that

we might believe these love-tokens that he loves us, and indeed he will do it. Lord, open our eyes, in thy gifts to see thy gracious goodness. Amen.

But tarry in this I will not. Let every man consider God's benefits past and present, public and private, spiritual and corporeal, to confirm his faith concerning the promises of the gospel, for the pardon of his sins. I will now endeavour to show you a fourth means to confirm your faith in this, even by examples. Of these there are in the scriptures very many, as also daily experience diversely teaches the same, if we were diligent to observe things accordingly; wherefore I will be more brief herein, having respect to time, which stealeth fast away.

Adam in paradise transgressed grievously, as the painful punishment, which we all as yet do feel, proves, if nothing else did. Though by reason of his sin he displeased God sorely, and ran away from God, for he would have hid himself, yea, he would have made God the causer of his sin, because he gave him such a mate, so far was he from asking mercy; yet notwithstanding all this, God turned his fierce wrath neither upon him nor Eve, who also required not mercy, but upon the serpent Satan, promising unto them a seed, Jesus Christ, by whom they at length should be delivered. In token whereof, though they were cast out of paradise for their nurture,¹ to serve in sorrow since they would not serve in joy; yet he made them apparel to cover their bodies, a visible sacrament, and token of his invisible love and grace concerning their souls. If God was so merciful to Adam, who so brake his commandment, and rather blamed God than asked mercy; thinkest thou, O man, that he will not be merciful to thee, which blamest thyself, and desirest pardon?

To Cain he offered mercy, if he would have asked

¹ Instruction or correction.

it. "What hast thou done?" (saith God :) "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me out of the earth." O merciful Lord, Cain should have said, I confess it! But, alas! he did not so, and therefore said God, "Now," that is, in that thou desirest not mercy, now, "I say, be thou accursed," &c. Lo! to the reprobate he offered mercy, and will he deny it to thee, which art his child?

Noah,—did not he sin, and was drunk? Good Lot also both in Sodom dissembled a little with the angels, prolonging the time, and out of Sodom he fell very foully, (Gen. xix.) as did Judah and the patriarchs against Joseph; but yet I ween² they found mercy. Moses, Miriam, Aaron, though they stumbled a little, yet they received mercy; yea, the people in the wilderness often sinned and displeased God, so that he was purposed to have destroyed them; let me alone, said he to Moses, that I may destroy them; but Moses did not let him alone, for he prayed still for them, and therefore God spared them. If the people were spared through Moses's prayer, they not praying with him, but rather worshipping their golden calf, eating, drinking, and making good cheer, why shouldst thou doubt whether God will be merciful to thee, having, as indeed thou hast, One much better than Moses to pray for thee, (Numb. xiv.) and with thee, even Jesus Christ, who sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and prayeth for us, being no less faithful in his Father's house, the church, than Moses was in the synagogue? David the good king had a foul foil¹ with Bathsheba, whereunto he added also a mischievous murder, causing her husband, his most faithful soldier, Uriah, to be slain with an honest company of his most valiant men of war, and that with the sword of the uncircumcised.

In this his sin, though he lay asleep a great while,

• 1 Doubt not.

2 Fall.

(as many do now-a-days, God give them good waking!) thinking, that by the sacrifices he offered, all was well, and that God was content; yet at length, when the prophet by a parable had opened the poke, and brought him in remembrance of his own sin in such sort, that he gave judgment against himself, then he quaked. His sacrifices had no more taken away his sins than our sir Jobn's trentals² and wagging of his fingers over the heads of such as lie asleep in their sins, out of the which, when they are awaked, they will well see that it is neither mass nor matins; blessing nor crossing, will serve. Then, I say, David cried out, saying, 'I have sinned against my Lord and good God, which hath done so much for me; indeed I caused Uriah to be killed: I have sinned, I have sinned. What shall I do? I have sinned, and am worthy of eternal damnation.' But what saith God by his prophet? "The Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die." 'O good God,' he said, 'but I have sinned,' but he said so from his heart, and not from the lips only, as Pharaoh and Saul did, and he speedily heard, 'Thou shalt not die; the Lord hath taken away thy sins;' or rather, hath laid them upon another, yea, translated them upon his Son Jesus Christ, who bare them, and not only them, but thine and mine also, if we will now but cry, FROM OUR HEARTS, 'We have sinned, good Lord, we have done wickedly, enter not into judgment with us, but be merciful unto us after thy great mercy, and according to the multitude of thy compassions do away our iniquities,' &c. For indeed God is not the God of David only; he is the God of all, so that he or she, whoseever they are, that call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved. In confirmation whereof this history is written, as are also the others which I have recited, and many more

² Romish priests' services.

which I might recite. As of Manasses, the wicked king, who slew Isaiah the prophet, and wrought very much wickedness, yet the Lord showed mercy upon him, being in prison, as his prayer doth teach us. Nebuchadnezzar, though for a time he bare God's anger, yet at length he found mercy. The city of Nineveh also found favour with God, as did many others, which I will omit for time sake, and will bring forth one or two out of the New Testament, that we may see God is the same God in the New Testament that he was in the Old.

I might tell you of many, if I should speak of the *lunatic*, such as were possessed with devils, lame, blind, dumb, deaf, lepers, &c. but time will not suffice me; one or two therefore shall serve. Mary Magdalen had seven devils, but yet they were cast out of her; and of all others she was the first that Christ appeared unto after his resurrection. Thomas would not believe Christ's resurrection, though many told him which had seen and felt him, by reason whereof a man might have thought that his sins would have cast him away. "Except I should see and feel," saith he, "I will not believe." Oh! wilful Thomas, "I will not," said he. But Christ appeared unto him, and would not loose him, as he will not loose you, good brother, if with Thomas you will keep company with the disciples, as Thomas did. Peter's fall was ugly; he accursed himself if ever he knew Christ, and that for fear of a girl, and this not once, but even three divers times, and that in the hearing of Christ his Master; but yet the third time Christ looked back, and cast on him his eye of grace, so that he went out, and wept bitterly. And after Christ's resurrection, not only did the angels direct the women to tell Peter that Christ was risen, but Christ himself appeared to him alone, such a good Lord is he. The thief hanging on the cross said but this: "Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom,

remember me;" and what answer had he? "This day," said Christ, "shalt thou be with me in paradise." What a comfort is this! since he is now the same Christ to you, and to me, and to us all, if we will run unto him; for he is the same Christ to-day, and to-morrow, and until he come to judgment. Then indeed he will be inexorable, but now is he more ready to give than you are to ask. If you cry, he hears you, yea, before you cry. (Isaiah.) Cry therefore, be bold, man; he is not partial. "Call," saith he, "and I will hear thee. Ask, and thou shalt have; seek, and thou shalt find, though not at the first, yet at the length." (Matt. vii.) If he tarry awhile, it is but to try you; he is coming, and will not be long. (Heb. x.)

Thus have you four means which you must use to the attainment of faith, or certain persuasion of God's mercy towards you, which is the second part of penance, namely, 1, Prayer. 2, The free and universal promises of God's grace. 3, The remembrance of the benefits of God, past and present. 4, The examples of God's mercy. Which, although they might suffice, yet will I put one more to them, which alone of itself is fully sufficient: I mean the death of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, which, if thou set before the eyes of thy mind, it will confirm thy placard; ¹ for it is the great seal of England as they say, yea, of all the world, for the confirmation of all patents and perpetuities of the everlasting life, whereunto we are all called.

If I thought these which I have before recited were not sufficient to confirm your faith of God's love towards such as do repent, I would tarry longer herein; but because both I have been long, and also I trust you have some exercise of conscience in this daily, (or else you are to blame,) I will but touch

¹ Grant.

and go. Consider with yourselves what we are, miserable wretches, and enemies to God. Consider what God is, even he which hath all power, majesty, might, glory, riches, &c., perfectly of himself, and needeth nothing, but hath all things. Consider what Christ is—concerning his Godhead, coequal with his Father, even him by whom all things were made, are ruled and governed—concerning his manhood, the only darling of his Father, in whom is all his joy. Now, sirs, what a love is this, that this God, which needeth nothing, should give wholly his own self to thee his enemy, wreaking his wrath upon himself in this his Son, as a man may say, to spare you, to save you, to win you, to buy you, to have you, to enjoy you for ever. Because thy sin had separated thee from him, that thou mightest come speedily into his company again, and therein remain, he himself became, as a man would say, a sinner, or rather sin itself, even a malediction or curse, that we sinners, we accursed by our sin, might, by his oblation or offering for our sins, by his curse be delivered from sin and malediction. For by sin he destroyed sin, killing death, Satan, and sin, by their own weapons, and that for thee and me, (O man!) if we cast it not away by unbelief. O, wonderful love of God! Who ever heard of such a love, the Father of heaven, for us his enemies, to give his own dear Son Jesus Christ! And that not only to be our brother, to dwell among us, but also to the death of the cross for us! O wonderful love of Christ to us all! He was content and willing to work this feat for us. Was there any love like to this love?

God indeed has commended his charity and love to us herein, that when we were very enemies unto him, he would give his own Son for us;—that we, being men, might become, as you would say, gods, god would become man;—that we, being mortal, might become immortal, the immortal God would

become mortal man ;—that we, earthly wretches, might be citizens of heaven, the Lord of heaven would become, as a man would say, earthly ;—that we, being accursed, might be blessed, God would be accursed ;—that we, by our father Adam being brought out of paradise into the puddle of all pain, might be redeemed, and brought into paradise again, God would be our Father, and an Adam thereunto ;—that we, having nothing, might have all things, God having all things, would have nothing ;—that we, being vassals and slaves to all, even to Satan the fiend, might be lords of all, and of Satan ; the Lord of all would become a vassal and a slave to us all, and in danger of Satan. O love incomprehensible ! If the gracious good lord disdained not to give his own Son, his own heart's joy, for us his very enemies, before we thought to beg any such thing at his hands, yea, before we were ; who can think otherwise, but that with Him he will give us all good things ? If when we hated him and fled away from him, he sent his Son to seek us, who can think otherwise than that now, we loving him, and lamenting because we love him no more, he will for ever love us ? He that giveth the greater to his enemies, will not he give the lesser, think you, to his friends ? God hath given his own Son, than which nothing is greater, to us his enemies ; and we now being become his friends, will he deny us faith and pardon of our sins, which, though they are great, yet in comparison they are nothing at all ? Christ Jesus would give his own self for us when we willed it not, and will he now deny us faith, if we will it ? This will is his earnest, that he has given us truly to look indeed for the thing willed. And look thou for it indeed : for as he has given thee to will, so he will give thee to do.

Jesus Christ gave his life for our evils, and by his death delivered us. Oh then, since he liveth now, and cannot die, will he forsake us ? His heart's

blood was not too dear for us when we asked it not; what then can be now too dear for us asking it? Is he a changeling? Is he mutable as man is? Can he repent of his gifts? Did he not foresee our falls? **Paid** not he the price therefore? Because he saw we should fall sorely, therefore he would suffer sorely, yea, if his suffering had not been enough, he would yet once more come again. I am sure that God the Father, if the death of his Son incarnate would not serve, would himself and the Holy Ghost also become incarnate, and die for us.¹ This death of Christ, therefore, look on as the very pledge of God's love towards thee, whosoever thou art, how deeply soever thou hast sinned. See, God's hands are nailed, they cannot strike thee; his feet also, he cannot run from thee; his arms are wide open to embrace thee, his head hangs down to kiss thee, his very heart is open, so that therein see, look, spy, behold, and thou shalt see nothing therein but love, love, love to thee; hide thee therefore, lay thy head there with the evangelist.

This is the cleft of the rock where Elias stood. This is the pillow of down for all aching heads. Anoint your head with this oil, let this ointment embalm your head and wash your face. Tarry thou here, and quite sure art thou, I warrant thee. Say with Paul, "What can separate me from the love of God?" Can death, can poverty, sickness, hunger, or any misery persuade you now that God loveth thee not? Nay, nothing can separate you from the love wherewith God hath loved you in Christ Jesus; whom he loveth he loveth to the end: so that now where abundance of sin hath been in you, the more is the abundance of grace. **BUT TO WHAT END?** Even that as sin hath reigned to death, as thou seest, to the killing of God's Son, so now grace must reign

¹ It is better to avoid such suppositions.—Ed.

to life, to the honouring of God's Son, who is now alive, and cannot die any more.

So that they which by faith feel this, cannot any more die to God, but to sin, whereunto they are dead and buried with Christ. As Christ therefore liveth, so do they, and that to God, to righteousness and holiness. The life which they live is in the faith of the Son of God; whereby you see that now I am slipt into that which I made the THIRD part of penance, namely, newness of life, which I could not so have done if it were a part of itself indeed, as it is an effect or fruit of the second part, that is, of faith or trust in God's mercy. For he that believeth, that is, he who certainly is persuaded sin is such a thing that it is the cause of all misery, and of itself so greatly angers God, that in heaven or in earth nothing could appease his wrath, save only the death and precious bloodshedding of the Son of God, in whom is all the delight and pleasure of the Father; he, I say, that is persuaded thus of sin, the same cannot but in heart abhor and quake to do or to say, yea, to think anything willingly which God's law teaches him to be sin.

Again: he that believeth, that is, he who certainly is persuaded God's love to be so much towards him, that whereas through sin he was lost, and made a firebrand of hell; yet the eternal Father of mercy, who is the all-sufficient God, and needeth nothing of us, or of anything that we can do, to deliver us out of hell, and to bring us into heaven, sent even his own most dear Son out of his bosom, out of heaven into hell, as a man would say, to bring us, as I said, from thence into his own bosom and mercy, we being his very enemies. He, I say, that is thus persuaded of God's love towards him, and of the price of his redemption by the dear blood of the Lamb immaculate, Jesus Christ, the same man cannot but love God again, and of love do that which might please God, and heartily desire to do still better. Think you,

that such a one as knows this by faith will wittingly welter and wallow in his wilful lusts, pleasures, and fantasies? Will such a one as knoweth by faith Christ Jesus to have given his blood to wash him from his sins, play the sow, to wallow in his puddle of filthy sin and vice again? Nay, rather than he will be defiled again by wilful sinning, he will wash often the feet of his affections, watching over that vice still sticking in him, which as a spring continually sendeth out poison enough to drown and defile him, if the sweet water of Christ's passion did not wash it in God's sight, and his blood satisfy the rigour of God's justice due for the same. This blood of Christ, shed for our sins, is so dear in the sight of him that believeth, that he will abhor sin in his heart, and stamp it and tread it under his feet. He knows now by his belief that it is too much, that hitherto he has set too little by it, and is ashamed thereof; therefore for the residue of his life he purposes to take better heed to himself than he did before: because he sees by his faith the grievousness of God's anger, the foulness of his sin, the greatness of God's mercy, and of Christ's love towards him, he will now be heed¹ to pray to God to give him his grace accordingly; that as with his eyes, tongue, hands, feet, &c. he has displeased God, doing his own will, even so now the same eyes, tongue, hands, feet, &c. he may displease his own self, and do God's will. He will not willingly do that which might renew the death of the Son of God. He knoweth that he has too much sin in him unwillingly, so that thereto he will not add willing offences.

This willing and witting² offending and sinning, whosoever flatters himself therein, evidently demonstrates and shows that he never yet tasted of Christ truly; he never was truly persuaded or believed how foul a thing sin is, how grievous a thing God's anger

Careful.

² Knowing.

is, how joyful and precious a thing God's mercy in Christ is, how exceeding broad, wide, high, and deep Christ's love is. Perchance he can write, prate, talk, and preach of this; but yet he in part by faith never felt this. For if he once felt this indeed, then would he be so far from continuing in sin willingly and wittingly, that he would wholly and heartily give himself over to that which is contrary; I mean, to a new life, renewing his youth, even as the eagle.

For, as we, being in the servitude of sin, demonstrated our service by giving over our members to the obeying of sin, from iniquity to iniquity, even so we, being made free from sin by faith in Jesus Christ, and endued with God's Spirit, a spirit of liberty, must needs demonstrate this freedom and liberty, by giving over our members to the obedience of the Spirit; by which we are led and guided from virtue to virtue, and all kinds of holiness. As the unbelievers declare their unbelief by the evil spirit working in them outwardly the fruits of the flesh, even so the believers declare their faith by the working of God's good Spirit in them outwardly the fruits of the Spirit. For as the devil is not dead in those which are his, but worketh still to their damnation; so is not God dead in those who are his, but he worketh still to their salvation; which working is not the cause of the one or the other being in any, but only a demonstration, a sign, a fruit of the same, as the apple is not the cause of the apple-tree, but a fruit of it. (Matt. vii.)

Thus, then, you see briefly that newness of life is not indeed a part of penance, but a fruit of it, a demonstration of justifying faith, a sign of God's good Spirit possessing the heart of the penitent; as the old life is a fruit of impenitency, a demonstration of a lip-faith or unbelief, a sign of Satan's spirit possessing the heart of the impenitent; which all these are that are not penitent. For I know no middle state.

He that is not penitent; the same is impenitent; he that is not governed by God's Spirit, the same is governed by Satan's spirit; for all that are Christ's are governed by the Spirit of Christ, which Spirit hath his fruits. AN others that are not Christ's are the devil's. He that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad.

Therefore, dearly beloved, I beseech you to consider this, and deceive not yourselves; if you are not Christ's, then you pertain to the devil, of which the fruits of the flesh assure you, as whoredom, adultery, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, envy, strife, contention, wrath, sedition, murder, drunkenness, gluttony, blasphemy, slothfulness, idleness, licentious talking, slandering, &c. If these apples grow out of the apple-trees of your heart, surely the devil is at inn¹ with you; you are his birds, whom, when he has well fed, he will broach² you and eat you, chew you and chump you, world without end, in eternal woe and misery. But I am otherwise persuaded of you all; I trust you are all Christ Jesus's people and children, yea, brethren by faith.

As you see your sins in God's law, and tremble, sigh, sorrow, and sob for, the same, even so you see his great mercies in his gospel and free promises, and therefore are glad, merry, and joyful, that you are accepted into God's favour, have your sins pardoned, and are endued with the good Spirit of God, even the seal and sign-manual of your election in Christ before the beginning of the world; the which Spirit, for that he is the Spirit of life, is given to you, to work in you, with you, and by you, here in this life, sanctification and holiness, whereunto you are called, that you might be holy, even as your heavenly Father is holy. I beseech you all, by admonishing and warning you, that you would stir up the gift of God given to you, generally and particularly, to the edifying of his church; that is, I pray you that you

would not molest the good Spirit of God, by rebelling against it when it excites and calls you to go on forwards, that he which is holy might yet be more holy; that he which is righteous, might be more righteous; as the evil spirit moves and stirs up the filthy to be yet more filthy, the covetous to be more covetous, the wicked to be more wicked.

Declare now your repentance by works of repentance; bring forth fruits, and worthy fruits; let your sorrowing for your evils demonstrate itself by departing from the evils you have used. Let your certainty of pardon of your sins through Christ, and your joy in him, be demonstrated by pursuing the good things which God's word teaches you. You are now God's workmanship in Christ Jesus; to do good works, which God has prepared for you to walk in. "For the grace of God, which bringeth salvation unto all men, hath appeared, and teacheth us that we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope and glorious appearing of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us to redeem us from all unrighteousness, and to purge us a peculiar people unto himself, fervently given unto good works," Again (Titus iii.), "For we ourselves also were in times past unwise, disobedient, deceived, serving lusts and divers pleasures, living in maliciousness and envy, full of hatred, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by the deeds of righteousness which we wrought, but of His mercy; He saved us by the fountain of the new birth, and with the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that we being once justified by His grace should be heirs of eternal life through hope." This is a true saying; but I will make an end, for I am too tedious.

Dearly beloved, repent your sins, that is, be sorry for that which is past; believe in God's mercy for pardon, how deeply soever you have sinned, and both purpose and earnestly pursue a new life, bringing forth worthy and true fruits of repentance. As you have given over your members from sin to sin, to serve the devil, your tongues to swear, to lie, to flatter, to scold, to jest, to scoff, to lewd talk, to vain jangling, to boasting, &c.; your hands to picking, groping, idleness, fighting, &c.; your feet to skipping, going to evil, to dancing, &c.; your ears to hear fables, lies, vanities, and evil things, &c.; so now give over your members to godliness, your tongues to speak, your ears to hear, your eyes to see, your mouths to taste, your hands to work, your feet to go about such things as may make to God's glory, sobriety of life, and love to your brethren, and that daily more and more diligently; for you cannot stand still, you are either better or worse to-day than you were yesterday. But better I trust you are, and will be, if you mark well my theme, that is, **REPENT YOU**; which I have humbly besought you to do, and yet once more I do again beseech you, and that for the tender mercies of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, "**REPENT YOU, REPENT YOU, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN**" (that is, a kingdom full of all riches, pleasures, joy, beauty, sweetness, and eternal felicity,) "**IS AT HAND.**" The eye hath not seen the like, the ear hath not heard the like, the heart of man cannot conceive the treasures and pleasures of his kingdom, which is now at hand, to such as repent, that is, to such as are sorry for their sins, believe God's mercy through Christ, and earnestly purpose to lead a new life. The God of mercy, through Christ his Son, grant us his Holy Spirit, and work in our hearts this sorrow, faith, and new life, which through his grace I have spoken of, both now and for ever. Amen.

A LETTER

OF JOHN PHILPOT TO A FRIEND OF HIS,

PRISONER THE SAME TIME IN NEWGATE : WHEREIN IS
DEBATED AND DISCUSSED THE MATTER OR QUESTION OF
INFANTS TO BE BAPTIZED.

THE God of all light and understanding lighten your hearts with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit. Amen.

I received yesternight from you (dear brother and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel) a letter wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants, what is the effect thereof. And before I do shew you what I have learned out of God's word and of his true and infalible church touching the same, I think it is not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night whilst musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelation to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed to me to see a great beautiful city all of the colour of azure and white, four square in a marvellous beau-

tiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof; yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so, methought, I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and whilst they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it fadeth away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit, for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth. For as the prophet David saith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God." And the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house."

And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms; "As of joyful persons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee." And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe by the will of

God this vision to have come upon me, musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you, with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and establishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments; and having with a greater fulness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God submit ourselves to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to shew in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves. For there is but one faith and one spirit, which is not contrary to himself. neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day; and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of all their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee (saith the Lord) and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded not to

reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For, as St. Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."

Hitherto I have shewed you (good brother S.) my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt, and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as my own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and speedily answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which hath corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacrament, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church.

Aulentius, one of the Arian's sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic; and some others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the

anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel.

But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scripture plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby that they ought to be baptized, as well as those that can profess their faith. For we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: "I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in thy generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws. For Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants, that is, of such as yet believed not, "Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones should perish." Also, "He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me." "Take heed therefore that

ye despise not one of these babes; for I tell you, their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face." And what may be said more plain than this, "It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish?" Whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth himself to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Now I will prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations: therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, "all nations."

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, that "that thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean:" but God hath reputed children among the faithful: therefore they be faithful, except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he.

And without all doubt the apostles baptized those, which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

The Gospel is more than baptism; for Paul said, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism; for the Lord commanded both to the apostles: but children be received by the doctrine of the

gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacrament be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign, and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded: who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, "May any forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants; for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with the Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God, as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The apostles in times past being not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those, which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not these rebellious anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in time past, which brought their children to the Lord, and our Lord received them,

and putting his hand upon them blessed them, and both by words and gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, Why did not Christ baptize them? Because it is written, "Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples."

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants; therefore, baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, being buried together with him through baptism." Behold Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised, albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the Land of Promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision?

Likewise the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children because they were under the figure of baptism: for the people of Israel passed through the

Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although their children be not always expressed, neither the women in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same.

Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children be comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof? therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants, or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house, or household, is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the 17th of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commended from the scriptures by the apostles themselves. Origen upon the declaration of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter, saith, that "the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St. Hierome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians; and in his epistle to Leta, St. Austin reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantino-ple, in his first book against Julian, chapter ii.; and he again writing to St. Hierome (epistle 28), saith, that St. Cyprian not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow-bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his epistle to Fidus.

Also St. Austin, in writing against the Donatists, in the fourth book (chap. xxiii. and xxiv.), saith,

that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the traditions or doctrine of the apostles.

Cyril upon Leviticus (chapter viii.) approveth the baptism of children and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimony of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandments.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, it is written, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned."

To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require, for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words; "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers; because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age; for both in men and children righteousness, acceptation, or sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in the

1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts, proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children, for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: "All power is given me (saith the Lord) in heaven and in earth, therefore go forth;" that is, disciple ye (as I may express the signification of the word); that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching; by baptizing and teaching, ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, "Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared, to show you on what feeble a foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly, it is not true, which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the Apostles had first of all taught. Neither here verily is signified who only be

to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be of perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants; therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children: but for all this they be not excluded from baptism.

It is a general rule; he that doth not labour, must not eat. But who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

The Lord sent his Apostles at the beginning of the setting up his true religion unto all nations, unto such as were ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoveth not first to be baptized, and afterwards taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in times past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant, after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

Even so, faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the Gospel, and confessing their faith were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to

be baptized. Therefore as it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house." Likewise we read in the Acts and the writings of the Apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumens*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles to the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient fathers notwithstanding did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer to your letter, of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called), to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity with the same, that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither any giddy head in those dog-days might take an example from you to dissent from Christ's true church: I beseech thee, dear brother in the Gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs of the primitive church,

and of such as at this day follow the same; decline not from them, neither to the right hand nor to the left.

Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your spirits with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the Prophets should be subject to the Prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of the faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity
of Christ's Gospel, to live and die with you
in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT.

A BRIEF TREATISE
UPON
THE LORD'S SUPPER:
BY
DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
BISHOP AND MARTYR.

WRITTEN A LITTLE BEFORE HIS DEATH.

In the year 1544, Luther had written with great warmth against the opinions of the Helvetian divines, to which they replied in the following year, explaining their doctrine and faith. The latter work inclined Ridley to give the question a fair examination, he having hitherto held the doctrine of transubstantiation. He also procured a little treatise, written seven hundred years before, by Ratramus or Bertram, a monk of Corbie, at the request of the emperor, Charles the Bald, about A.D. 840.

From this book Ridley learned that the determination of the church in favour of transubstantiation had not been so early or so general as he had supposed, for it showed that Bertram, a catholic doctor, held contrary to the present decrees, and that the faithful at that time were divided in their opinions upon the subject, without either party being condemned as heretics. This fact at once destroyed that foundation of *the authority of the church* on which Ridley had depended, and left him open to consider the reasonings of Bertram, who establishes his doctrine of the figurative and mysterious body and blood by the evidence of the senses, and the nature and analogy of Sacraments, and does not require the belief of the monstrous absurdity of the change of a piece of bread into flesh and blood, (to say nothing of the whole body of Christ, and his soul also, as the Romish doctrine asserts,) considering that the things *seen* and the things *believed* are not all one; as *seen*, they feed the corruptible body, being themselves corruptible; as *believed*, they feed our immortal souls, being themselves immortal. Bertram confirmed that doctrine by scripture, and observes,—Think not so grossly, as that the actual flesh and blood of Christ were given to be eaten and drunk, for that shall ascend up to heaven, and even could you actually eat and drink this flesh and blood, it would be of no benefit, “for the flesh profiteth nothing,” but you shall eat and drink it in the mystery, in virtue, power, and efficacy;—“It is the Spirit that giveth life.” He also showed that the Fathers of the church before him understood respecting this Sacrament in the same manner. See *Gloucester Ridley's Life of Ridley*, p. 165, &c.

Ridley was thus induced fully to examine the subject, and the result was, that the main doctrine of popery no longer influenced the mind of Cranmer or himself. In April, 1554, he was called upon to dispute publicly at Oxford, respecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, on which occasion he produced a protest in the Latin language, containing his views upon the subject drawn up in a close and logical manner. Subsequently, while in prison and waiting his martyrdom, he stated nearly the same arguments in a more popular form in the treatise here given.

ON
THE LORD'S SUPPER.

MANY things confound a weak memory ; a few places well weighed and perceived, lighten the understanding. Truth is to be searched for where it is certain to be had. Though God speaks the truth by man, yet man's word which God has not revealed to be his, a man may doubt, without mistrust in God. Christ is the truth of God revealed unto man from heaven by God himself ; and therefore in his word the truth is to be found, which is to be embraced by all that are his. Christ bids us to ask, and we shall have ; to search, and we shall find ; to knock, and it shall be opened unto us.

Therefore, O heavenly Father, the author and fountain of all truth, the unfathomable sea of all understanding ; send down, we beseech thee, thy Holy Spirit into our hearts, and lighten our understandings with the beams of thy heavenly grace. We ask thee this, O merciful Father, not in respect of our deserts, but for thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Thou knowest, O heavenly Father, that the controversy about the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, has not only of late troubled the church of England, France, Germany and Italy, but also

many years ago. The fault is ours, no doubt thereof, for we have deserved thy plague.

But, O Lord, be merciful, and relieve our misery with some light of grace. Thou knowest, O Lord, how this wicked world rolleth up and down, and reeleth to and fro, and careth not what thy will is, so it may abide in wealth. If truth have wealth, then who are so stout to defend the truth as they! But if Christ's cross be laid on truth's back, then they vanish away straight, as wax before the fire. But these are not they, O heavenly Father, for whom I make my greatest moan, but for those silly¹ ones, O Lord, which have a zeal unto thee; those, I mean, who would wish to know thy will, and yet are hindered, holden back, and blinded, by the subtleties of Satan and his ministers, the wickedness of this wretched world, and the sinful lusts and affections of the flesh.

Alas! Lord, thou knowest we are of ourselves but flesh, wherein there dwelleth nothing that is good. How then is it possible for man without thee, O Lord, to understand thy truth indeed? Can the natural man perceive the will of God? O Lord, to whom thou givest a zeal for thee, give them also, we beseech thee, the knowledge of thy blessed will. Suffer not them, O Lord, blindly to be led to strive against thee, as thou didst those, alas! that crucified thine own dear Son; forgive them, O Lord, for thy dear Son's sake, for they know not what they do. Alas! O Lord, for lack of knowledge, they think that they do unto thee good service, even when they most cruelly rage against thee. Remember, O Lord, we beseech thee, for whom thy martyr Stephen did pray, and whom thine holy apostle Paul did so truly and earnestly love, that for their salvation, he wished himself accursed for them. Remember, O heavenly

¹ Ignorant, weak.

Father, the prayer of thy dear Son our Saviour Christ upon the cross, when he said unto thee, "O Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." With this forgiveness, O good Lord, give me, I beseech thee, thy grace, here briefly to set forth the sayings of thy Son, our Saviour Christ, of his evangelists, and of his apostles, that, in this controversy, the light of the truth, by the lantern of thy word, may shine unto all that love thee.

Of the Lord's last Supper, the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke speak expressly; but none more plainly, nor more fully declares the same, than St. Paul, partly in the tenth, but especially in the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. As Matthew and Mark agree much in words, so likewise Luke and St. Paul; but all four, no doubt, as they were all taught in one school, and inspired with one Spirit, so they all taught one truth. God grant us to understand it well. Amen.

Matthew sets forth Christ's supper thus:

"When even was come, he sat down with the twelve, &c. As they did eat, Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said: 'Take, eat, this is my body.' And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: 'Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, that is shed for many, for the remission of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine-tree until the day when I shall drink it new in my Father's kingdom.'"

Now Mark speaks of it thus:

"And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, blessed and brake, and gave to them, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the

vine until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.”

Here Matthew and Mark agree, not only in the matter, but also almost in the form of words, except, that for those words in Matthew, “gave thanks,” Mark has one word, “blessed;” which signifies in this place the same. And where Matthew saith, “Drink ye all of this,” Mark saith, “they all drank of it.” And where Matthew saith, “of this fruit of the vine,” Mark leaveth out the word “this,” and saith, “of the fruit of the vine.”

Now likewise let us see what agreement in form or words there is between St. Luke and St. Paul. Luke writes thus :

“He took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to them, saying : ‘This is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me.’ Likewise also when they had supped, he took the cup, saying : ‘This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.’”

St. Paul sets forth the Lord’s Supper thus :

“The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and said : ‘Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you. This do, in remembrance of me.’ After the same manner he took the cup, when supper was done, saying : ‘This cup is the New Testament in my blood. This do, as often as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye show the Lord’s death, until he come.’”

Here, where Luke saith, “which is given,” Paul saith, “which is broken.” And as Luke adds to the words of Paul spoken of the cup, “which is shed for you :” so likewise Paul adds to the words thereof, “This do, as often as ye shall drink it, in the remembrance of me.” The rest that follows in St. Paul, both there and in the tenth chapter, per-

tains unto the right use and doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Thus the evangelists and St. Paul have rehearsed the words and work of Christ, whereby he instituted and ordained this holy Sacrament of his body and blood, to be a perpetual remembrance until his coming again of himself, that is, of his body given for us, and of his blood shed for the remission of sins.

But this remembrance, which is thus ordained, as the author thereof is Christ, both God and man, so by the almighty power of God it far passes all kinds of remembrances that any other man is able to make, either of himself, or of any other, thing; for whosoever receives this holy Sacrament thus ordained in remembrance of Christ, he receives therewith either death or life. In this, I trust, we all agree. For St. Paul saith of the godly receivers in the tenth chapter of his first epistle unto the Corinthians: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's blood?" And also he saith: "The bread which we break (and he means at the Lord's table), is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's body?"

Now the partaking of Christ's body and of his blood unto the faithful and godly, is the partaking or fellowship of life and immortality. And again, of the bad and ungodly receivers, St. Paul plainly saith thus: "He that eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup, unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Oh! how necessary then is it, if we love life and would eschew¹ death, to try and examine ourselves before we eat of this bread and drink of this cup; for else, assuredly, he that eateth and drinketh thereof unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body; that is, he reverences not the Lord's body with

¹ Avoid.

the honour that is due unto him. And by that which was said, that with the receiving of the holy Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ, there is received by every one, good or bad, either life or death, it is not meant that they, which are dead before God, may hereby receive life; or that the living before God can hereby receive death. For as no one is fit to receive natural food, whereby the natural life is nourished, except he is born and live before; so no man can feed by receiving this holy Sacrament, upon the food of eternal life, except he be regenerated and born of God before: and on the other hand, no man here receives damnation, who is not dead before.

Thus hitherto, without all doubt, God is my witness; I say, so far as I know, there is no controversy among them that are learned among the church of England, concerning the matter of this Sacrament, but all agree, whether they are new or old; and to speak plain, and as some of them odiously call each other, whether they are Protestants, Papists, Pharisees, or Gospellers.

And as all agree hitherto in the aforesaid doctrine, so all detest, abhor, and condemn the wicked heresy of the Messalians, who otherwise are called Eutichites,¹ who said, that the holy Sacrament can neither do good nor harm.

Also all do condemn those wicked men, who put no difference between the Lord's table and the Lord's meat, and their own; and because charity would that we should, if it be possible, and so far as we may with the safeguard of a good conscience, and maintenance of the truth, agree with all men; therefore, methinks, it is not charitably done, to burden any man, either new or old, as they call them, further than such declare themselves to dissent from that we are per-

¹ A sect of heretics in the fourth century.—See Mosheim.

suaded to be the truth, and pretend there are controversies, where none such are indeed ; and so multiply debate, which, the more it increases, the further it departs from the unity which the true Christian should desire.

And again, this is true, that the truth neither needeth, nor will be maintained with lies. It is also a true common proverb, ' that it is even sin to lie against the devil ;' for though by thy lie thou dost seem ever so much to speak against the devil, yet in that thou liest, indeed thou workest the devil's work ; thou dost him service, and takest the devil's part.

Now then, do they act godly and charitably, who either by their pen in writing, or by their words in preaching, tell the simple people, that those who thus teach and believe, go about to make the holy Sacrament ordained by Christ himself, a thing no better than a piece of common bread ? or who say, that such make the holy Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ nothing else but a bare sign, or a figure ; to represent Christ, no otherwise than the ivy-bush represents the wine in a tavern ; or as a vile person gorgeously apparelled, may represent a king or a prince in a play ? Alas ! let us leave lying and speak the truth every man, not only to his neighbour, but also of his neighbour ; for we are members one of another, saith St. Paul.

The controversy, no doubt, which at this day troubles the church, wherein any moderately-learned man, either old or new, doth stand in, is not, whether or no the holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is no better than a piece of common bread ; or whether the Lord's table is no more to be regarded, than the table of any earthly man ; or whether it is but a bare sign or figure of Christ, and nothing else. For all grant, that St. Paul's words require, that the bread which we break is the partaking of the body of Christ : and all also grant that he who eateth of that bread,

or drinketh of that cup unworthily, is guilty of the Lord's death, and eats and drinks his own condemnation, because he esteems not the Lord's body. All grant that these words of St. Paul, when he saith, "if we eat, it advantages us nothing; or if we eat not, we want nothing thereby," are not spoken of the Lord's table, but of other common meats.

Thus, then, hitherto we all still agree. But now let us see wherein the dissension doth stand. The understanding of that wherein it chiefly stands, is a step to the true searching forth of the truth. For who can well seek a remedy, if he know not first the disease?

It is neither to be denied nor dissembled, that in the matter of this Sacrament there are divers points, wherein men counted to be learned cannot agree: as, Whether there is any transubstantiation¹ of the bread, or not? Any corporeal and carnal presence of Christ's substance, or not? Whether the adoration, only due unto God, is to be done to the Sacrament, or not? And whether Christ's body is there offered indeed unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or not? Or whether the evil man receives the natural body of Christ, or not?

Yet, nevertheless, as in a man diseased in divers parts, commonly the original cause of such divers diseases which are spread abroad in the body, comes from some one chief member, as from the stomach, or from the head: even so, all the five aforesaid points chiefly hang upon this one question, which is, What is the matter of the Sacrament;—is it the natural substance of bread, or the natural substance of Christ's own body?

The truth of this question, truly tried out and agreed upon, no doubt will end the controversy of all the rest. For if it be Christ's own natural body, born

¹ Change of the substance.

of the virgin, then assuredly, seeing that all learned men in England, so far as I know, both new and old, grant there is but one substance, then, I say, they must needs grant transubstantiation, that is, a change of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body: then also they must grant the carnal and corporeal presence of Christ's body: then must the Sacrament be adored with the honour due unto Christ himself, for the unity of the two natures in one person: then, if the priest offers the Sacrament, he offers indeed Christ himself: and, finally, the murderer, the adulterer, or wicked man, receiving the Sacrament, must needs then receive also the natural substance of Christ's own blessed body, both flesh and blood.

Now, on the other side, if after the truth shall be truly tried out, it is found, that the substance of bread is the natural substance of the Sacrament, although for the change of the use, office, and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed is sacramentally changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration, and yet the natural substance remains the same as it was before—if, I say, the true solution of that former question, whereupon all these controversies depend, is, that the natural substance of bread is the material substance in the Sacrament of Christ's blessed body, then must it needs follow from the former proposition, which is confessed of all that are said to be learned, so far as I know in England, that there is but one material substance in the Sacrament of the body, and one only likewise in the Sacrament of the blood: so that there is no such thing indeed and in truth, as that which they call transubstantiation, for the substance of bread remains still in the Sacrament of the body. Then also the natural substance of Christ's human nature, which he took of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, where it now reigneth in glory, and is not here inclosed under the form of

bread. Then that godly honour, which is only due unto God the Creator, and may not be done unto the creature without idolatry and sacrilege, is not to be done unto the holy Sacrament. Then also the wicked, I mean the impenitent, murderers, adulterers, or such like, do not receive the natural substance of the blessed body and blood of Christ. Finally, then it follows that Christ's blessed body and blood, which was once only offered and shed upon the cross, being available for the sins of all the whole world, is offered up no more in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest, nor any other thing.

But here, before we go any further to search in this matter, and to wade, as it were, to search and try out as we can the truth hereof in the scripture, we shall do well, by the way, to know whether they, that thus make answer and solution unto the former principal question, do take away simply and absolutely the presence of Christ's body and blood from the Sacrament, ordained by Christ, and duly ministered according to his holy ordinance and institution of the same. Undoubtedly, they deny that utterly, either so to say, or so to mean. Hereof, if a man do or will doubt, the books which are written already in this matter by those who thus answer, will make the matter plain.

Now, then, you will say, what kind of presence do they grant, and what do they deny? Briefly, they deny the presence of Christ's body in the natural substance of his human and assumed nature, and they grant the presence of the same by grace: that is, they affirm and say, that the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is only remaining in heaven, and so shall be until the latter day, when he shall come again in glory, accompanied with the angels of heaven, to judge both the quick and the dead.

And the same natural substance of the very body and blood of Christ, because it is united in the divine nature in Christ, the second Person of the Trinity,

therefore, hath not only life in itself, but is also able to give, and doth give life unto as many as are, or shall be partakers thereof. That is, to all that believe on his name—which are not born of blood, as St. John saith, or of the will of the flesh, or of the will of man, but are born of God—though the self-same substance abide still in heaven, and they, for the time of their pilgrimage, dwell here upon earth. By grace, I say, that is, by the gift of this life, mentioned in John, and the properties of the same suitable for our pilgrimage here upon earth; the same body of Christ is here present with us. Even as for example, we say, the same sun which, in substance, never removes from his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beams, light, and natural influence, where it shines upon the earth. For God's word and his sacraments are, as it were, the beams of Christ, who is 'Sol justitiæ,' the Sun of righteousness.

Thus hast thou heard, of what sort or sect soever thou art, wherein stands the principal state and chief point of all the controversies which properly pertain unto the nature of this Sacrament. As for the use thereof, I grant there are many other things whereof here I have spoken nothing at all.

And now, lest thou mayest justly complain and say, that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but digged a pit, and have not shut it up again; or opened the book, and have not closed it again; or else call me as thou listest, as neutral, dissembler, or whatsoever else thy lust or learning shall serve to name me worse; therefore, here now I will, by God's grace, not only shortly, but also as clearly and plainly as I can, make thee now to know which of the aforesaid two answers to the former principal state and chief point pleases me best. Yea, and also I will hold all those accursed, who in this matter which now so troubles the church of Christ, have of

God received the key of knowledge, and yet go about to shut up the doors, so that they themselves will not enter in, nor suffer others that would.

And, for my own part, I consider, both of late what a charge and cure of souls has been committed unto me, whereof God knows how soon I shall be called to give account; and also now, in this world, what peril and danger of the laws, concerning my life, I am now in at this present time; what folly were it then for me now to dissemble with God, of whom assuredly I look and hope by Christ to have everlasting life! Seeing that such charge and danger, both before God and man, compass me round about on every side; therefore, God willing, I will frankly and freely utter my mind, and though my body be captive, yet my tongue and my pen, as long as I may, shall freely set forth that which undoubtedly I am persuaded is the truth of God's word. And yet I will do it under this protestation—call me a protestant who list, I pass¹ not thereof.

My protestation shall be this: that my mind is and ever shall be (God willing) to set forth sincerely the true sense and meaning, to the best of my understanding, of God's most holy word, and not decline from the same, either for fear of worldly danger, or else for hope of gain. I do protest also due obedience and submission of my judgment in this my writing, and in all mine other affairs, unto those of Christ's church, who are truly learned in God's holy word, gathered in Christ's name, and guided by his Spirit. After this protestation, I plainly affirm and say, that the second answer, made unto the chief question and principal point, I am persuaded is the very true meaning and sense of God's holy word; that is, that the natural substance of bread and wine is the true material substance of the holy Sacrament

¹ Care.

of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ; and that the places of scripture whereupon this my faith is grounded are these, both concerning the Sacrament of the body, and also of the blood.

• First, let us repeat the beginning of the institution of the Lord's Supper, wherein all the three evangelists and St. Paul, almost in words, do agree, saying, that "Jesus took bread, gave thanks, brake, and gave to the disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body.'" Here it appears plainly, that Christ calls very bread,¹ his body. For that which he took, was very bread, in this all men do agree—and that which he took, after he had given thanks, he brake—and that which he took and brake, he gave to his disciples—and that which he took, brake, and gave to his disciples, he himself said of it: "This is my body." So it appears plainly that Christ called very bread his body. But very bread cannot be his body in very substance: therefore it must needs have another meaning, which meaning appears plainly by the next sentence that follows, both in Luke and in Paul, and that is this: "Do this in remembrance of me."

Whereupon it seems to me to be evident that Christ took bread, and called it his body, for that he would institute thereby a perpetual remembrance of his body, especially of that singular benefit of our redemption, which he would then procure and purchase unto us by his body upon the cross. But bread, retaining still its own very natural substance, may thus, by grace, and in a sacramental signification, be his body: whereas else the very bread which he took, brake, and gave them, could not be in any wise his natural body, for that were confusion of substances. And therefore the very words of Christ, joined with the next sentence following, both enforce us to confess that the very bread remains still, and also open

¹ Real bread, mere bread.

unto us how that bread may be, and is, thus, by his divine power, his body which was given for us.

But here I remember, I have read in some writers, of the contrary opinion, who deny that Christ brake that which he did take. For, say they, after his taking, he blessed it, as Mark relates, and by his blessing he changed the natural substance of the bread into the natural substance of his body: and so, although he took the bread and blessed it, yet because in blessing he changed the substance of it, he brake not the bread, which then was not there, but only the form thereof.

Unto this objection I have two plain answers, both grounded upon God's word. The one I will rehearse; the other answer I will defer until I speak of the Sacrament of the blood. Mine answer here is taken out of the plain words of St. Paul, which manifestly confound this fantastical invention, first invented by Pope Innocent,¹ and afterwards confirmed by the subtle sophister Duns, and now lately renewed in our days, with an eloquent style, and much fineness of wit. But what crafty invention, subtilty and sophisms, eloquence or fineness of wit, prevail against the infallible word of God?

What need have we to strive and contend what it is we break? For St. Paul saith, speaking undoubtedly of the Lord's table: "The bread," saith he, "which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the Lord's body?" Whereupon follows, that after the thanksgiving it is bread which we break. And how often, in the Acts of the Apostles, is the Lord's Supper signified by breaking of bread? "They persevered," saith St. Luke, "in the apostles' doctrine, communion, and breaking of bread." And, "They brake bread in every house." And again, in another place, "When they were come together to break bread," &c. St. Paul, who sets forth most

¹ In the fourth Lateran council, A.D. 1215.

fully in his writings both the doctrine and the right use of the Lord's Supper, and the sacramental eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, called it five times, "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread."

The sacramental bread is the mystical body, and so it is called in scripture (1 Cor. x.), as it is called the natural body of Christ. But Christ's mystical body is the congregation of Christians; now no man was ever so fond¹ as to say, that the sacramental bread is transubstantiated and changed into the substance of the congregation. Wherefore, no man should think or say that the bread is transubstantiated and changed into the natural substance of Christ's human nature.

But my mind is not here to write what may be gathered out of scriptures for this purpose, but only to note here, briefly, those which seem to me to be the plainest places. Therefore, contented to have spoken thus much of the sacramental bread, I will now speak a little of the Lord's cup.

And this shall be my third argument, grounded upon Christ's own words. The natural substance of the sacramental wine remains still, and is the material substance of the Sacrament of the blood of Christ: therefore it is likewise so in the sacramental bread. I know that he who is of a contrary opinion will deny the former part of my argument: but I will prove it thus by the plain words of Christ himself, both in Matthew and in Mark. Christ's words are these, after the words said upon the cup: "I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine-tree, until I shall drink it new in my Father's kingdom." Here note, how Christ plainly calls his cup the fruit of the vine-tree. But the fruit of the vine-tree is very natural wine; wherefore the the natural substance of the wine still remains in the Sacrament of Christ's blood.

¹ Foolish.

And here, in speaking of the Lord's cup, comes unto my remembrance the vanity of Innocent's fantastical invention, which, by Paul's words, I confuted before, and promised to speak of more fully; and that is this: if the transubstantiation be made by the word "blessed," in Mark, said upon the bread, as Innocent, that pope, did say; then surely, seeing that word is not said by Christ, neither in any of the evangelists, nor in St. Paul, upon the cup, there is no transubstantiation of the wine at all. For, where the cause doth fail, there the effect cannot follow. But the sacramental bread, and the sacramental wine, both remain in their natural substance alike; and if the one is not changed, as of the sacramental wine, it appears evident that there is not any such transubstantiation in either of them.

All that trust and affirm this change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, called transubstantiation, also say and affirm this change is made by a certain prescribed form of words, and no other. But what they are that make the change either of the one or of the other, undoubtedly even they that write most finely in these our days almost plainly confess that they cannot tell. For, although they grant to certain of the old doctors, as Chrysostom and Ambrose, that these words, "This is my body," are the words of consecration of the Sacrament of the body, 'yet, say they, these words may well be so called, because they assure us of the consecration thereof, whether it is done before these words be spoken, or not.' But as for this their doubt, concerning the Sacrament of the body, I let it pass.

Let us now consider the words which pertain to the cup. This is first evident, that as Matthew much agrees with Mark, and likewise Luke with Paul, herein in the form of words, so the form of words in Matthew and Mark is diverse from that which is in

Luke and Paul. The old authors mostly rehearse the form of words in Matthew and Mark, because I suppose, they seemed most clear to them. But here I would know, whether it is credible or not, that Luke and Paul, when they celebrated the Lord's Supper with their congregations, did not use the same form of words at the Lord's table which they wrote, Luke in his gospel, and Paul in his epistle. Of Luke, because he was a physician, I cannot tell whether some will grant that he was a priest or not, and was able to receive the order of priesthood, which they say is given by virtue of these words said by the bishop; 'Take thou authority to sacrifice for the quick and the dead.' But if they should be so strait upon Luke, either for his craft, or else for lack of such power given him by virtue of the aforesaid words, then both Peter and Paul are in danger to be deposed from their priesthood; for the craft of fishing, which was Peter's, or making of tents, which was Paul's, were more vile than the science of physic. And as for those sacramental words of the order of priesthood, to have authority to sacrifice both for the quick and the dead, I think that Peter and Paul, if they both were alive, were not able to prove that Christ ever gave them such authority, or ever said any such words unto them. But I will let Luke go, and because Paul speaks more for himself, I will rehearse his words:—

"That, saith Paul, which I received of the Lord, I gave unto you: for the Lord Jesus," &c. and so he sets forth the whole institution and right use of the Lord's Supper. Now, seeing that Paul here said, that which he had received of the Lord he had given them; and that which he had received and given them before by word of mouth, he now rehearses and writes the same in his epistle; is it credible that Paul would never use this form of words upon the Lord's cup, which, as he saith, he received of the

Lord, which he had given them before, and now rehearses in his epistle? I trust no man is so far from all reason but he will grant me that this is not likely to be.

Now, then, if you grant me that Paul used the form of words which he writes, let us then rehearse and consider Paul's words, which he saith Christ spake thus upon the cup; "This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do, as often as ye shall drink it, in the remembrance of me." Here I would know, whether Christ's words spoken upon the cup were not as mighty in work, and as effectual in signification, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as those that were spoken upon the bread?

If this be granted, which I think no man can deny, then, further, I reason thus.—But the word 'is,' in the words spoken upon the Lord's bread, strongly signifies, say they, the change of the substance of that which goes before it into the substance of that which follows after; that is, of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body, when Christ saith, "This is my body." Now, then, if Christ's words, which are spoken upon the cup, which Paul here rehearses, are of the same might and power, both in working and signifying, then must this word 'is,' when Christ saith, "This cup is the New Testament," &c. turn the substance of the cup into the substance of the New Testament.

And if you say that this word 'is,' neither makes nor signifies any such change of the cup; and although it is said of Christ, that this cup is the New Testament, yet Christ meant no such change as that—truly, sir, even so say I.—When Christ said of the bread which he took, and after giving thanks, brake, and gave to them, saying: "Take, eat, this is my body," he meant no more any such change of the substance of bread into the substance of his natural body, than he meant the change and transubstantia-

tion of the cup into the substance of the New Testament.

And if you say that the word 'cup,' here in Christ's words does not signify the cup itself, but the wine, or thing contained in the cup, by a figure called metonymy, for that Christ's words meant, and must needs be taken so; you say very well. But, I pray you, by the way, here note two things; first, that this word 'is' hath no such strength and signification in the Lord's words, to make or to signify any transubstantiation; and, secondly, that in the Lord's words, whereby he instituted the Sacrament of his blood, he used a figurative speech.

How vain, then, is it, that some so earnestly say, as if it were an infallible rule, that in doctrine, and in the institution of the Sacraments, Christ used no figures, but all his words are to be strained to their proper signification; when here, whatsoever you say was in the cup, neither that, nor the cup itself, taking every word in its proper signification, was the New Testament; but to understand that which was in the cup, by the cup, that is a figurative speech. Yea, and also, whether you say it was wine or Christ's blood, you cannot verify, or truly say that was the new testament, without a figure also. Thus, in one sentence, spoken by Christ in the institution of the Sacrament of his blood, the figure must help us twice; so untrue is that which some write, that Christ uses no figure in the doctrine of faith, nor in the institution of his Sacraments. But some say, if we thus admit figures in doctrine, then all the articles of our faith, by figures and allegories, will shortly be transformed and unloosed. I say, it is a like fault, and even the same, to deny the figure where the place so requires to be understood, as vainly to make that a figurative speech, which is to be understood in its proper signification.

Of the rules whereby the speech is known, when it

is figurative, and when it is not, St. Augustin, in his book called, 'Of Christian Doctrine,' gives many learned lessons, very necessary to be known by the student in God's word. Of which I will rehearse one, which is this: 'If,' saith he, 'scripture seems to command a thing which is wicked and ungodly, or to forbid a thing that charity requires, then know thou,' saith he, 'that the speech is figurative.' And for example he brings the saying of Christ in the sixth chapter of St. John: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you." It seems to command a wicked or an ungodly thing; wherefore it is a figurative speech, commanding to have communion and fellowship with Christ's passion, and devoutly and wholesomely to lay up in memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.

And here I cannot but marvel at some men, of excellent fineness of wit, and of great eloquence, who are not ashamed to write and say, that this aforesaid saying of Christ is (according to St. Augustin) a figurative speech indeed; but not unto the learned, but unto the unlearned. Here let any man that indifferently understands the Latin tongue, read the place in St. Augustin, and if he perceive not clearly St. Augustin's words and mind not to be the contrary, let me abide the rebuke thereof.

This lesson of St. Augustin I have, therefore, the rather set forth, because as it teaches us to understand that place in John figuratively, even so surely the same lesson, with the example of St. Augustin's exposition thereof, teaches us, not only by the same to understand Christ's words in the institution of the Sacrament, both of his body and of his blood; figuratively, but, also, the very true meaning and understanding of the same. For, if to command to eat the flesh of the Son of man, and to drink his blood, seems to command an inconvenience and an ungodliness,

and is even so indeed, if it be understood as the words stand in their proper signification; and therefore must be understood figuratively and spiritually, as St. Augustin godly and learnedly interprets them; then, surely, Christ, commanding his disciples in his Last Supper to eat his body and to drink his blood, seemeth to command, in sound of words, as great and even the same inconvenience and ungodliness, as his words do in the sixth chapter of St. John; and, therefore, they must, even by the same reason, be likewise understood, and expounded figuratively and spiritually, as St. Augustin did the other. Whereunto that exposition of St. Augustin may seem to be the more suitable, for Christ in his Supper, to the commandment of eating and drinking his body and blood, adds, "Do this in the remembrance of me." Which words, surely, were they that opened and revealed this spiritual and godly exposition unto St. Augustin.

But I have tarried longer in setting forth the form of Christ's words upon the Lord's cup, written by Paul and Luke, than I intended. And yet in speaking of the form of Christ's words, spoken upon his cup, the form of words used in the Latin mass upon the Lord's cup, now comes to my remembrance. Whereof I not a little marvel what should be the cause, seeing the Latin mass agrees with the evangelists and Paul in the form of the words said upon the bread; why, in the words upon the Lord's cup, should it differ from them all? Yea, and it adds to the words of Christ, spoken upon the cup, these words, "the mystery of faith," which are not read as being attributed unto the Sacrament of Christ's blood, neither in the evangelists, nor in Paul, nor, so far as I know, in any other place of holy scripture. Yea, and if it may have some good exposition, yet, surely, I do not see the mystery, why it should not be as well added unto the words of Christ upon his bread, as upon his cup.

And I see in the use of the Latin mass the Sacrament of the blood abused, when it is denied unto the lay people, contrary unto God's most certain word. For why, I do beseech you, should the Sacrament of Christ's blood be denied unto the lay christians, more than to the priest? Did not Christ shed his blood for the godly layman as well as for the godly priest? If you will say, 'Yes, he did so; but yet the Sacrament of the blood is not to be received without the offering up and sacrificing thereof unto God the Father, both for the quick and for the dead; and no man may make oblation of Christ's blood unto God but a priest, and, therefore, the priest alone, and that in his mass only, may receive the Sacrament of the blood.' And call you this, my masters, the mystery of faith? Alas! alas! I fear me, this is, before God, the mystery of iniquity, such as Paul speaks of in his epistle to the Thessalonians. The Lord be merciful unto us, and bless us, and lighten his countenance upon us, and be merciful unto us; that we may know thy way upon earth, and among all people thy salvation. This kind of oblation stands upon transubstantiation, its cousin german, and grow both upon one ground. May the Lord weed out of his vineyard shortly, that bitter root, if it be his will and pleasure.

To speak of this oblation, how injurious it is unto Christ's passion, how it cannot, but with high blasphemy, and heinous arrogance, and intolerable pride, be claimed of any man, other than of Christ himself—how much and how plainly it opposes the manifest words,¹ and the true sense and meaning of holy scripture in many places, especially in the epistle to the Hebrews; the matter is so long, and others have written on it so at large, that I intend not now to treat thereof any further.

¹ The plain acceptation of the words.

For in this my scribbling I intended only to search out and set forth by the Scriptures, according to God's gracious gift of my poor knowledge, whether the true sense and meaning of Christ's words in the institution of his holy Supper do require any transubstantiation, as they call it, or that the very substance of bread and wine do remain still in the Lord's Supper, and are the material substance of the holy Sacrament of Christ our Saviour's blessed body and blood. Yet there remains one vain quiddity of Duns in this matter, the which, because some that write now seem to like it so well, that they have stripped it out of Duns' dusty and dark terms, and pricked him and painted him in fresh colours of an eloquent style, may therefore deceive the more, except the error be warily eschewed,

Duns saith, ' If you desire to know what the pronoun demonstrative (meaning the word "this") shows or demonstrates in these words of Christ, " This is my body," whether the bread that Christ took, or no, I answer, no; but it points only one thing in substance, the nature and name whereof it does not tell, but leaves that to be determined and told by that which follows the word " is," that is, by the predicate, as the logician speaks.' Therefore he calls the pronoun demonstrative ' this,' an ' individuum vagum,' that is, a wandering proper name, whereby we may point out and show any thing in substance, whatsoever it be.

That this imagination is vain and untruly applied unto those words of Christ, " This is my body," may appear plainly, by the words of Luke and Paul, said upon the cup, when compared with the form of words spoken upon the cup in Matthew and Mark. For, as upon the bread it is said of all the évangelists, " This is my body;" so of Matthew and Mark is said of the cup, " This is my blood." Then if in the words, " This is my body," the word ' this' be, as Duns calls

it, 'a wandering name,' to appoint and show forth any one thing, the name and nature whereof it does not tell, so must it be likewise in these words of Matthew and Mark upon the Lord's cup, "This is my blood." But in the words of Matthew and Mark it signifies and points out the same that it does in the Lord's words upon the cup, in Luke and Paul, where it is said, "This cup is the new testament in my blood," &c. Therefore, in Matthew and Mark, the pronoun demonstrative 'this,' does not wander to point out only one thing in substance, not showing what it is, but tells plainly what it is unto the eye, no less in Matthew and Mark, than is done in Luke and Paul, by putting this word 'cup' both unto the eye and to the ear.

For, taking the cup, and demonstrating or showing it unto his disciples by the pronoun demonstrative 'this,' and saying unto them, "Drink ye all of this," it was then all one to say, "This is my blood," as to say, "This cup is my blood;" meaning by this cup, as the nature of the speech requires, the thing contained in the cup. So likewise, without all doubt, when Christ had taken bread, given thanks, and broken it, and giving it to his disciples, said, "Take;" and so demonstrating and showing that bread which he had in his hands, to say then, "This is my body," and to have said, "This bread is my body," had been the same. As it were all one, if a man, lacking a knife, and going to his oysters, would say to another, whom he saw to have two knives, 'Sir, I pray you lend me one of your knives:' were it not now all one to answer him: 'Sir, hold, I will lend you this to eat your meat, but not to open oysters withal:' and 'Hold, I will lend you this knife to eat your meat, but not to open oysters?'

This similitude serves but for this purpose, to declare the nature of speech, where the thing that is demonstrated and showed, is evidently perceived,

and openly known to the eye. But, O good Lord, what a wonderful thing is it to see, how some men labour to teach, what is demonstrated and showed by the pronoun demonstrative 'this,' in Christ's words, when he saith, "This is my body:"—"this is my blood:" how they labour, I say, to teach what that word 'this' was then indeed; when Christ spake in the beginning of the sentence the word 'this,' before he had pronounced the rest of the words that followed in the same sentence; so that their doctrine may agree with their transubstantiation; which, indeed, is the very foundation wherein all their erroneous doctrine doth stand.

And here the transubstantiators do not agree among themselves, no more than they do in the words which wrought the transubstantiation, when Christ first instituted his Sacrament. Wherein, Innocent, bishop of Rome, of the latter days, and Duns, as was before noted, attribute the work unto the word 'benedixit, he blessed;' but the rest for the most part to 'hoc est corpus meum, this is my body.' Duns, therefore, with his sect, because he puts the change before, must needs say, that when Christ spake "this," in the beginning of the sentence, it was, indeed, Christ's body. For in the change the substance of bread departed, and he saith that the change was done in 'benedixit,' that went before. Therefore, according to him and his, that 'this' was then, indeed, Christ's body, though the word did not then import so much, but only one thing in substance, which substance, according to Duns, the bread being gone, must needs be the substance of Christ's body.

'But they that believe transubstantiation to be wrought by these words of Christ, "This is my body," and say, that when the whole sentence was finished, then this change was perfected, and not before; they cannot say, but yet Christ's "this," in

the beginning of the sentence, before the other words were fully pronounced, was bread indeed. For as yet the change was not done, and so long the bread must needs remain; and so long as the substance of bread remains, so long, with the universal consent of all transubstantiators, the natural substance of Christ's body cannot come, and, therefore, must their 'this,' of necessity demonstrate and show the substance, which was as yet at the pronouncing of the first word "this" by Christ, but bread.

But how can they make and verify Christ's words to be true, demonstrating the substance, which, in the demonstration, is but bread, and say thereof, "This is my body"—that is, as they say, the natural substance of Christ's body?—except they would say, that the word 'is' signifies 'is made,' or 'is changed into:' and so then, if the same word 'is' be of the same effect in Christ's words spoken upon the cup, and rehearsed by Luke and Paul; the cup, or the wine in the cup, must be made or turned into the new testament, as was declared before.

There are some among the transubstantiators who walk so wilily and so warily betwixt these two aforesaid opinions, allowing them both, and holding plainly neither of them both, that methinks they may be called neutrals, ambidexters, or rather such as can shift on both sides. They play on both parts; for with the latter they all allow the doctrine of the last syllable, which is, that transubstantiation is done by miracle in an instant, at the sound of the last syllable, 'um,' in this sentence, *hoc est corpus meum*. And they allow Duns' fantastical imagination of 'individuum vagum,' which demonstrates, as he teaches, in Christ's words one thing in substance, then being, according to his mind, the substance of the body of Christ.

It is a marvellous thing how any man can agree with both these two, they being so contrary the one

to the other.¹ For the one saith the word 'this' demonstrates the substance of bread, and the other saith, 'No, not so; the bread is gone, and it demonstrates a substance which is Christ's body.'—'Tush,' saith the third man, 'you understand nothing at all: they agree well enough in the chief point which is the ground of all; that is, both agree and bear witness that there is transubstantiation.'

They agree, indeed, in that conclusion, I grant; but their proofs and doctrine thereof agree together as well, as did the false witnesses before Annas and Caiaphas against Christ, or the two wicked judges against Susanna. For against Christ the false witnesses agreed, no doubt, to speak ill against him. And the wicked judges were both agreed to condemn poor Susanna: but on examination of their witnesses they dissented so far, that all was found false that they went about; both that wherein they agreed, and those things which also they brought for proofs.

Thus much have I spoken in searching out a solution for this principal question, which was, what is the material substance of the holy Sacrament in the Lord's Supper?

Now, lest I should seem to set by my own conceit more than is right; or to regard the doctrine of the old ecclesiastical writers less than is convenient for a man of my poor learning and simple wit to do; and because, also, I am indeed persuaded, that the old ecclesiastical writers understood the true meaning of Christ in this matter; and have both so truly and so plainly set it forth in certain places of their writings, that no man, who will vouchsafe to read them, and without prejudice of a corrupt judgment will indifferently weigh them, and construe their minds none otherwise than they declare themselves to have meant;

¹ Here and in other places Ridley refers to Gardiner.

I am persuaded, I say, that in reading of them thus, no man can be ignorant in this matter, but he that will shut up his own eyes, and blindfold himself.

When I speak of ecclesiastical writers, I mean such as lived before the wicked usurpation of the see of Rome was grown so unmeasurably great, that not only with tyrannical power, but also with corrupt doctrine, it began to subvert Christ's gospel, and to turn the state, that Christ and his apostles set in the church, upside down.

For the causes aforesaid, I will rehearse certain of their sayings; and yet, because I take them only as witnesses and expounders of this doctrine, and not as authors of the same; and also that I may not be tedious, I will rehearse but few; that is, three old writers of the Greek church, and other three of the Latin church, which seem to me to be most plain in this matter: the Greek authors are Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; the Latin are Tertullian, St. Augustin, and Gelasius.¹

I know there can be nothing spoken so plainly, but that crafty wit, furnished with eloquence, can darken it, and wrest it quite from the true meaning to a contrary sense. And I know also that eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, have gone about to blear men's eyes, and to stop their ears in the aforementioned writers, that men should neither hear nor see what those authors both write and teach so plainly, that except men should be made both stark blind and deaf, they cannot but of necessity, if they will read and weigh them indifferently, hear and see what they mean, even when eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, have done all they can. Now let us hear the old writers of the Greek church.

¹ Origen was born about A. D. 185, and died A. D. 252. Chrysostom was born A. D. 347, and died A. D. 407. Theodoret was born A. D. 386, and died A. D. 457. Tertullian flourished from about A. D. 194 to A. D. 216. Augustin was born A. D. 354, and died A. D. 430. Gelasius was chosen to be pope A. D. 492.—*Dupin*.

Origen, who lived above twelve hundred and fifty years ago; a man, for the excellency of his learning, so highly esteemed in Christ's church, that he was counted and judged the singular teacher, in his time, of Christ's religion, the confounder of heresies, the schoolmaster of many godly matters, and an opener of the high mysteries in scripture: he, writing upon the 15th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, saith thus:

'But if any thing enter into the mouth, it goeth away into the belly, and is voided into the draught. Yea, and that meat which is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, concerning the matter thereof, it goeth away into the belly, and is voided into the draught. But, for the prayer which is added unto it, according to the proportion of faith, it is made profitable, making the mind able to perceive, and to see that which is profitable. For it is not the material substance of bread, but the word, which is spoken upon it, that is profitable to the man that eateth it not unworthily. And this I mean of the typical and symbolical, that is, the sacramental body.'

Thus far go the words of Origen, where it is plain, first, that Origen, speaking here of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as the last words do plainly signify, doth mean and teach, that the material substance thereof is received, digested, and voided, as the material substance of other bread and meats; which could not be if there were no material substance of bread at all, as the fantastical opinion of transubstantiation alleges. It is a world¹ to see the answer of the papists to this place of Origen! In the disputations, which were in this matter in the parliament house, and in both the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, they that defended transubstantiation said, that this part of Origen was only set forth of late by Erasmus, and therefore is to be suspected. But how

¹ Worth while.

vain this their answer is, it plainly appears. For so may all the good old authors, which lay in old libraries, and are set forth of late, be by this reason rejected: as Clemens Alexandrinus, Theodoretus, Justinus, Ecclesiastica Historia Nicephori, and such others.

Another answer they had, saying, that Origen is noted to have erred in some points, and therefore faith is not to be given in this matter unto him. But this answer, well weighed, ministers good matter to the clear confutation of itself. For indeed we grant that in some points Origen did err. But those errors are gathered out and noted both by St. Jerome and Epiphanius, so that his works, those errors excepted, are now so much the more of authority, that such great and learned men took pains to take out of him whatsoever they thought in him was written amiss. But, as concerning the matter of the Lord's Supper, neither they nor any other ancient author, ever said that Origen did err.

Now because these two answers have been of late so confuted and confounded, that it is well perceived, that they will take no place; therefore some, who have written since that time, have forged two other answers, even of the same mould. The former is, that Origen in this place spake not of the Sacrament of bread or wine of the Lord's table, but of another mystical meat; which St. Augustin mentions was given unto them, that were taught the faith, before they were baptized. But Origen's own words in two sentences before rehearsed, being put together, prove this answer untrue. For he saith, that ' he meaneth that figurative and mystical body, which profiteth them that do receive it worthily: ' alluding so plainly unto St. Paul's words, spoken of the Lord's Supper, that it is a shame for any learned man once to open his mouth to assert the contrary. And as to that bread which St. Augustin speaks of, he cannot prove

that any such thing was used in Origen's time. Yea; and though that could be proved, yet there never was bread at any time called a sacramental body except the sacramental bread of the Lord's table, which is called by Origen, the typical and symbolical body of Christ.

The second of the two new-found answers is yet more monstrous, it is this: 'But let us grant,' say they, 'that Origen spake of the Lord's Supper, and by the matter thereof was understood the material substance of bread and wine; what then?' say they, 'For though the material substance was once gone and departed by reason of transubstantiation, whilst the forms of the bread and wine remained; yet it is no inconvenience to say, that as the material substance departed at the entering in of Christ's body under the aforesaid forms, so when the said forms are destroyed and do not remain, then the substance of bread and wine comes again. And this,' say they, 'is very right in this mystery, that that which began with a miracle, shall end in a miracle.'¹

If I had not read this fantasy, I would scarcely have believed, that any learned man ever would have set forth such a foolish fantasy; which not only lacketh all ground either of God's word, reason, or of any ancient writer, but is also wholly contrary to the common rule of school divinity: which is, that no miracle is to be affirmed and put without necessity. And although, for their former miracle, which is their transubstantiation, they have some colour, though it is but vain, saying, it is done by the power and virtue of these words of Christ, "This is my body;" yet to make this second miracle, of the material substance returning again, they have no colour at all. Or else, I pray them to show me, by what words of Christ is that second miracle wrought? Thus you may see,

¹ This and the preceding objections were urged by Gardiner.

that the sleights and shifts, which craft and wit can invent, to wrest the true sense of Origen, cannot take place. But now let us hear one other place of Origen.

Origen, in the eleventh Homily on Leviticus, says, 'That there is in the four gospels, and not only in the Old Testament, a letter, meaning a literal sense, which killeth: 'For if thou follow,' saith he, 'the letter in that saying, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood," &c. this letter doth kill.' If in that place the letter doth kill, wherein is commanded the eating of Christ's flesh, then surely in those words of Christ, wherein Christ commands us to eat his body, the literal sense likewise does kill. For it is no less a crime, but even the same and all one in the literal sense, to eat Christ's body, and to eat Christ's flesh. Wherefore, if the one do kill, except it be understood figuratively and spiritually; then the other surely kills likewise. But that to eat Christ's flesh so understood, does kill, Origen affirms plainly in his words above rehearsed; wherefore, it cannot be justly denied, that to eat Christ's body, literally understood, must needs, according to him, kill likewise.

The answer that is made to this place of Origen by the papists is so foolish, that it betrays itself without any further confutation. It is the same, that they make to a place of St. Augustin, in his book 'Of Christian Doctrine,' whereas St. Augustin speaks in effect the same that Origen does here. The papists' answer is this—'To the carnal man the literal sense is hurtful, but not so to the spiritual.' As though to understand in its proper sense, that which ought to be taken figuratively, were to the carnal man a dangerous peril, but to the spiritual man none at all!

Now to Chrysostom, whom I bring for the second writer in the Greek church. He, speaking of the unholy using of man's body, which, according to St. Paul, ought to be kept pure and holy, as the very

temple of the Holy Ghost, saith thus: 'If it be a fault to translate the holy vessels, in which is not contained the true body of Christ, but the mystery of the body, to private uses; how much more offence is it to abuse and defile the vessels of our body?' These are the words of Chrysostom: but there are many foul shifts devised to defeat this place. 'The author,' saith one, 'is suspected:' I answer, that in this place fault never was found with him until these our days. And whether the author were John Chrysostom himself, the archbishop of Constantinople, or not, that is not the matter: for of all it is granted, that he was a writer of that age, and a man of learning. So that it is manifest, that this which he writes was the received opinion of learned men in his days, or else undoubtedly in such a matter his saying should have been impugned by some that wrote in his time, or near unto the same. 'Nay,' saith another, 'if this solution will not serve, we may say, that Chrysostom did not speak of the vessels of the Lord's cup, or such as were then used at the Lord's table, but of the vessels used in the temple of the old law.'

This answer will serve no more than the other. For here Chrysostom speaks of vessels, wherein was that which was called the body of Christ, although it was not the true body, saith he, of Christ, but the mystery of Christ's body. Now of the vessels of the old law, the writers use no such manner of phrase; for their sacrifices were not called Christ's body; for then Christ was not, except in shadows and figures, and not revealed by the sacrament of his body. Erasmus, who was a man that could understand the words and sense of the writer, although he would not be seen to speak against this error of transubstantiation, because he durst not; yet in his time declares plainly, that this saying of this writer is not to be understood otherwise.

'Yet can I,' said a third papist, 'find out a fine

and subtle solution for this place, and grant all that yet is said, both allowing here the writer, and also that he meant the vessels of the Lord's table. For, saith he, the body of Christ is not contained in them, at the Lord's table, as in a place, but as in a mystery." Is not this a pretty shift, and a mystical solution? But by the same solution then Christ's body is not in the Lord's table, nor in the priest's hand, nor in the pix, and so he is no where here. For they will not say, that he is either here or there, as in a place. This answer pleases the maker so well, that he himself, after he had played with it a little while, and showed the fineness of his wit and eloquence therein, is content to give it over and say, 'But it is not to be thought, that Chrysostom would speak after this fineness or subtlety:' and therefore he returns again unto the second answer for his sheet anchor, which is sufficiently confuted before.

Another short place of Chrysostom I will rehearse, which, if any thing may be heard impartially, in plain terms sets forth the truth of this matter. 'Before the bread,' saith Chrysostom, writing to Cæsarius, 'be hallowed, we call it bread, but the grace of God sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is delivered now from the name of bread, and esteemed worthy to be called Christ's body, although the nature of bread abide in it still.' These are Chrysostom's words, wherein I pray you, what can be said or thought more plain against this error of transubstantiation, than to declare, that the bread abides so still? And yet some are not ashamed shamefully to elude this very plain place, saying, 'We grant the nature of bread remains still thus, for it may be seen, felt, and tasted; and yet the corporeal substance of the bread is gone; lest two bodies should be confused together, and Christ should be thought impanate.'¹

¹ Become united to, or made a part of the substance of the bread.

What contradiction and falsehood is in this answer, the simple man may easily perceive. Is it not plain contradiction, to grant that the nature of bread remains so still, that it may be seen, felt, and tasted, and yet to say that the corporeal substance is gone, to avoid the absurdity of Christ's impanation? And what manifest falsehood is this, to say or mean, that if the bread should remain still, then must follow the inconveniency of impanation? As though the very bread could not be a Sacrament of Christ's body, as water is of baptism, except Christ should unite the nature of bread to his nature, in unity of person, and make of the bread, God.

Now let us hear Theodoret, who is the last of the three Greek authors. He writes in his dialogue, against Eutyches: 'He that called his natural body corn and bread, and also named himself a vine tree; even he, the same, has honoured the symbols, that is, the sacramental signs, with the names of his body and blood, not changing indeed the nature itself, but adding grace unto the nature.' What can be more plainly said than what this old writer saith? Although the Sacraments bear the name of the body and blood of Christ, yet their nature is not changed, but abides still. And where is then the papist's transubstantiation?

The same writer, in the second dialogue of the same work against the aforesaid heretic Eutyches, writes yet more plainly against this error of transubstantiation, if any thing can be said to be more plain. For he makes the heretic speak thus against him that defends the true doctrine, whom he calls Orthodoxus: 'As the Sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord are one thing before the invocation, and after the invocation they are changed, and are made another; so likewise the Lord's body, saith the heretic, is, after the assumption or ascension into heaven, turned into the substance of God;' the

heretic meaning thereby, that Christ, after his ascension, remained no more a man.

To this Orthodoxus answers thus, and saith to the heretic: 'Thou art taken in thine own snare; for those mystical symbols or Sacraments, after the sanctification, do not go out of their own nature, but they tarry and abide still in their substance, figure, and shape; yea, and are sensibly seen, and handled to be the same they were before,' &c. At these words the papists are startled; and, to say the truth, these words are so plain, so full, and so clear, that they cannot tell what to say; but yet will not cease to go about to play the cuttles,¹ and cast their colours over them, that the truth, which is so plainly told, should not have place. 'This author wrote,' say they, 'before the determination of the church.'² As who would say, whatsoever that wicked man Innocent, the pope of Rome, determined in his congregations with his monks and friars, that it must needs be holden for an article, and of the substance of our faith, for so Duns saith.³

Some charge Theodoret, that he was suspected to be a Nestorian, which was tried in the council of Chalcedon, and proved to be false. But the foulest shift of all, and yet the best that they can find in this matter, when none other will serve, is, to say that Theodoret understands by the word substance, accidents,³ and not substance indeed. The gloss is like a gloss of a lawyer upon a decree, the text whereof began thus: 'We decree.' The gloss of the lawyer there, after many other pretty shifts, which

¹ The cuttle fish, which, when pursued by an enemy, emits a dark liquor, which blackens the water around, and so conceals itself.

² Before the church had determined the subject.

³ Pope Innocent III. in the fourth Lateran Council, held A. D. 1215, and attended by an extraordinary number of ecclesiastics, for the first time established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and then decreed the use of that term.

⁴ Or, appearances.

he thinks will not well serve to his purpose, and therefore at last, to clear the matter, he saith thus: 'We do decree—that is, we do abrogate or disannul.' Is not this a worthy and goodly gloss? Who will not say, but he is worthy to be retained of counsel in the law, that can gloss so well, and find in a matter of difficulty such fine shifts; and yet this is the law, or at the least the gloss of the law! And therefore who can tell what peril a man may incur to speak against it, except he were a lawyer indeed, who can keep himself out of the briars whatsoever wind may blow.

Hitherto you have heard the writers of the Greek church,—not all that they say, for that were a labour too great for me to gather, and too tedious for the reader,—but one or two places of each. The which how plain, and how full and clear they are against the error of transubstantiation, I refer to the judgment of the indifferent¹ reader. And now I will likewise rehearse the sayings of three ancient writers of the Latin church, and so make an end. And first I will begin with Tertullian, whom Cyprian, the holy martyr, so highly esteemed, that whensoever he would have his book, he was wont to say, 'Give me the master.'

This old writer, in his fourth book against Marcion, the heretic, saith thus: 'Jesus made the bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, "This is my body," that is to say,' saith Tertullian, 'a figure of my body.' In this place it is plain, that according to Tertullian's exposition, Christ meant not, by calling the bread his body, and the wine his blood, that either the bread was his natural body, or the wine his natural blood; but he called them his body and blood, because he would institute them to be unto us sacraments; that is, holy

¹ Impartial.

tokens and signs of his body and of his blood: so that by them remembering, and firmly believing the benefits procured to us by his body, which was torn and crucified for us, and of his blood which was shed for us upon the cross, and so with thanks receiving these, holy sacraments, according to Christ's institution, we might by the same be spiritually nourished and fed to the increase of all godliness in us, here, in our pilgrimage and journey, wherein we walk unto everlasting life.

This was undoubtedly Christ our Saviour's mind, and this is Tertullian's exposition. The wrangling that the papists make to elude this saying of Tertullian, is so far out of frame, that it even wearies me to think on it. 'Tertullian writes here,' say they, 'as none had done before him, neither yet any other Catholic man after him.'

This saying is manifestly false: for Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustin, and other old authors likewise, call the sacrament a figure of Christ's body. And where they say, that Tertullian wrote this when in a heat of disputation with a heretic, coveting by all means to overthrow his adversary; as if they should say, he would not take heed what he did say, and especially what he would write in so high a matter, so that he might have the better hand of his adversary; is this credible to be true of any godly wise man? How much less then is it worthy to be thought or credited in a man of such great understanding, learning, and excellency, as Tertullian is worthily esteemed to have been?

Likewise, this author, in his first book against the same heretic Marcion, writes thus: 'God did not reject bread, which is his creature: for by it he has made a representation of his body.' Now I pray you, what is it to say, that Christ has made a representation by bread of his body, but that Christ had

instituted and ordained bread to be a sacrament, to represent unto us his body? Now, whether the representation of one thing by another requires the corporeal presence of the thing which is so represented or no, every man that has understanding is able in this point, the matter is so clear of itself, to be a sufficient judge.

The second doctor and writer of the Latin church, whose saying I promised to set forth, is St. Augustin: of whose learning and education I need not speak. For all the church of Christ both has and ever has had him, for a man of most singular learning, understanding, and diligence, both in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ's religion, and also in defence of the same against heretics.

This author, as he has written most plenteously on other matters of our faith, so likewise on this argument he has written at large in many of his works so plainly against this error of transubstantiation, that the papists love less to hear of him than of any other writer; partly for his authority, and partly because he opens the matter more fully than any other. Therefore I will rehearse more places from him than I have done of the others.

And first, what can be more plain, than that which he writes upon the eighty-ninth Psalm, speaking of the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood; and rehearsing, as it were, Christ's words to his disciples, after this manner: 'It is not this body, which ye do see, which ye shall eat, neither shall ye drink this blood, which the soldiers that crucify me shall spill or shed.—I commend unto you a mystery, or a sacrament, which spiritually understood shall give you life.' Now if Christ had no more natural and corporeal bodies, but that one which they then present both heard and saw, nor other natural blood, but that which was in the same body, and which the soldiers afterwards cruelly shed upon the cross: and

neither this body nor this blood was by this declaration of St. Augustin, either to be eaten or drunken, but the mystery thereof spiritually to be understood ; then I conclude, if this saying and exposition of St. Augustin be true, that the mystery which the disciples should eat, was not the natural body of Christ, but a mystery of the same, spiritually to be understood.

For as St. Augustin saith, in his twentieth book against Faustus, ‘ Christ’s flesh and blood in the old testament were promised by similitudes and signs of their sacrifices, and were exhibited in deed and in truth upon the cross, but the same is celebrated by a sacrament of remembrance upon the altar.’ And in his book of Faith to Peter, cap. 19, he saith, that ‘ In these sacrifices, (meaning of the old law,) is figuratively signified what was then to be given : but in this sacrifice, what is already given is evidently signified, understanding in the sacrifice upon the altar, the remembrance and thanksgiving for the flesh which he offered for us, and for the blood which he shed for us upon the cross : ’ as in the same place evidently appears.

Another evident and clear place, wherein it appears, that by the sacramental bread, which Christ called his body, he meant ‘ a figure of his body,’ is upon the third Psalm, where St. Augustin speaks thus in plain terms : ‘ Christ admitted Judas unto the feast, in which he commended unto his disciples *the figure*¹ *of his body.*’ This was Christ’s last Supper before his passion, wherein he ordained the sacrament of his body, as all learned men agree.

St. Augustin also, in his 23d epistle to Boniface, teaches how sacraments bear the names of the things whereof they are sacraments, both in baptism and in the Lord’s table ; even as we call every Good Friday,

¹ Sign or representation..

the day of Christ's passion ; and every Easter Day, the day of Christ's resurrection ; when in very deed there was but one day wherein he suffered, and but one day wherein he rose. And why do we then call them so, which are not so indeed, but because they are in like time and course of the year, as those days were, wherein those things were done ?

' Was Christ,' saith St. Augustin, ' offered more than once ? And he offered himself. And yet in a sacrament or representation he is offered, not only every solemn feast of Easter, but also every day to the people. So that he does not lie, that saith, " He is offered every day." For if sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of those things whereof they are sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments ; and for their similitudes and likeness commonly they have the name of the things whereof they are sacraments. Therefore, as after a certain manner of speech, the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, the sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood ; so likewise the sacrament of faith is faith.

After this manner of speech, as St. Augustin teaches in his question upon Leviticus and against Adamantus, ' it is said in scripture, that seven ears of corn are seven years, seven kine are seven years, and " the rock was Christ ; " and blood is the soul : ' which last saying, saith St. Augustin is understood to be spoken in a sign or figure ; for the Lord himself did not hesitate to say, " This is my body," when he gave the sign of his body.—' For we must not consider in sacraments,' saith St. Augustin in another place, ' what they are, but what they signify. For they are signs of things, being one thing in themselves, and yet signifying another.'—' For the heavenly bread,' saith he, speaking of the sacramental bread, ' by some manner of speech is called Christ's body, when in very deed it is the sacrament of his body,' &c.

What can be more plain or clearly spoken than these places of St. Augustin before rehearsed, if men were not obstinately bent to maintain an untruth, and to receive nothing, whosoever sets it forth? Yet one place more of St. Augustin I will allege, which is very clear to this purpose, that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not here corporeally in the Sacrament, and so let him depart.

In his 50th treatise, which he writes upon John, he teaches plainly and clearly, how Christ, being both God and man, is both here, after a certain manner, and yet in heaven, and not here in his natural body and substance which he took of the blessed virgin Mary; speaking thus of Christ, and saying, "By his divine majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which he spake: Behold, I am with you to the end of the world." But, as concerning his flesh which he took in his incarnation; as touching that which was born of the virgin; as concerning that which was apprehended by the Jews, and crucified upon a tree, and taken down from the cross, wrapped in linen clothes, and buried, and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection—as concerning that flesh, he said, "Ye shall not ever have me with you." Why so? Because concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying, seeing, and not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here. By the presence of his divine majesty, he did not depart; as concerning the presence of his divine majesty, we have Christ ever with us; but, as concerning the presence of his flesh, he said truly to his disciples: "Ye shall not ever have me with you." For, as concerning the presence of his flesh, the church had him but a few days: now it holdeth him by faith, though it see him not.

Thus much St. Augustin speaks, repeating one thing so often; and all to declare and teach how we

should understand the manner of Christ's being here with us, which is by his grace, by his providence, and by his divine nature; and how he is absent by his natural body which was born of the virgin Mary, died, and rose for us, and is ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, as it is in the articles of our faith, on the right hand of God, and thence, and from no other place, saith St. Augustin, he shall come on the latter day, to judge the quick and the dead. At the which day the righteous shall lift up their heads, and the light of God's truth shall so shine, that falsehood and errors shall be put to perpetual confusion. Righteousness shall have the upper hand, and truth that day shall bear away the victory; and all the enemies thereof be quite overthrown, to be trodden under foot for evermore. O Lord, I beseech thee, hasten this day. Then shalt thou be glorified with the glory, due unto thy divine majesty: and we shall sing unto thee in all joy, all felicity, laud and praise for evermore. Amen.

Here now I would make an end: for methinks St. Augustin is so full and plain in this matter, and of such authority, that it should not need, after this his declaration, being so firmly grounded upon God's word, and so well agreeing with other ancient authors, to bring in any more for the confirmation of this matter. And yet I said I would allege three of the Latin church, to testify the truth in this cause. Now, therefore, the last of all shall be Gelasius, who was a bishop of Rome: but one that was bishop of that see, before the wicked usurpation and tyranny thereof spread and burst out into all the world. For this man was before Boniface, yea, and Gregory the first; in whose days corruption of doctrine and tyrannical usurpation chiefly grew, and had the upper hand.

Gelasius, in an epistle of the two natures of Christ, against Eutyches, writes thus: 'The Sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are

godly things, whereby, and by the same, we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet nevertheless the substance or nature of the bread and wine does not depart or go away.' Note these words, I beseech you, and consider whether any thing can be more plainly spoken, than these words against the error of transubstantiation; which is the ground and bitter foot whereupon spring all the horrible errors before rehearsed.

Wherefore, seeing, that the falsehood hereof appears so manifestly, and by so many ways, so plainly, so clearly, and so fully, that no man needs to be deceived, but he that will not see, or will not understand; let us all that love the truth embrace it, and forsake the falsehood. For he that loveth the truth is of God: and the lack of the love thereof is the cause why God suffers men to fall into errors, and to perish therein; yea, and as St. Paul saith, why he sends unto them illusions, that they believe lies, unto their own condemnation: "because," saith he, "they love not the truth."

This truth, no doubt, is God's word: for Christ himself saith unto his Father: "Thy word is truth." The love and light whereof Almighty God, our heavenly Father, give us, and lighten it in our hearts by his Holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

BRADFORD.

A FRUITFUL TREATISE,

AND

FULL OF HEAVENLY CONSOLATION

AGAINST THE

FEAR OF DEATH.

Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day; for suddenly shall his wrath come, and in the day of vengeance he shall destroy thee. Stand fast in the way of the Lord, be steadfast in thine understanding, and follow the word of peace and righteousness.—ECCLESIASTICUS.

BEING minded, through the help of God, for my own comfort and the encouraging of others, to speak something of death, at whose door, though I have stood a great while, yet, according to mans's judgment, never so near as I do now, I think it most requisite to call and cry for thy help, O blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, who hast destroyed death by thy death, and brought in place thereof life and immortality, as appeareth by the gospel. Grant to me true and lively faith, whereby men pass from death to eternal life: that of practice, and not of mere speculation, I may write something concerning

death, which is dreadful out of thee, and in itself, to the glory of thy holy name to my own comfort in thee, and to the edifying of all them, to whom this my writing shall come, to be read or heard. Amen.

There are four kinds of death ; one which is NATURAL, another which is SPIRITUAL, a third which is TEMPORAL, and a fourth which is ETERNAL. Concerning the first and the last, what they are I need not declare ; but the second and third, perchance, are not so soon espied by the simple,¹ for whose sake especially I write.

By a SPIRITUAL death, I mean such a death as when though the body is living the soul is dead. This the apostle mentions in speaking of widows, who living daintily, being alive in body, are dead in soul. (1 Tim. v.) Thus you see what I mean by the spiritual death. Now, by a TEMPORAL death, I mean a death whereby the body and the affections thereof are mortified, that the spirit may live : of which kind of death the apostle speaks when exhorting us to kill our members. Col. iii. And thus much concerning the kinds of death, wherein the judgment of the world is not to be approved, for it cares less for spiritual death than for a natural death, it is less apprehensive of eternal death than temporal death, or else men would leave sin, which procures both the one and the other, I mean spiritual and eternal death, and would choose temporally to die, that, by natural death, they might enter into the full fruition of eternal life, which none can enjoy nor enter into, that will not here temporally die, that is, mortify their affections, and crucify their lusts and concupiscences ; for by obeying them at the first came death, as we may read, Gen. iii. If Eve had not obeyed her desire in eating the forbidden fruit, whereby she died spiritually, none of these kinds

¹ Uninstructed.

of death had ever come unto man, nor been known by us. Therefore, as I said, here we must needs temporally die, that is, mortify our affections, to escape the spiritual death, and by natural death, not only escape eternal death of soul and body, but also by it, as by a door, enter into eternal life, which Christ Jesus our Saviour hath procured and purchased to and for all that are in him, changing eternal death into a deliverance of soul and body from all kind of misery and sin. By reason whereof we may see, that to those who are in Christ, that is, to such as believe, which believers are discerned from others by their not walking after the flesh, but after the Spirit, to those I say, death is no damage, but an advantage; no dreadful thing, but rather desirable, and of all messengers the most joyful, whilst looked upon with the eye of faith in the gospel. But more of this hereafter.

Thus I have briefly showed the kinds of death, what they are, whence they come, and what is the remedy for them. But now, as I purpose to treat only of the first kind of death, that is, of natural death, something to comfort myself and others against the dread and pains of the same, I will speak of it as God shall instruct me, and as I accustom myself to muse on it now and then, the better to be prepared against the hour of trial.

I have shown that this natural death came by spiritual death, that is, by obeying our affections in the transgression of God's precepts. But through the benefit of Christ, it is no destruction to such as are in him and die temporally, that is, to such believers as labour to mortify their affections, but only a plain dissolution, both of soul and body, from all kind of perils, dangers, and miseries; and therefore by such it is not to be dreaded, but to be desired, as we see in the apostle, who desired to be dissolved, (Phil. i.) and in Simeon, who desired to be loosed,

saying, *Dismiss, or loose me, O Lord.* (Luke ii.) By which words he seems plainly to teach, that this life is a bondage, and nothing to be desired, as now I will partly show.

First, consider the pleasures of this life what they are,—how long they last,—how painfully we come by them,—what they leave behind them, and thou shalt even in them see nothing but vanity. As for example: how long lasts the pleasure of licentiousness? How it leaves behind a certain loathsomeness. I will speak nothing of the sting of conscience, if pleasures are come by unlawfully. Who, well seeing this, and forecasting it aforehand, would not desire to forego unlawful pleasures?

Put the case, that the pleasures of this life were permanent during this life, yet since this life itself is as nothing, and therefore is full well compared to a candle-light, which is soon blown out; to a flower, which fadeth away; to a smoke, to a shadow, to a sleep, to running water, to a day, to an hour, to a moment, and to vanity itself; who would esteem pleasures and commodities,¹ which last so little a while? Before they are well begun, they are gone and past away. How much of our time we spend in sleeping, in eating, in drinking, and in talking! Infancy is not perceived, youth is shortly overblown, middle age is nothing, old age is not long; and therefore, as I said, this life, even in the consideration of the pleasures and advantages of it, should little move us to love it, but rather to loath it. God open our eyes to see these things, and to weigh them accordingly. Secondly, consider the miseries of this life, so that if the pleasures and commodities in it should move us to love it, yet the miseries might countervail and make us take it as we should do; I mean, rather to desire to be loosed and dismissed

¹ Advantages.

hence than otherwise. Look upon your bodies, and see in how many perils and dangers you are. Your eyes are in danger of blindness and blear-eyedness; your ears in danger of deafness; your mouth and tongue of cankers, toothache, and dumbness; your head in danger of rheums, and megrims; your throat in danger of hoarseness; your hands in danger of gout, palsies, &c. But who is able to express the number of diseases whereof man's body is in danger, seeing that some have written that more than three hundred diseases may happen unto man? I speak nothing of the hurt that may come to our bodies by poisons, venomous beasts, water, fire, horses, men, &c.

Again, look upon your soul,—see how many vices you are in danger of, as heresy, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, idleness, security, envy, ambition, pride, &c. How many temptations may you fall into? But this you shall better see by looking upon your old falls, folly, and temptations; and by looking on other men's faults, for no man hath done any thing so evil but you may do the same. Moreover, look upon your name,¹ and see how it is in danger of slanders and false reports. Look upon your goods, see what danger they are in from thieves, from fire, &c. Look upon your wife, children, parents, brethren, sisters, kinsfolks, servants, friends, and neighbours, and behold how they also are in danger, both in soul, body, name, and goods, as you are. Look upon the commonweal and country. Look upon the church, upon the ministers and magistrates, and see what great dangers they are in, so that if you love them, you cannot, but for the evil which may come to them, be heavy and sad. You know it is not in your power, nor in the power of any man, to hinder all evil that may come. How many perils is infancy in danger of! What danger is youth subject unto!

¹ Reputation.

Man's state is full of cares; age is full of diseases and sores. If thou art rich, thy care is the greater; if thou art in honour, thy perils are the more; if thou art poor, thou art the more in danger from oppression. But, alas! what tongue is able to express the miserableness of this life, which, if considered, should make us little to love it!

I can compare our life to nothing so fitly as to a ship in the midst of the sea. In what danger is the ship and they that are in it! Here are they in danger of tempests, there of quicksands; on this side of pirates, on that side of rocks; now it may leak, now the mast may break, now the master may fall sick, now diseases may come among the mariners, now dissension may arise among themselves. I speak nothing of want of fresh water, meat, drink, and such other necessaries. Even such is this life. Here is the devil, there is the world; on this side is the flesh, on that side is sin; which thoroughly cleaveth unto our ribs, and will do so as long as we are in this flesh, and natural life. So that none but blind men can see this life to be much and greatly desired; but rather as sailors are most glad when they approach to the haven, even so should we be most glad when we approach to the haven, that is, to death, which setteth us to a land whose commodities no eye hath seen, no tongue can tell, no heart can conceive, in any point as it should do. (1 Cor. ii.) Happy, oh! happy were we, if we saw these things accordingly! God open our eyes to see them. Amen.

If any man would desire testimonies of these things, although experience, a sufficient mistress, is to be credited, yet I will here mark certain places whereunto the reader may resort, and he will find no less than I say, but rather much more, if he read and weigh the places with diligence. Job (x.) calls this life a warfare. In the eighth chapter he paints it out in a lively manner, under divers similitudes.

St. James compares it to a vapour. (James iv.) All the book of Ecclesiastes teaches that it is but vanity. St. John saith it is altogether put in evil. (1 John viii.) David¹ saith, the best thing in this life is but vanity, labour, and sorrow. (Psalm xc.) But why go I hearabout, seeing that almost every leaf in the Scripture is full of the brevity and misery of this life; so that I think, as St. Austin writes, that there is no man who has lived so happily in this world, that he would be content, when death comes, to go back again by the same steps whereby he has come into the world and lived, except he is in despair, and looks for nothing after this life but confusion.

Thus I trust you see, that though the commodities of this life were such as could cause us to love it, yet the brevity, vanity, and misery of it is such, as should make us little regard it, who believe and know, death is the end of all miseries to them that are in Christ, as we all ought to take ourselves to be, being baptized in his name, for our baptism requireth this faith under pain of damnation,) although we have not observed our profession as we should have done, if we now repent, and come to amendment. By such I say as are in Christ, death is to be desired, even in this respect, that it delivers us from so miserable a life and so dangerous a state as we are now in. So that I may well say they are senseless, without understanding, void of love to God, void of all hatred and sense of sin wherewith this life floweth, who desire not to depart hence out of all these miseries, rather than still to remain here to their continual grief.

But if these things will not move us, I would yet that we beheld the commodities whereunto death bring us. If we are not moved to leave this life in respect of the miseries whereof it is full, yet we should be moved to leave it in respect of the infinite

¹ Or rather Moses.

goodness which the other life, whereto death brings us, hath most plentifully. Men, though they love things, yet can be content to forego them for other things which are better; even so we now, for the good things in the life to come, if we consider them, shall and will be content to forego the most commodious things in this present life. Here we have great pleasure in the beauty of the world, and of the pleasures, honours, and dignities of the same; also in the company of our friends, parents, wife, children, subjects; also in plenty of riches, cattle, &c. and yet we know that not one of these is without its discommodity, which God sendeth, lest we should love them too much, as, if you will weigh things, you shall easily perceive. The sun, though it is fair and cheerful, yet it burneth sometimes too hot. The air, though it is generally light and pleasant, yet sometimes it is dark and troublous; and so of other things. But be it so, that there were no discommodities mingled with the commodities, yet as I said before, the brevity and short time that we have to use them should assuage their sweetness.

But even if the pleasures of this life were without discommodity, if they were permanent and without peril, whereof they are full, yet are they nothing at all to be compared to the commodities of the life to come. What is this earth, heaven, and shape of the world, wherein beasts have places, and wicked men, God's enemies, have abiding and liberty, in comparison of the new heaven and earth wherein righteousness shall dwell?—in comparison of the place where angels and archangels, and all God's people, yea, God himself, hath his abiding and dwelling? What is the company of wife, children, &c. in comparison to the company of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the saints of God? What is the company of any in this world, in comparison to the

company of the angels, archangels, cherubims, seraphims, powers, thrones, dominions, yea, of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost? What are the riches and pleasures of this life, in comparison of the felicity of everlasting life, which is without all discommodities, perpetual, without all peril and jeopardy, without all grief and molestation? Oh, the mirth and melody! oh, the honour and glory! oh, the riches and beauty! oh, the power and majesty! oh, the sweetness and dignity of the life to come! The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, and the heart of man is not able to conceive in any thing, any part of the eternal felicity and happy state of heaven; therefore the saints of God have desired so earnestly and so heartily to be there. "Oh! how amiable are thy tabernacles!" said David. (Psalm lxxxiv.) "My soul hath a desire to enter into the courts of the Lord; my heart and my soul rejoice in the living God. Blessed are those that dwell in thy house, that they may always be praising thee; for one day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness; for the Lord God is a light and defence." And again, (Psalm xlii.) "As the hart desireth the waterbrooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God. My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God. When shall I come to appear before the presence of God?" And (Psalm lxiii.) "My soul thirsteth for thee in a barren and dry land, where no water is. They, God's people I mean, (Rom. viii.) desire the day of their redemption, and they still cry, "Let thy kingdom come;" they cry, (Rev. xxii.) "Come, Lord Jesus, come;" they lift up their heads looking for his appearing, who will make their vile bodies like to his own glorious and immortal body, (Phil. iii.) for when he shall appear, they shall be like unto him; the angels will gather them

together, and they shall meet him in the clouds, and be always with him; they shall hear this joyful voice, (Matt. xxv.) "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning." Then shall they be like unto his angels, (Rev. vii.) then shall they shine like the sun in the kingdom; then shall they have crowns of glory, and be clothed with white garments of innocence and righteousness, and palms of victory in their hands. Oh! happy, happy is he who may with them see that immortal and incorruptible inheritance, which then we shall enjoy for ever!

Thus you see (I hope) sufficiently, that in respect of heaven and eternal bliss, (whereunto by the haven of death we land,) this life, though there were no evil in it, is not to be loved, but rather, we that are pilgrims in it should desire with Paul and Simeon to be loosed and dissolved, that we might be with God. Here our bodies, as before is spoken, are in danger of innumerable evils; but there our bodies shall be, not only free from all danger, but also be like the glorious and immortal body of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now our bodies are dark, then shall they be most clear and light, as we see Christ's face did shine in his transfiguration, like to the sun. (Matt. xvii.) Now our bodies are vile, miserable, mortal, and corruptible; but then shall they be glorious, happy, immortal, and incorruptible. (1 Cor. xv.) We shall be like unto Christ our Saviour; even as he is, so shall we be. (1 John iii.) As we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly. Here our souls are in great darkness, and in danger of many evils; but there they shall be in great light, safe security, and secure felicity. We shall see God face to face, where now we see him but as in a glass through a dark speaking, there shall we behold him even as he is, and be satisfied with his presence; yea we shall be endued with most per-

fect knowledge. Where now we know but partly, there shall we know as we are known. Here our commodities are measurable, short, uncertain, and mingled with many incommodities. But there is bliss without measure, all liberty, all light, all joy, rejoicing, pleasure, health, wealth, riches, glory, power, treasure, honour, triumph, comfort, solace, love, unity, peace, concord, wisdom, virtue, melody, meekness, felicity, beatitude, and all that ever can be wished or desired; and that in the greatest security and perpetuity that may be conceived or thought, not only of men, but also of angels; as he witnesses that saw it, (I mean Paul,) who was carried up into the third heaven: "The eye hath not seen, (saith he) the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man the felicity that God hath prepared for them that love him." (1 Cor. ii.) There the archangels, angels, powers, thrones, dominions, cherubim, seraphim, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, confessors, and righteous spirits, cease not to sing night and day, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts; honour, majesty, glory, empire, and dominion, be unto thee, O Lord God the Creator, O Lord Jesus the Redeemer, O Holy Spirit the Comforter." (Rev. iv.) For the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven-fold, even as the light of seven days (Isaiah lx.) in his blessed kingdom, where and when he will bind up the wounds of his people, and heal their plagues. Oh! that we might have some lively sight hereof, that we might rejoice over the undefiled and immortal inheritance, whereunto God hath called us, and which he keeps for us in heaven; that we might hear the sweet song of his saved people, crying, "Salvation be unto Him that sitteth on the throne of our God, and unto the Lamb." That we might with the elders and angels sing and say, "Praise, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving,

and honour, and power, and might, be to thee our God for evermore." That we might be covered with a white robe, and have a palm in our hands, to stand before God's throne night and day, to serve him in his temple, and to have him dwell in us; that we might hear the great voice saying from heaven, 'Behold the tabernacle of the Lord is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them, their God.' Oh! happy were they that now might have a glimpse of that holy city, New Jerusalem, descending from heaven, prepared of God as a bride decked for her husband, which he showed to his servant John. (Rev. xxi.) Truly this should we see, if we were with him in the Spirit; but this cannot be, so long as we are in the flesh. Alas then, and well away, that we love this life as we do! It is a sign that we have little faith, for else how could we fail night and day to desire the messenger of the Lord, death I mean, to deliver us out of all miseries, that we might enter into the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

But here some men will say, "Oh! sir, if I were certain that I should depart from this miserable life into that so great felicity, then could I be right glad and rejoice, and you tell me, and bid death welcome. But I am a sinner, I have grievously transgressed and broken God's will, and therefore I am afraid I shall be sent into eternal woe, perdition, and misery.' Here, my brother, thou dost well that thou dost acknowledge thyself a sinner, and to have deserved eternal death; for doubtless, if we say we have no sin, we are liars, and the truth is not in us. (1 John i.) A child of a night's birth is not pure in God's sight. (Job. xxv.) In sin we were born, and by birth or nature we are the children of wrath, and firebrands of hell; therefore, confess ourselves to be sinners we needs must. For if the Lord will observe any man's iniquities, none shall be able to abide it;

yea, we must needs all cry, "Enter not into judgment, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh nor man living can be saved." (Psa. cxxx. cxliii.) In this point, therefore, thou hast done well to confess that thou art a sinner.

But now where thou standest in doubt of pardon of thy sins, and thereby art afraid of damnation, my dear brother, I would have thee answer me, whether thou desirest pardon or no? Whether thou dost repent or no? Whether thou dost unfeignedly purpose, if thou shouldst live, to amend thy life or no? If thou dost even before God so purpose, and desirest his mercy, then hearken, my good brother, to what the Lord saith unto thee: "I am he, I am he, that for my own sake will do away thine offences; if thy sins be as red as scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow; for I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner. (Isa. xliii. 1.) As surely as I live, I will not thy death, but rather that thou shouldst live, and be converted. (Ezek. xxxiii.) I have so loved the world, that I would not spare my dearly beloved Son, (John iii.) the image of my substance, and brightness of my glory, by whom all things were given; but gave him for thee, not only to be man, but also to take thy nature, and to purge it from mortality, sin, and all corruption, and to adorn and endue it with immortality and eternal glory, not only in his own person, but also in thee and for thee, whereof now by faith I would have thee certain, as in very deed thou shalt at length feel and fully enjoy for ever. (Phil. ii.) This, my Son, I have given to death, and that a most shameful death, even of the cross, for thee, to destroy death, to satisfy my justice for thy sins; therefore believe, and according to thy faith, so be it unto thee. Hearken what my Son himself saith unto thee, (Matt. xi.) Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. (John iii.) I came not into the world to condemn the world, but to

save it. (Luke v.) I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. I pray not (saith he, John xvii.) for these mine apostles only, but also for all them that by their preaching shall believe in me. Now what prayed he for such? Father, (saith he,) I will that where I am they also may be, that they may see and enjoy the glory I have, and always had with thee. Father, save them, and keep them in thy truth. Father, (saith he,) I sanctify myself, and offer up myself for them. Lo! thus thou hearest how my Son prayeth for thee. Mark now what my apostle Paul saith: We know (saith he, Heb. v.) that our Saviour Christ's prayers were heard. (1 Tim. i.) Also this is a true saying, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Hearken what he said to the jailor (Acts xvi.): Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved. (Heb. ix.) For he by his own self hath made purgation for our sins. To him, saith Peter (Acts x.) all the prophets bear witness, that whosoever believeth in his name shall receive remission of their sins. Believe man; pray, (Mark ix.) Lord, help mine unbelief. (Luke xvii.) Lord, increase my faith: ask, and thou shalt have. Hearken what St. John saith: If we confess our sins, God is righteous to forgive us all our iniquities, and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ shall wash us from all our sins; for if we sin, we have an Advocate (saith he) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins. (1 John i. 2.) Hearken what Christ is called, (Matt. i.) Call his name Jesus, saith the angel, for he shall save his people from their sins; so that where abundance of sin is, there is abundance of grace; say, therefore, Who shall lay anything to my charge? It is God that absolveth me: who then shall condemn me? It is Christ who is dead for my sins, yea, who is risen for my righteousness, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and prayeth for me. (Rom. viii.) Be

certain, therefore, and sure of pardon of thy sins ; be certain and sure of everlasting life. Do not now say in thy heart, Who shall descend into the deep? that is, doubt not of pardon of thy sins, for that is, to fetch up Christ ; neither say thou, Who shall ascend up into heaven? that is, doubt not of eternal bliss, for that is to put Christ out of heaven: but mark what the Lord saith unto thee, The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and this is the word of faith which we preach: if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and believe with thy heart, that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be safe. (Rom. x.) If thou believe that Jesus Christ died, and rose again, even so shalt thou be assured (saith the Lord God) that, dying with Christ, I will bring thee again with him. (1 Thess. iv.)

Thus, dear brother, I thought good to write to thee in the name of the Lord, that thou, fearing death for nothing else but because of thy sins, mightest be assured of pardon of them, and so embrace death as a dear friend, and insult against his terror, sting, and power, saying, "Death, where is thy sting? hell, where is thy victory?" (1 Cor. xv.) Nothing in all the world so displeases the Lord as to doubt of his mercy. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, we should be content; therefore, since thou hast heard from so many witnesses, how that in deed desiring mercy with the Lord, thou art not sent empty away, give credit thereto, and say with the good virgin Mary, "Behold thy servant, O Lord, be it unto me according to thy word." (Luke i.) Upon which word, see thou set thine eye only and wholly. For here thou seest not God thy Father, except in his word, which is the glass wherein now we behold his grace and fatherly love towards us in Christ; and therefore herewith we should be content, and give more credit to it, than to all our senses, and to all the world besides. The word, saith our Saviour,

(John xii.) shall judge. According to it therefore, and not according to any exterior or interior show, judge both of thyself and of all other things else, concerning thyself, if thou desire indeed God's mercy, and lament that thou hast offended. Lo! it pronounces that there is mercy with the Lord for thee, and plenteous redemption. (Psalm cxxx.) It tells thee who wouldst have mercy at the Lord's hand, that the Lord willeth the same, and therefore thou art happy, for he would not thy death. It tells thee, that if thou acknowledge thy faults unto the Lord, he will cover them in his mercy. Again, concerning death, it tells thee, that it is but a sleep, that it is but a passing unto thy Father, that it is but a deliverance out of misery, that it is but a putting off mortality and corruption, that it is a putting on immortality and incorruption; that it is a putting away of an earthly tabernacle, that thou mayest receive a heavenly house or mansion, (2 Cor. v. ;) that this is but a calling of thee home from the watching and standing in the warfare of this miserable life. According to this, (the word I mean,) do thou judge of death, and thou shalt not be afraid of it, but desire it as a most wholesome medicine, and a friendly messenger of the Lord's justice and mercy. Embrace him therefore, make him good cheer, for of all enemies he is the least. An enemy, said I? nay, rather of all friends he is the best; for he brings thee out of all danger of enemies into that most sure and safe place of thy unfeigned Friend for ever.

Let these things be often thought upon. Let death be premeditated, not only because he cometh uncertainly, I mean as to the time, for else he is most certain; but also because he helpeth much to the contempt of this world, out of which, as nothing will go with thee, so canst thou take nothing with thee. — Because it helpeth to the mortifying of the flesh, which when thou feedest, thou dost nothing else but

feed worms.—Because it helpeth to the well disposing and due ordering of the things thou hast in this life.—Because it helpeth to repentance, to bring thee unto the knowledge of thyself, that thou art but earth and ashes, and brings thee the better to know God. But who is able to tell the advantages that come by the frequent and true consideration of death? Whose time is left unto us uncertain and unknown, (although to God it be certain, and the bounds thereof not only known, but appointed of the Lord, over the which none can pass, Job xiv. ;) that we should not prolong and put off from day to day the amendment of our life, as the rich man (Luke xii,) did under hope of long life. And seeing it is the ordinance of God, and comes not but by the will of God, even unto a sparrow; much more then unto us, who are incomparably much more dear than many sparrows; and since this will of God is not only just, but also good, for he is our Father, let us, if there were no other cause but this, submit ourselves, our senses, and judgments, unto his pleasure, being content to come out of the station of our soldier-ship, whenever he shall send for us by his messenger, death. Let us render to him, that which he has lent us so long, (I mean life,) lest we be counted unthankful. And since death cometh not but by sin, forasmuch as we have sinned so often, and yet the Lord hath ceased from exacting this tribute and punishment of us until this present time, let us with thankfulness praise his patience, and pay our debt, not doubting but that he, being our Father and our almighty Father, can and will, if death were evil unto us, as God knoweth it is a chief benefit unto us by Christ, convert and turn it into good. But death being, as I have before showed, not to be dreaded, but to be desired, let us lift up our heads in thinking on it, and know that our redemption draweth nigh. (Luke xxi.) Let our minds be occupied in the con-

sideration, or often contemplation of the four last articles of our belief, that is the communion of saints or holy catholic church; remission of sins, resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

By faith in Christ, be it ever so faint, little, or cold, we are members in very deed of the catholic and holy church of Christ, that is, we have communion or fellowship with all the saints of God that ever were, are, or shall be. Whereby we may receive great comfort; for though our faith be feeble, yet the faith of that church, whereof our Saviour Christ is the head, is mighty enough. Though our repentance be little, yet the repentance of the church, wherewith we have communion, is sufficient. Though our love be languishing, yet the love of the church and of the Spouse of the church is ardent, and so of all other things we want. Not that I mean this, as though any man should think that our faith should be in any, or upon any other, than only upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; neither that any should think I mean thereby any other merits or means to salvation, than only the merits and name of the Lord Jesus. But I would that the poor christian conscience, which by baptism is brought into God's church, and made a member of the same through faith, should, not for his sin's sake, or for the want of any thing he hath not, despair; but rather should know, that he is a member of Christ's church and mystical body; and therefore cannot but have communion and fellowship with both; that is, with Christ himself, being the Lord, husband, and head thereof, and of all that ever have been, are, or shall be members of it, in all good things that ever they have had, have, or shall have. Still doth the church pray for us by Christ's commandment. Forgive us our sins, lead us not into temptation, deliver us from evil; yea, Christ himself prays for us, being members of his body, as we are indeed, if we believe, though it

is ever so little. God grant this faith unto us all, and increase it in us. Amen. Out of this church no pope nor prelate can cast us, or excommunicate us indeed, although exteriorly they separate us from the society of God's saints. But enough of this.

As I would have us often muse upon the catholic church, or communion of saints, so would I have us to meditate upon the other articles following, that is, remission of sins, resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. It is an article of our faith to believe, that is, to be certain that our sins are pardoned; therefore doubt not thereof, lest thou become an infidel. Though thou hast sinned ever so sorely, yet now despair not, but be certain that God is thy God, that is, that he forgives thee thy sin. Therefore, as I said, doubt not thereof, for in so doing thou puttest a covering on the head of thy soul, so that the dew of God's grace cannot drop into it, but slips by as fast as it drops. Therefore be bareheaded; that is, hope still in the mercy of the Lord, and so mercy shall compass thee on every side. (Psalm v.)

In like manner, often have the article of the resurrection of the body in thy mind, being assured thereby that thy body shall be raised up again in the last day; when the Lord shall come to judgment, and that it shall be made incorruptible, immortal, glorious, spiritual, perfect, light, and even like to the glorious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ. (Phil. iii.) For he is the first-fruits of the dead; and as God is all in all, so shall he be unto thee in Christ. Look therefore upon thine own estate; for as he is, so shalt thou be. As thou hast borne the image of the earthly Adam, so shalt thou bear the image of the heavenly, (1 Cor. xv.) therefore glorify thou God now, both in soul and body. Wait and look for this day of the Lord with groaning and sighing. Gather together testimonies of this, which I omit for time's sake.

Last of all, often have life everlasting in thy mind,

whereunto thou art even landing. Death is the haven that carries thee unto this land, where is all that can be wished, yea, above all wishes and desires ; for in it we shall see God face to face, which now we can in no wise do, but must cover our faces, with Moses and Eliás, till the face or fore-parts of the Lord be gone by. (Exod. xxxiv.) Now must we look on his back-parts, beholding him in his word, and in his creatures, and in the face of Jesus Christ our Mediator ; but then we shall see him face to face, and we shall know, even as we are known. (1 Cor. xiii.) Therefore let us often think on these things, that we may have faith heartily and cheerfully to arrive at the happy haven of death, which you see is to be desired, and not to be dreaded, by all those that are in Christ : that is, by such as believe indeed, who are distinguished from those that only say they do believe, by their dying temporally, that is, by labouring to mortify through God's Spirit the affections of the flesh : not that they should not be in them, but that they should not reign in them, that is, in their mortal bodies, to give themselves over to serve sin, whose servants we are not, but are made servants unto righteousness, (Rom. vi.) being now under grace, and not under the law, and therefore God hath mercifully promised that sin shall not reign in us ; the which may he continually grant for his truth, power, and mercy's sake. Amen.

THE END.

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