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Hooker, Richard 1554-1600 [Ox. Dict. Christ. Coll.]

Travers, Walter 1548-1643 [ibidem]

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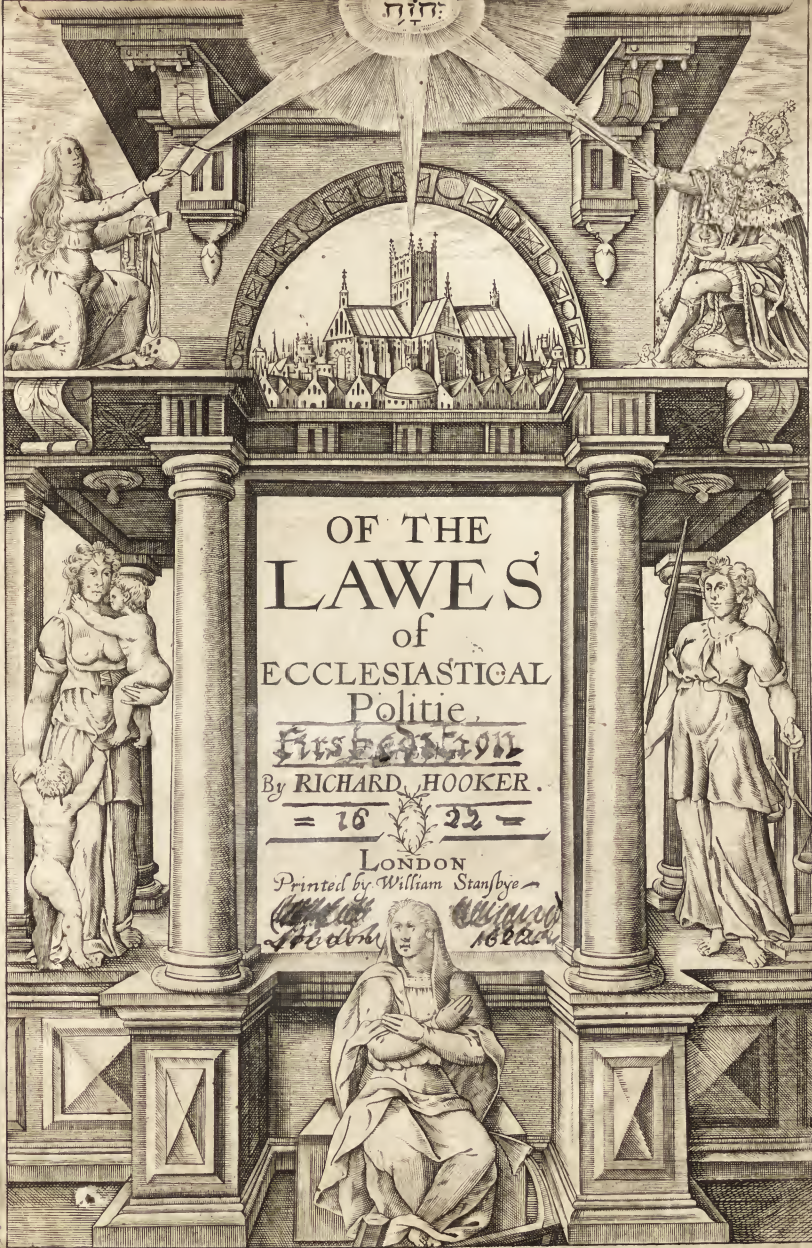
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OF THE
LAWS
of
ECCLESIASTICAL
Politie

First Edition

By RICHARD HOOKER.

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To the Reader.



His vnhappy Controuersie, about the receiued Ceremonies & Discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawne so many of her Ministers from their principall worke, and imployed their Studies in contentious Oppositions: hath by the vnnaturall growth and dangerous fruits therof, made knowne to the VVorld, that it neuer receiued blessing from the Father of Peace. For whose experience doth not find, what confusion of Order, and breach of the sacred Bond of Loue hath sprung from this Dissention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into diuers parts, and diuided her people into diuers Sects; how it hath taught the Sheepe to despise their Pastors, and alienated the Pastors from the loue of their Flockes: how it hath strengthened the Irreligious in their Impieties, and

hath raised the hopes of the sacrilegious deuourers of the remaines of Christs Patrimonie; and giuen way to the common Aduersarie of Gods Truth, and our prosperitie, to grow great in our Land without resistance; who seeth not how it hath distracted the minds of the multitude, and shaken their faith, and scandalized their weakenesse, and hath generally killed the very heart of true Pietie, and religious Deuotion, by changing our zeale towards Christs glorie, into the fire of Enuie and Malice, and Heart-burning, and zeale to euery mans priuate cause? This is the summe of all the gaines which the tedious contentions of so many yeers haue brought in, by the ruine of Christs Kingdome, the encrease of Satans, partly in Superstition, and partly in Impietie. So much better were it in these our dwellings of Peace to endure any inconuenience whatsoever in the outward frame, then in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire. Which moued the Religious heart of this learned Writer, in zeale of Gods truth, and in compassion to his Church, the mother of vs all, which gaue vs both the first breath of Spiritnall Life, and from her Breasts hath fed vs vnto this whatsoever measure of growth we haue in Christ, to stand vp and take vpon him a generall defence both of her selfe, and of her established Lawes; and by force of demonstration, so farre as the nature of the present matter could beare, to make knowne to the World, and these Oppugners of her, that all those bitter accusations laide to her charge, are not the faults of her Lawes and Orders, but

but either their owne mistakes in the mis-vnderstanding, or the abuses of men in the ill execution of them. A Work subiect to manifold reprehensions and oppositions, and not sutable to his soft and mild disposition, desirous of a quiet priuate life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of Peace in Peace. But the loue of God and of his Countrie, whose greatest danger grew from this Diuision, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongst manie other most Reuerend and Learned men, hee also presumed to speake with his Pen. And the rather, because hee saw that none of these ordinarie obiections of partialities could eleuate the authoritie of his writing, who alwaies affected a priuate State, and neither enioyed, nor expected any the least Dignitie in our Church. What admirable height of Learning, and depth of Iudgement dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble Man, great in al wise mens eyes, except his owne; with what Grauitie and Maiestie of speech his tongue and Pen vttered heavenly Mysteries, whose eyes in the humilitie of his heart were alwayes cast downe to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the spirit of Loue, as if He like the Bird of the Holy Ghost, the Doue, had wanted Gall; let them that knew him not in his person, iudge by these liuing Images of his Soule, his writings. For out of these, euen those who otherwise agree not with him in Opinion, doe asfoord him the testimonie of a milde and a louing Spirit: and of his Learning, what greater prooffe can we
 haue

haue then this, that his writings are most admired by those who themselves doe most excell in iudicious Learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled & desired? which is the cause of this sixth Edition of his former bookes, and that without any addition or diminution whatsoever. For who will put a Pencile to such a Worke, from which such a workman hath taken his? There is a purpose of setting forth the three last Books also, their Fathers *Posthumii*. For as in the great declining of his body spent out with studie, it was his ordinarie Petition to Almighty God, that if hee might liue to see the finishing of these bookes, then *Lord let thy seruant depart in peace* (to vse his own words,) so it pleased God to grant him his desire: For he liued till he saw them perfected; & though like *Rachel* he died as it were in the trauell of them, and hastned death vpon himselfe, by hastening to giue them life: yet he held out to behold with his eyes, these *partus ingenij*, these *Beniamins*, Sonnes of his right hand, though to him they were *Benonies*, Sonnes of Paine and Sorrow. But some euil disposed minds, whether of Malice or couetousnesse, or wicked blind Zeale, it is vncertain, as if they had beene Egyptian Mid-wiues, as soone as they were borne, and their Father dead, smothered them, & by conueyiing away the perfect Copies left vnto vs nothing but certain old vnperfect and mangled Draughts, dismembred into pieces, and scattered like *Medeas Absirtus*: no fauor, no grace, not the shadowes of themselves almost remaining in them. Had the

TO THE READER.

the Father liued to see them brought foorth thus defaced, he might rightfully haue named them *Benomies*, the Sonnes of Sorrow.

But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons, will not suffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are. The Learned and Iudicious eye, will yet perhaps delight it selfe in beholding the goodly Lineaments of their well set Bodies, and in finding out some shadowes and resemblances of their Fathers face. God graunt that as they were with their Brethren dedicated to the Church for Messengers of Peace: so in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their worke; and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learne, may helpe to giue an end to the calamities of these our Ciuill

VVARRRES.

F. S.

John Sheldon





☞ A P R E F A C E,

To them that seeke (as they terme it) the
Reformation of Lawes and Orders
Ecclesiasticall, in the Church of
E N G L A N D.



Hough for no other cause, yet for this, that posteritie may know, we haue not loosely through silence permitted things to passe away as in a dreame, there shall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst vs, and their carefull endeauour which would haue vpheld the same. At your hands, beloued in our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ (for in

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

him the loue which we beare vnto all that would but seeme to be borne of him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitternesse that shall euer drowne) I haue no great cause to looke for other then the selfe-same portion and lot, which your manner hath bene hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in Opinion and Sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding mans nature, too impatient of contumelious imalediction) enable vs quietly, and euen gladly to suffer all things, for that worke sake which we couet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and sferuour wherewith yee haue withstood the receiued orders of this Church,

was

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Was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published Bookes and Writings peremptorily maintaine) every Christian man fearing God, stand bound to ioyne with you for the furtherance of that which yee terme the Lords Discipline. Wherein I must plainly confesse vnto you, that before I examined your sundrie declarations in that behalfe, it could not settle in my head to thinke, but that vndoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously enclined minds, had some maruelous reasonable inducements which led them with so great earnestnesse that way. But when once, as neere as my slender abilitie would serue, I had with trauell & care performed that part of the Apostles aduice and counsell in such cases, whereby he willet to trie all things; and was come at the length so farre, that there remained onely the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth, that what good is must be held: there was in my poore vnderstanding no remedy but to set downe this as my finall resolute perswasion; Surely the present forme of Church government which the Lawes of this Land haue established, is such, as no Law of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto bene alleaged, of force sufficient to prooue they doe ill, who to the vttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof: Contrariwise; The other which insteade of it wee are required to accept, is only by error and misconcept named the ordinance of Iesus Christ, no one prooffe as yet brought forth, whereby it may cleerely appeare to bee so in very deede. The explication of which two things I haue here thought good to offer into your owne hands: heartily beseeching you euen by the mercknesse of Iesus Christ, whom I trust ye loue, that, as ye tender the peace and quietnesse of this Church, if there bee in you that gracious humilitie which hath euer bene the Crowne and glory of a Christianly disposed minde; if your owne soules, hearts and consciences, (the sound integritie whereof can but hardly stand with the refusall of truth in personall respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most deare and precious vnto you, Let not the faith which ye haue in our Lord Iesus Christ, be blemished with partialities, regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Thinke not that ye reade the words of one, who bendeth himselfe as an Aduersary against the Truth, which ye haue already embraced; but the words of one who desireth euen to embrace together with you the selfe same truth, if it bee the truth; and for that cause (for no other God hee knoweth) hath vndertaken the burthensome labour of this painfull kind of conference. For the playner accessse whereunto, let it bee lawfull for me too

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rip vp to the very bottome how and by whom your Discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first triall thereof.

2. Afounder it had, whom, for mine owne part, I thinke incomparably the wisest man that euer the French Church did enioy, since the houre it enioyed him. His bringing vp was in the studie, of the Ciuill Law. Diuine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him, as touchinge knowledge in that kind; yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed Fountaine the Booke of Life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, togeather with the helps of other learning which were his giudes: till being occasioned to leaue France, he fell at the length vpon Geneva: Which Citie, the Bishop and Clergie thereof had a litle before (as some doe affirme) forsaken, being of likelyhood frightened with the peoples iudden attempt for abolishment of Popish Religion: the euent of which enterprize they thought it not safe for themselues to wait for in that place. At the comming of Caluine thither, the forme of their ciuill Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authoritie or power ouer them, but officers chosen by the people yeerely out of themselues, to order all things with publique consent. For spirituall Governement, they had no Lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Pastors of their soules by perswasion could winne them vnto. Caluine being admitted one of their Preachers and a Diuinitie-Reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that Church should hang still on so slender a threed, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatsoeuer it selfe listeth. Wherefore taking vnto him two of the other Ministers, for more countenance of the action, (albeit the rest were all against it) they moued, and in the end perswaded with much adoe, the People to binde themselues by solempne Oath, first, neuer to admit the Papacie amongst them againe; And secondly, to liue in obedience vnto such orders concerning the exercise of their Religion, and the forme of their Ecclesiasticall Governement, as those their true and faithfull Ministers of Gods Word had agreeably to Scripture set downe for that end and purpose. When these things began to be put in vre, the people also (what causes mouing them thereunto, themselues best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champe vpon the bit they had taken into their moutnes, the rather for that they grew by meanes of this innoation into dislike with some

The first establishment of new Discipline by M Caluines industrie, in the Church of Geneva: and the beginning of strife about it amongst our selues.

Governmt of Geneva

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Churches neere about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their State could not well lacke: It was the manner of those times (whether through mens desire to enjoy alone the glory of their owne enterprises, or else because the quicknesse of their occasions required present dispatch,) so it was, that every particular Church did that within it selfe, which some few of their owne thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of Churches then being; though free within themselves, yet small, common conference before-hand might haue eased them of much after-trouble. But a greater inconuenience it bred, that every later endeuoured to be certayne degrees more remoued from conformitie with the Church of Rome, then the rest before had beene: whereupon grew maruellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, ieaiousies, heart-burnings, iarres, and discords amongst them. Which notwithstanding might haue easily beene prevented, if the orders which each Church did thinke fit and conuenient for it selfe, had not so peremptorily beene established vnder that high commanding forme, which rendered them vnto the people, as things euerlastingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this meane it came to passe, that one Church could not but accuse and condemne another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was betweene them: whereas the selfe-same orders allowed, but yet established in more varie and sumpence manner, as being to stand in force till God should giue the opportunity of some generall conference what might bee best for every of them afterwards to doe; this, I say, had both prevented all occasion of iust dislike which others might take, and reserued a greater libertie vnto the Authours themselves of entring into farther consultation afterwards. Which though neuer so necessarie, they could not easily now admit, without some feare of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for euer after resolute to maintayne. Caluine therefore and the other two his Associates, stiffely refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly without contradiction and murmure submit themselves vnto the orders which their solemn Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrell banished the Towne. A few yeeres after (such was the leuety of that people) the places of one or two of these Ministers being fallen voyd, they were not before so willing to be rid of there learned Pastor, as now importunate to obtayne him againe from them who had giuen
him

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him entrainment, and which were loth to part with him, had not vnresistable earnestnesse bene vsed. One of the Towne-Ministers that saw in what manner the people were bent for the reuocation of Caluine, gaue him notice of their affection in this sort. The Senate of to hundred being assembled, they all craue Caluine. The next day a generall Conuocation. They crie in like fort againe all: Wee will haue Caluine that good and learned man Christs Minister. This, saith he, when I vnderstood, I could not choose but praise God, nor was I able to iudge otherwise, then that this was the Lords doing, and that it was maruellous in our eyes, And that the stone which the builders refused, was now made the head of the corner. The other two whom they had throwne out (together with Caluine) they were content should eniuy their exile. Many causes might leade them to be more desirous of him. First, his yeelding vnto them in one thing, might haply put them in hope, that time would breed the like easinesse of condescending further vnto them. For in his absence he had perswaded them, with whom he was able to preuaile, that albeit himselfe did better like of common bread to be vsed in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, then cause any trouble in the Church about it. Againe, they saw that the name of Caluine waxed euery day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was spread, who had so rashly and child shly eieted him. Besides, it was not vnlkely but that his credit in the World, might many wayes stand the poore Towne in great stead: as the truth is, their Ministers forreine estimation hitherto hatv bene the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoeuer secret respects were likely to moue them, for contenting of their minds, Caluine returned (as it had bene another Tully) to his old whom. He ripely considered bow grosse a thing it were for men of his qualitie, wise and graue men, to liue with such a multitude, and to be Tenants at will vnder them, as their Ministers, both himselfe and others, had bene. For the remedy of which inconueniencs, he gaue them plainly to vnderstand, that if he did become their Teacher againe, they must be content to admit a complete forme of Disciplin, which both they and also their Pastors should now be solemnly sworne to obserue for euer after. Of which discipline the maine and principall parts were these: A standing Ecclesiasticall Court to be established: perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their Ministers, others of the people annually chosē (twice so many in number as they) to be Iudges together with them in the same

Epist. Cal. 24.

Luc. 20. 17.

Caluine's Discipline

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Court: these two sorts to haue the care of all mens manners, power of determining of all kinde of Ecclesiasticall causes, and authoritie to consent, to controll, to punish, as farre as with Excommunication, whomsoeuer they should thinke worthy, none either small or great excepted. This deuice, I see not, how the wisest at that time liuing could haue bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require: For their Bishop and his Clergie being (as it is said) departed from them by Moone-light, or howsoeuer, being departed; to choose in his roome any other Bishop, had beene a thing altogether impossible. And for their Ministers to seeke, that themselues alone might haue coerciue power ouer the whole Church, would perhaps haue beene hardly construed at that time. But when so franke an offer was made, that for euery one Minister there should be two of the People to sit and giue voice in the Ecclesiasticall Consistorie, what inconuenience could they easily finde which themselues might not be able alwayes to remedie? Howbeit (as euermore the simpler sort are, euen when they see no apparant cause, iealous notwithstanding ouer the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this Proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the Ministers themselues which had stayed behind in the Citie when Caluine was gone, some, vpon knowledge of the peoples earnest intent to recall him to his place againe, had before-hand written their Letters of submission, and assured him of their alleageance for euer after, if it should like him to harken vnto that publike suite. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this Discipline did goe forward; they obiected against it the example of other reformed Churches, liuing quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeest place and countenance amongst the Laytie professed with greater stomacke their indgments, that such a Discipline was little better then Popish tyrannie, disguised and tendered vnto them vnder a new forme. This sort, it may be, had some feare that the filling vp of the seates in the Consistorie, with so great a number of lay-men, was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might thinke their owne sway somewhat; but when things came to triall of practice, their Pastors learning would be at all times of force to ouer-perswade simple men, who knowing the time of their owne Presidentship to be but short, would alwayes stand in feare of their Ministers perpetuall authoritie. And among the Ministers themselues, one being so farre in estimation aboue the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be giuen for the most part respectiuevely with a kinde of secret dependence

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dencie and awe: so that in shew a marvellous indifferently composed Senate Ecclesiasticall was to governe, but in effect one only man should, as the Spirit and Soule of the residue, doe all in all. But what did these vaine surmises boot? Brought they were now to so straight an issue, that of two things they must choose one; Namely, whether they would to their endlesse disgrace, with ridiculous lightnesse, dismiss him, whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired, or else condescend vnto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to haue it, or to leaue them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, then for euer abroad discredited. Wherefore in the end those orders were one all sides assented vnto, with no lesse alacritie of minde, then Cities vnable to hold out longer are wont to shew, when they take conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow streights of aduantage. Not many yeeres before overpassed, before these twice-sworne men aduentured to giue their last and hottest assault to the Fortresse of the same Discipline, childishly granting by common consent of their whole Senate, and that vnder their Towne-Seale, a relexation to one Bertelier whom the Eldership had Excommunicated; further also decreeing, with strange absurdities, that to the same Senate it should belong to giue finall iudgement in matter of Excommunication, and to absolue whom it pleased them; cleane contrarie to their owne former Deedes and Oathes. The report of which Decree being forthwith brought vnto Caluine; Before (saith hee) this Decree take place, either my bloud or banishment shall signe it. Againe, two dayes before the Communion should be celebrated, this speech was publicuely to like effect, Kill me, if euer this hand doe reach forth the things that are Holy, to them whom T H E C H V R C H hath iudged Despisers. Wherevpon, for feare of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends aduised for that time not to vse the libertie granted him by the Senate, nor to present himselfe in the Church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the Communion quietly ministred, and some likelyhood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more adoe, that very day in the after-noon, besides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That because he neither had learned nor taught to strue with such as are in authoritie, therefore (saith he) the case so standing as now it doth, let me vse these words of the Apostle vnto you, I commend you vnto God

1/1543

An.Dom.1543

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and the Word of his grace, and so bad them heartily Adieu. It sometimes commeth to passe, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntarie and vnexpected mention of sudden departure, caused presently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they still continued only constant in vnconstancie) to gather themselues together, and for a time to suspend their owne Decree, leauing things to proceede as before, till they had heard the iudgement of foure Heluetian Cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to haue done at the first before they gaue assent vnto any order, had shewed some wit and discretion in them: but now to doe it, was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a Stage. Caluine therefore dispatcheth with all expedition his letters vnto some principall Pastor in euery of those Cities, crauing earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of Religion and Pietie in that Church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now ineuitably certaine to be trampled vnder foote, vnlesse those foure Cities by their good meanes might be brought to giue sentence with the Ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them: yea, so to giue it, that two things it might effectually containe; the one an absolute approbation of the Discipline of Geneva, as consonant vnto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innouate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Heluetian Churches did neuer as yet obserue that Discipline, neuerthelesse the Senate of Geneva hauing required their iudgement concerning these three questions: First, After what manner, by Gods commandement, according to the Scripture and vnspotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exercised: Secondly, Whether it may not be exercised some other way then by the Consistorie: Thirdly, What the vse of their Churches was to doe in this case: Answer was returned from the said Churches, That they had heard alreadie of those Consistoriall Lawes, & did acknowledge them to be godly Ordinances, drawing towards the prescript of the Word of God, for which cause that they did not thinke it good for the Church of Geneva by innouation to change the same, but rather to keepe them as they were. Which answer, although not answering vnto the former demands, but respecting what Master Caluine had iudged requisite for them

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them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further replie: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomacke doth strue with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present Inhabitants of Geneua, I hope, will not take it in enill part, that the faultinesse of their people heretofore, is by vs so far forth laid open, as their owne learned Guides and Pastors haue thought necessarrie to discouer it vnto the world. For out of their Bookes and Writings it is that I haue collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appeare in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selues. The reasons which moued Caluine herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himselfe testifieth, For that he saw how needfull these bridles were, to be put in the iawes of that Citie. That which by wisdome hee saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Caluine did for establishment of his Discipline, seemeth more comendable, then that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in vs a lla loue to our owne counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that loue. Our loue set on fire to maintaine that which once we haue done, sharpneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all meanes to reason for it. Wherefore a maruaile it were if a man of so great capacitie, hauing such incitements to make him desirous of all kinde of furtberances vnto his cause, could espie in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelyhood, that diuine authoritie it selfe was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit euen of Caluine was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very vtmost sentence and sillable, is no more then that certaine speeches there are, which to him did seeme to intimate, that all Christian Churches ought to haue their Elderships indued with power of Excommunication, and that a part of those Elderships euery where should be chosen out from amongst the Laytie after that forme which himselfe had framed Geneua vnto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was euer proued by Caluine, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurrith with his against the orders of your owne Church? We should be iniurious vnto vertue it selfe, if we did derogate from them whom their industrie hath made great. Two things of principall moment there are which haue deseruedly procured him honour throughout the World:

the

Quod eam
Videm videre
omnino his
frænis indi-
gere.

Handwritten note: Vnde illa xiiii

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which he either alloweth or doth. Some things are so familiar and plaine, that Truth from falshood, and good from euill is most easily discerned in them, euen by men of no deep capacitie. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely vnto all mens Saluation necessarie, either to be held or denied, either to be done or auoided. For which cause S Augustine acknowledgeth that they are not onely set downe, but also plainly set downe in Scripture: so that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficultie vnderstand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) vnto the offices of Christian men: which because they are more obscure, more intricate and hard to be iudged of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the studie of things diuine, to the end that in these more doubtfull cases, their vnderstanding might be a light to direct others. If the vnderstanding power or facultie of the soule be (saith the grand Physitian) like vnto bodily sight, not of equall sharpnesse in all; what can be more conuenient, then that, euen as the dark-sighted man is directed by the cleere about things visibible, so likewise in matters of deeper discourse the wise in heart doth shew the simple where his way lyeth. In our doubtfull cases of Law, what man is there who seeth not how requisite it is, that Professors of skill in that facultie be our Directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And euen in this kind likewise the Lord hath himselfe appointed, that the Priests lips should preferue knowledge, and that other men should seeke the truth at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts. Gregorie Nazianzen, offended at the peoples too great presumption in controlling the iudgement of them to whom in such cases they should haue rather submitted their owne, seeketh by earnest intreatie to stay them within their bounds: Presume not, yee that are sheepe, to make your selues guides of them that should guide you, neither seeke yee to ouer-skip the fold which they about you haue pitched. It sufficeth for your part, if yee can well frame your selues to be ordered. Take not vpon you to iudge your selues, nor to make them subiect to your lawes who should be a law to you for, God is not a God of sedition and confusion, but of order & of peace. But ye wil say, that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not cloze vp their owne eyes and be led by the conduct of such; if the Priest be partial in the Law, the flock must not therefore

Gal. de opt.
docen. Gen.

Mal. 2. 7.

Greg. Nazian.
Orat. qua se
excusat.

Matth. 10. 14.

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therefore depart from the wayes of sincere truth, and in simplicitie yeeld to be followers of him for his place sake & office ouer them. Which thing, though in it selfe most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weake: because the matter, wherein ye thinke that ye see and imagine that your wayes are sincere, is of farre deeper consideration then any one amongst five hundred of you conceiueth. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the triall of it a great deale more appertaineth then their conceit doth reach vnto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way giuen; but I would gladly they know the nature of that cause wherein they thinke themselues throughly instructed and are not: by meanes whereof they dayly runne themselues, without feeling their owne hazard, vpon the dint of the Apostles sentence against euill speakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing vnlawfull for priuate men, not called vnto publike consultation, to dispute which is the best state of ciuill Policie (with a desire of bringing in some other kind then that vnder which they already liue, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was) if it be a thing confest, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashnesse, in as much as a great part of them consisteth in speciall circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the World, why they should better iudge what kinde of Regiment Ecclesiasticall is the fittest? For in the ciuill State more insight, and in those affaires more experience a great deale must needs bee granted them, then in this they can possibly haue. When they which write in defence of your Discipline, and commend it vnto the Highest, not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, that with whom the Truth is they know not, they are not certaine; what certaintie or knowledge can the multitude haue thereof? Waigh what doth moue the common sort so much to fauour this inno- uation, and it shall soone appeare vnto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your seuerall opinions are alleaged, is a thing whereof the multitude neuer did, nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly caried; but certaine generall inducements are vsed to make saleable your Cause in grosse: and when once men haue cast a fancie towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serue to leade forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection vnto a generall liking of the Cause (for so yee terme it) hath

Mal. 2. 9.

Iude ver. 10.
2. Pet. 2. 12.

Caluin. Instit.
lib 4. cap. 20.
sect. 8.

The Author
of the Petition
directed to her
Maieftie, pag. 3

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hath beene this. First, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped vp with maruellous exceeding seueritie and sharpnesse of reproofe; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integritie, zeale and holinesse, to such constant Reprouers of sinne, as by likelyhood would neuer be so much offended at that which is euill, vnlesse themselues were singularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, vnto the kind of Ecclesiasticall Governement established. Wherein, as before by reproofing faults, they purchased vnto themselues with the multitude a name to be vertuous; so by finding out this kind of cause, they obtaine to be iudged wise about others: whereas in truth vnto the forme euen of Jewish Governement, which the Lord himselfe (they all confesse) did establish, with like shew of reason they might impute those faults which the Prophets condemne in the Governours of that Common-wealth; as to the English kind of Regiment Ecclesiasticall (whereof also God himselfe though in other sort is Authour) the staines and blemishes found in our State; which springing from the roote of humane frailtie and corruption, not only are, but haue beene alwayes more or lesse, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrarie) will be till the worlds end complained off, what forme of Governement soeuer take place. Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their owne forme of Church-Governement, as the only soueraigne remedie of all euils; and to adorne it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that haue sicke bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazednesse of their minds possess'd with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they heare commended) would helpe them; but that most, which they least haue tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is by fashioning the very notions and conceites of mens minds, in such sort that when they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euerie thing soundeth towards the aduancement of that Discipline, and to the vtter disgrace of the contrarie. Pythagoras, by bringing vp his Schollers in speculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes, how the Elements of number gaue essence and being to the workes of Nature. A thing in reason impossible: which notwithstanding through their misfashioned preconceite, appeared vnto them

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them no lesse certaine, then if Nature had written it in the very fore-heads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of Loue haue it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signifie any one Person, but a qualitie whereof many are partakers; that to be raysed is nothing else but to be regenerated or indued with the sayd qualitie; and that when seperation of them which haue it from them which haue it not, is here made, this is iudgement; how planely doe they imagine that the Scripture euery-where speaketh in the fauour of that Sect? And assuredly, the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to thinke they euen see how the Word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled and their conceits peruerted beforehand, by being taught that an Elder doth signifie a Lay-man, admitted only to the office of Rule or Gouvernment in the Church; a Doctor, one which may only teach, and neither Preach nor administer the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath charge of the Almes-boxe, and of nothing else: that the Scepter, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdome of Christ, are a forme of Regiment, only by Pastors, Elders, Doctors and Deacons: that by mysticall resemblance Mount Sion and Ierusalem are the Churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the Churches which oppugne the said forme of Regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repaying the walls and decayed parts of the Citie and Temple of God by Eldras, Nehemias, and the rest: as if purpojely the holy Ghost had therein meant to fore-signifie, what the Authors of admonitions to the Parlument, of supplications to the Councell, of petitions to her Maiestie, and of such other like Writs, should either doe or suffer in behalfe of this their cause. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perswading of men credulous and ouer-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the speciall illumination of the holy Ghost, whereby they discernethose things in the Word, which others reading yet discernue them not. Dearely beloued, saith S. Iohn, 1. Iohn 4.1.
 Giue not credit vnto euery spii it. There are but two wayes whereby the spirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinary, the other comon; the one belonging but vnto some few, the other extending it selfe vnto all that are of God; the one that which we call by a speciall diuine excellency, Reuelation; the other, Reason. If the Spirit by such reuelation haue discovered vnto them the secrets of that Discipline out of Scripture, they must professe themselues to be all (euen men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led
them

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Perswasions
 them by, for as much as perswasions grounded vpon reason, are either weaker or stronger, according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must euery of them from the greatest to the least, be able for euery seuerall Article to shew some speciall reason as strong as their perswasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be, but that some other sinewes there are from which that ouerplus of strength in perswasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when mens affections doe frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deale, then (for the most part) sound Beleeuers in the maintenance of Truth apprehended according to the nature of that euidence which Scripture yeeldeth: which being in some things plaine, as in the principles of Christian Doctrine in some things, as in these matters of Discipline, more darke and doubtfull, frameth correspondently that inward assent which Gods most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall instrument. It is not therefore the feruent earnestnesse of their perswasion, but the soundnes of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to haue bene wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that euill Spirit which euen in his illusions strong. After that the phancie of the common sort hath ouerthorowly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their perswasions concerning Discipline, then is instilled into their hearts; that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seale them to be Gods Children; and that as the state of the times now standeth, the most speciall token to know them that are Gods owne from others, is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high termes of seperation betweene such and the rest of the World; whereby the one sort are named the Brethren, The Godly, and so forth; the other, Worldlings, Time seruers, Pleasers of men, not of God, with such like: From hence they are easily drawn on to thinke it exceeding necessary, for feare of quenching that good Spirit, to vse all meanes whereby the same may bee both strengthened in themselues, and made manifest vnto others. This maketh them diligent bearers of such as are knowne that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seeke all occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to vse such as Counsellors and Directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as Contracts, Testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an vnweariable desire of receiuing instruction from the Masters of that companie, to cast off the care of those verie affaires which doe most concerne their estate, and to thinke that then they

are

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are like vnto Marie, commendable for making choyce of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea oftentimes euen to ouercharge themselues, for such mens sustenance and reliefe, lest their zeale to the cause should any way be vnwitnessed. For what is it which poore beguiled soules will not doe through so powerfull incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath bene bestowed to winne and retaine towards this cause them whose iudgements are commonly weakest by reason of their sexe. And although not women loden with sins, as the Apostle S. Paul speaketh, 1. Tim. 3. 6. but (as wee verily esteeme of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holinesse, bee otherwise edified in good things, rather then carried away as captiues into any kind of sinne and euill, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeale and a loue towards this kind of Discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministred for men to thinke, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gaine by the soundnesse of prooffe whereupon it doth build it selfe, it would not most busily endeouour to preuaile, where least abilitie of iudgement is: and therefore that this so eminent industry in making Profelites, more of that sexe then of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to serue as instruments and helpes in the cause. Apter they are through the eagernesse of their affection, that maketh them which way soeuer they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, seruants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that naturall inclination vnto pitie, which breedeth in them a greater readinesse then in men, to be bountifull towards their Preachers who suffer want; apter through sundrie opportunities which they especially haue, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giuing very large and particular intelligence, how all neere about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they women or be they men, ifence they haue tasted of that cup, let any of contrarie opinion open his mouth to perswade them, they close vp their eares, his reasons they waigh not, all is answered with rehearsall of the words of 1. Iohn 4. 6. Jobn, We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth vs; as for the rest, ye are of the world, for this worlds pomp and vanitie it is that yee speak, & the world whose ye are, beareth you. Which cloke sitteth no lesse fit on the back of their cause, then of the Anabaptists, whē the dignity, authoritie and honor of Gods Magistrates is vpheld against them. Shew these eagerly affected men their inabilitytie to iudge of such matters; their

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1. Cor. 1. 27.
 Act 26. 24.
 Sap. 5. 4.
 We fooles
 thought his
 life madnesse.
 Marc. Trif.
 ad Alculap.
 Οἱ δὲ γινώσκοντες
 ὅτις ἐν τοῖς
 πολλοῖς ἀρε-
 σκασί, ἐπεὶ οἱ
 πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς
 μεμίσθηναι ἕ-
 δονκασί, καὶ γέ-
 λωτα ἐπι-
 σιάνουσι. Vide
 Lactant de Lu-
 sit. lib 5. c. 16.
 August. Epist.
 50.

answer is, God hath chosen the simple. Conuince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children vpbraid them with it; they haue their bucklers of like defence. Christs owne Apostle was accounted mad; The best men euermore by the sentence of the world haue beene iudged to bee out of their right mindes. When instruction doth them no good, let them feele but the least degree of most mercifull tempered seueritie, they fasten on the head of the Lords Vicegerents here on earth, whatsoener they any where finde vttered against the cruelty of bloud-thirstie men; and to themselues they draw all the sentences which Scripture hath in the fauour of innocencie persecuted for the truth: yea they are of their due and deserued sufferings no lesse proud, then those ancient disturbers, to whom S. Augustine writeth, saying: Martyrs rightly so named are they, not which suffer for their disorder, and for the vngodly breach they haue made of Christian vnitie; but which for righteousnesse sake are persecuted. For *Agar* also suffered persecution at the hands of *Sara*; wherco, shee which did impose was holy, and shee vnrighteous which did beare the burthen. In like sort, with the theeues was the Lord himselfe crucified, but they who were matcht in the paine which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disioyned. If that must needs bee the true Church which doth endure persecution, and not that which persecuteth, let them aske of the Apostle what Church *Sara* did represent, when she held her Maide in affliction. For euen our Mother which is free, the heauenly *Ierusalem*, that is to say, the true Church of God, was, as hee doth affirme, prefigured in that verie Woman by whome the Bondmaide was so sharply handled. Although, if all things bee thoroughly skanned, shee did in truth more persecute *Sara* by proud resistance, then *Sara* her, by seueritie of punishment. *These are the pathes wherein ye haue walked that are of the ordinarie sort of men; these are the very steps ye haue troden, and the manifest degrees whereby yee are of your guides and directors trained vp in that Schoole: a custome of iniuring your eares with reproofe of faults especially in your Governours; and vse to attribute those faults to the kind of spirituall regiment vnder which ye liue; boldnesse in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such euils; a sleight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture enery where fauoureth that discipline; persuasion*
 that

that the cause, why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the same Spirit is a Seale vnto you of your neerenesse vnto God that yee are by all meanes to nourish and witnesse it in your selues, and to strengthen on euery side your minds against what soeuer might bee of force to withdraw you from it.

4. Wherefore to come vnto you whose iudgement is a lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perswade my selfe) of a politique intent or purpose, but your selues being first ouerborne with the weight of greater mens iudgements: on your shoulders is laid the burthen of vpholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God ye alleage diuers: but so, that when the same are discusst, thus it alwaies in a manner falleth out, that what things by vertue thereof ye vrge vpon vs as altogether necessarie, are found to be thence collected ouely by poore and maruelous slight coniectures. I need not giue instance in any one sentence so alleaged, for that I thinke the instance in any alleaged otherwise a thing not easie to be giuen. A verie strange thing sure it were, that such a Discipline as ye speake of should be taught by Christ and his Apostles in the Word of God, and no Church euer haue found it out, nor receiued it till this present time; contrariwise, the Government against which yee bend your selues, be obserued euery where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church euer perceiuing the Word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one Church vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath beene ordered by your Discipline, or hath not bin ordered by ours, that is to say, by Episcopall regiment, sit hence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conuersant. Many things out of antiquitie ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had obserued the selfe-same orders which you require; and as though your desire were, that the Churches of old should be patternes for vs to follow, and euen glasses wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, yee meane nothing lesse. All this is done for fashion sake onely; for ye complaine of it as of an iniurie, that men should be willed to seeke for examples & paterus of government in any of those times that haue beene before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles times till this present age wherein your selues imagine ye haue found out a right paterne of sound discipline, there neuer was any time safe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeouour to proue. Out of Egesippus yee say that Eusebius writeth, how although as long as the

What hath caused so many of the learner fort to approue the same discipline

T. C. lib. 1. p. 97.

Euseb. 3. lib. 32.

Lib. Strom.
Somewhat af-
ter the begin-
ning.
Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Apostles liued, the Church did remaine a pure Virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchsafed to make Hearers of the diuine Wisedome with their owne cares, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. Clement also in a certaine place; to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apostles times, alleageth the prouerb, that there are few sonnes like their fathers. Socrates saith of the Church of Rome and Alexandria, the most famous Churches in the Apostles times, that about the yeere 430. the Roman and Alexandrian Bishops leauing the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or domination. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to fetch our Government from any other then the Apostles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the Apostles times as a patterne for the Church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you call is not one. The chiefest thing which Lay-reformers yawne for, is, that the Clergie may through conformitie in state and conduction be Apostolical, poore as the Apostles of Christ were poore. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must thinke that Church which hath such store of mendicant Friers, a Church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glorie of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergie should be left euen as bare as the Apostles when they had neither staffe nor scrip; that God, which should lay vpon them the condition of his Apostles, would I hope, endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his owne right-vertuous contentment of heart, As well how to want, as how to abound, are a most fit Episcopall empresse. The Church of Christ is a bodie mysticall. A bodie cannot stand, vnlesse the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergie, to be in meanenesse of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the Laytie, to be as they were who liued vnder the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdome, yet some indifferencie. But your reformation which are of the Clergie (if yet it displease you not that I should say yee are of the Clergie) seemeth to aime at a broader marke. Yee thinke that hee which will perfectly reforme, must bring the forme of Church-discipline vnto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certaine, nor absolutely conuenient. Concerning the first, what was vsed in the Apostles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the Rule
and

Phil. 4. 12.

and Canon of Church-politie, ye make a rule which being not possible to be fully knowne, is as impossible to be kept. Againe, sith the later euer of the Apostles owne times, had that which in the former was not thought vpon; in this generall proposing of the Apostles times, there is no certaintie which should be followed, especially seeing that yee giue vs great cause to doubt how farre yee allow those times. For albeit the louer of Antichristian building were not, yee say, as then set vp, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and vnder the ground laid in the Apostles times: so that all other times yee plainly reiect, and the Apostles owne times ye approue with marnellous great suspition, leauing it intricate and doubtfull wherein we are to keepe our selues vnto the patterne of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to consider only what hath beene of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemne that presently which is, and neuer to search vpon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudenesse cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning & iudgement hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter, the better ceremonies of Religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception, but true onely so farre-forth as those different ages doe agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles times that was harmelesse, which being now reiuined would be scandalous; as their oscula sancta. Those Feasts of charitie, which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needfull. What man is there of vnderstanding, vnto whom it is not manifest, how the way of providing for the Clergie by Tithes, the deuice of Almes-houses for the poore, the sorting out of the people into their severall Parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles times could not haue, (being now established) are much more conuenient and fit for the Church of Christ, then if the same should be taken away for conformities sake with the ancientest and first times? The orders therefore which were obserued in the Apostles times, are not to be vrged as a Rule vniuersally, either sufficient or necessary. If they bee, neuerthelesse on your part it still remaineth to bee better prooued, that the forme of Discipline which yee intitule Apostolicall, was in the Apostles time exercised. For of this very thing yee faile euen touching that

which

a Antiquitas
ceremonys atq;
sanis tantum
sanctitatis tribu-
ere consuevit.
quantum ad-
struxerit reuista-
tatis. Arn. p. 746
b Rom. 16. 16
2. Cor. 13. 12.
1. Thes. 5. 25.
1. Pet. 5. 14
In their mee-
tings to serue
God, then man-
ner was in the
end to salute
one another
with a kisse, v-
sing thesc
words, Peace
bee with you.
For which
cause, Tertul.
d. th callit, sig-
naculū orationis,
the seale of
Praier, l. de Ora.
c Epist. lud.
verse 12. Con-
cerning which
feasts, S. Chrys.
saith, Status die-
bus mensas facie-
bant communes.
& peracta sy-
naxi post secreta-
mentorū com-
munionem inibi-
bant conuiuium,
diuitibus quide
cibus afferenti-
bus, pauperibus
autem & qui
nihil habebant
etiam vocatis, in
1. Cor. 1. Hom.
27. Of the same
feasts in like
sort, Tertull.
Cana nostra de
nomin. rationes
sibi ostendit. Vo-
catur enim, et sa-
ru; id quod est
penes Grecos di-
lectio. Quantif-
cans, sumibus
confet, lucru est
pccatis nomine
facere sumptum
Apolog. c. 39.

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which yee make most account of, as being matter of substance in Discipline, I meane the power of your Lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctours from the Pastors in all Churches. So that in summe, wee may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolencie, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worst, there are none wherein yee can truly affirme, that the compleat forme of your Discipline, or the substance thereof was practized. The euidence therefore of Antiquitie failing you, yee sīe to the Iudgements of such Learned men, as seeme by their Writings, to bee of opinion that all Christian Churches should receiue your Discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as yee beape vp the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number whom when yee mention, although it serue yee to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by waight, yet surely they who know what qualitie and value the men are of, will thinke yee draw verie neere the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with vs notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought they to bee of such reckoning, that their opinion or coniecture should cause the Lawes of the Church of England to giue place. Much lesse when they neither doe all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part through a curteous inducement, haue followed one man as their Guide, finally, that one therein not vnlutely to haue swarued. If any chance to say it is probable that in the Apostles times there were Lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirme that Bishops at the first were a name, but not a power distinct from Presbyters; or to speake any thing in praise of those Churches which are without Episcopall Regiment; or to reprocne the fault of such as abuse that Calling; all these yee register for men, perswaded as you are, that euerie Christian Church standeth bound by the Law of God to put downe Bishops, and in their roomes to erect an Eldership so authorized as you would haue it for the Government of each Parish. Deceiued greatly they are therefore, who thinke that all they whose names are cited amongst the Fauourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed. Yet touching some materiall points of your Discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many Diuines of Reformed Churches abroad. For first, to do as the Church of Geneva did, the Learned in some other Churches must needs be the more willing, who hauing vsed in like māner not the slow & tedious help of proceeding by publike authoritie,

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tie, but the peoples more quicke endeuour for alteration, in such an exigent I see not well how they could haue staid to deliberate about any other Regiment then that which alreadie was deuised to their hands, that which in like case had bene taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giueth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the first almost through a kind of constrain or necessitie followed by many, their concurrence in perswasion about some materiall points belonging to the same Politic is not strange. For we are not to maruell greatly, if they which haue all done the same thing, doe easily imbrace the same opinion as concerning their owne doings. Besides, marke, I beseech you, that which Galen in matter of Philosophie noteth; for the like falleth out euen in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible person telleth, is easily thought probable by such as are well perswaded of him. But if two, or three, or foure, agree all in the same tale, they iudge it then to be out of Controuersie, and so are many times ouertaken, for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into errour; or one mans ouersight deceiuing many through their too much credulitie and easinesse of beliefe. Though ten persons bee brought to giue testimonie in any cause, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appeare to haue growne from some one amongst them, and to haue spred it selfe from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimonie. Nor is it otherwise here, where the Daughter Churches doe speake their Mothers Dialect; here where so many sing one Song, by reason that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whose deserued authoritie, amongst euen the grauest Diuines, wee haue alreadie spoken at large. Will yee aske what should moue those many Learned to bee followers of one mans iudgement, no necessitie of Argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by your selues. Loth yee are to thinke that they whom ye iudge to haue attained as sound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any since the Apostles time, should mistake in Discipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should be amisse. The reason whereof is, for that as dead Flyes putrifie the ointment of the Apothecarie, so a little Folly him that is in estimation for Wisdome. This in euery profession bath too much authori-

Galen. Claf. 2.
lib. De cuiusque
anim. peccat.
notitia atque
medela.

¶ 2200f. By Report

Petit. to the
Q. M. Pag. 14.

Eccles. 10. 1.

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zed the iudgement of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to preuaile in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wisdome of that God (who setteth before vs in Holy Scripture so many admirable patternes of Vertue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwaies be acknowledged, Thou onely art Holy, thou onely art Iust) might not permit those worthie Vessels of his Glorie to be in somethings blemished with the staine of humane frailtie, euen for this cause, lest we should esteeme of any man about that which behoueth.

Their calling
for triall by
Disputation.

5. Notwithstanding, as though yee were able to say a great deale more then hitberto your Bookes haue reuealed to the World, earnest Challengers ye are of triall by some publike Disputation. Wherein if the thing ye craue be no more then onely leane to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the Schooles in Vniuersities (for any thing I know) are open vnto you: they haue their yeerely Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations both ordinarie and vpon occasion, wherein the seuerall parts of our owne Ecclesiasticall Discipline are oftentimes offered vnto that kind of Examination; the Learnedest of you haue beene of late yeeres noted seldome or neuer absent from thence at the time of those greater Assemblies; and the fauour of proposing therein conuenient sort whatsoeuer ye can obiect (which thing my selfe haue knowne them to grant of Scholasticall courtesie vnto Strangers) neither hath (as I thinke) nor euer will (I presume) be denied you. If your Suit bee to haue some great extraordinarie confluence, in expectation whereof the Lawes that alreadie are should sleepe and haue no power ouer you, till in the hearing of thousands yee all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your Cause; haply, they whose authoritie is required vnto the satisfying of your demand, doe thinke it both dangerous to admit such course of deuided minds, and vameete that Lawes which being once solemnely established are to exact obedience of all men, and to constraîne thereunto, should so farre stoope, as to hold themselves in suspence from taking any effect vpon you, till some Disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole bodie Politique, whereof if yee iudge your selues to be any part, then is the Law euen your deed also. And were it reason in things of this qualitie, to giue men audience, pleading for the ouerthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified?

Law what

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fied? Lawes that haue bene approued; may bee (no man doubted) a-
 gaine repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the Authors
 thereof themselves. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what
 Lawes each part shall obserue, and not when a part refuseth the Lawes
 which the whole hath orderly agreed vpon. Notwithstanding, for as
 much as the cause we maintaine is (God bee thanked) such as needeth
 not to shunne any triall, might it please them on whose approbation the
 matter dependeth, to condescend so farre vnto you in this behalfe, I wish
 heartily that prooffe were made euen by sollemn conference in orderly
 and quiet sort, whether you would your selues bee satisfied, or else
 could by satisfying others, draw them to your peace. Provided alwayes,
 first, in asmuch as yee goe about to destroy a thing which is in force; and
 to draw in that which hath not as yet bene receiued; to impose on vs
 that which we thinke not our selues bound vnto, and to ouerthrow those
 things whereof we are possessed; that therefore yee are not to claime in
 any conference, other then the Plaintifes or opponents part which must
 consist altogether in prooffe and confirmation of two things: the one,
 that our Orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other, that
 yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof. Secondly, because the
 questions in Controuersie betweene vs are many, if once we descend vn-
 to particulars; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding there-
 in, the most generall be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in
 each question the prosecution of any one Argument giuen ouer and ano-
 ther taken in hand, till the issue whereunto by replies and answers both
 parts are come, be collected, read and acknowledged aswell on the one
 side as on the other, to be the plaine conclusion which they are growne
 vnto. Thirdly, for auoiding of the manifold inconueniences whereunto
 ordinarie and extemporall Disputes are subiect, as also because if yee
 should singly dispute one by one as euery mans owne wit did best serue,
 it might be conceiued by the rest, that haply some other would haue
 done more, the chiefeft of you doe all agree in this action, that whom
 ye shall then choose your speaker, by him that which is publikely brought
 into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to bee his alle-
 gation but yours, such as yee all are agreed vpon, and haue required him
 to deliuer in all your names: the true copie whereof being taken by a No-
 tarie, that a reasonable time be allowed for returne of answer vnto you in
 the like forme. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences haue bin had
 in other causes with the lesse effectuall successe, by reason of partiall and
 vnttrue

Lawes by whom
 (as) putted

Parti Part

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Untrue reports, published afterwards vnto the World, that to prevent this euill, there be at the first a solemne Declaration made on both parts of their agreement to haue that very Booke and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized Notaries doe write those things fully and only, which being written and their read, are by their owne open testimony acknowledged to be their owne. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needlesse speech, or to any end and purpose else, they may be thought on when occasion serue. In this sort to broach my priuate conceit for the ordering of a publique action, I should be both, (albeit I doe it not otherwise then vnder correction of them whose grauitie and wisdom ought in such cases to ouer-rule) but that so venturous boldnesse I see is a thing now generall, and am thereby of good hope that where all men are licenced to offend, no man will shew himselfe a sharpe Accusor.

No ende of contention, without submission of both parts vnto some definitiue sentence.

6 What successe God may giue vnto any such kinde of Conference or Disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience in selfe, haue all taught the World to seeke for the ending of contentions, by submitting it selfe vnto some iudiciall and definitiue sentence, wherunto neither part that contendeth may vnder any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectuell and strong. As for other meanes without this, they seldome preuaile. I would therefore know whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers doe stand thus formally diuided against the authorized guides of this Church, and the rest of the people subiect vnto their charge, whether, I say, yee be content to referre your cause to any other higher iudgement then your owne; or else intend to persist and proceed as yee haue begun, till your selues can be perswaded to condemne your selues. If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserue to be reckoned with such, of whom God himselfe pronounceth,

Rom. 3. 17.

The way of peace they haue not knowne. Wayes of peaceable conclusion there are but these two certaine: the one, a sentence of iudiciall decision giuen by authoritie thereto appointed within our selues; the other, the like kind of sentence giuen by a more vniuersall authority. The former of which two wayes God himselfe in the Law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directeth the very first Christian Churches in the world to vse the later. The ordinance of God in the Law was this. If there arise a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene

bloud

Determination how.

Conclusion how obtained

Deut. 17. 8.

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bloud and blood, betweene plea, &c. then shalt thou arise, and goe vp vnto the place which the Lord thy God shall choofe, and thou shalt come vnto the Priests of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that shall be in those daies, and aske, and they shall shew thee the sentence of iudgement, and thou shalt doe according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen shew thee; and thou shalt obserue to doe according to all that they enforme thee, according to the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they shall tell thee shalt thou doe, thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will doe presumptuously, nor harkening vnto the Priest (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there) or vnto the Iudge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away euill from Israel. *When their grew in the Church of Christ a question, Whether the Gentiles beleuing might be faued, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did obserue the rest of those legall Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Jewes were bound: After great dissention and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was, to haue it determined by sentence at Ierusalem: which was accordingly done in a Counsell there assembled for the same purpose. Are yee able to alleage any iust and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely yee should not condescend in this Controuersie, to haue your iudgements ouer-ruled by some such definitiue sentence, whether it fall out to be giuen with or against you, that so these tedious contentions may cease? Yee will perhaps make answer, That being perswaded already as touching the truth of your cause, yee are not to harken vnto any sentence, no not though Angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostles owne example teacheth: againe, that Men, yea Councils, may erre; and that vnlesse the iudgement giuen doe satisfie your mindes, vnlesse it be such as yee can by no further argument oppugne, in a word, vnlesse you perceine & acknowledge it your selues consonant with Gods Word, to stand vnto it not allowing it, were to sinne against your owne consciences. But consider, I beseech you, first, as touching the Apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Iesus Christ made manifest vnto him, euen by intuitiue reuelation, wherein there was no possibilitie of error: That which you are perswaded of, yee haue it no*

act. 15.

D

other-

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otherwise then by your owne onely probable collection; and therefore such bold asseuerations as in him were admirable, should in your mouthes but argue rashnesse. God was not ignorant that the Priests and Iudges, whose sentence in matters of Controuersie he ordayned should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceiued in their iudgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his vnderstanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitiue should preuaile, till the same authority perceiuing such ouer-sight, might afterwards correct or reuerse it, then that strifes should haue respite to grow, and not come speedily vnto some end. Neither wish wee that men should doe any thing which in their hearts they are perswaded they ought not to doe, but this perswasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts, that in liuidious and controuersed causes of such quality, the will of God is to haue them to doe whatsoeuer the sentence of iudiciall and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seeme in their priuate opinion to swarue vtterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Iewes did seeme vnto one part or other contending; and yet in this case God did then allow them to doe that which in their priuate iudgement it seemed (yea and perhaps truly seemed) that the Law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion, but of peace; then can he not be the author of our refusall, but of our contentment, to stand vnto some definitiue sentence; without which almost impossible it is, that either we should auoid confusion, or euer hope to attaine peace. To small purpose had the Councell of Ierusalem bene assembled, if once their determination being set downe, men might afterwards haue deserded their former opinions. When therefore they had giuen their definitiue sentence, all controuersie was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of iudgement finished their strife, which their disputes before iudgement could not doe. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable mans conscience to build the duety of obedience vpon, whatsoeuer his owne opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulnesse and selfe-liking is our nature, that without some definitiue sentence, which being giuen may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed; small hope there is that strifes thus farre prosecuted, will in short time quietly end. Now it were in vaine to aske you whether yee could be content that the sentence of any Court already erected, should be so farre authorized, as
that

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that among the Iewes established by God himselfe, for the determining of all Controuersies: That man which will doe presumptuously, not hearkning vnto the Priest that standeth before the Lord to minister there, nor vnto the Iudge, let him die, *Ye haue giuen vs already to vnderstand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Maiesties Court of high Commission, the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Iewes, albeit the power be not so great. The other way haply may like you better, because Master Beza in his last Booke Iauē one written about these matters, professeth himselfe to be now wearie of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that Controuersies thereby are made but Brawles; and therefore wisheth that in some common lawfull assembly of Churches, all these strifes may at once bee decided. Shall there be then in the meane while no doings? Yes. There are the waightier matters of the Law, iudgement and mercie and fidelitie. These things we ought to doe; and these things, while we contend about lesse, we leaue vndone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when hee commeth, shall find doing in these things, then disputing about Doctors, Elders and Deacons. Or if there be no remedy but somewhat needs yee must doe which may tend to the setting forward of your Discipline; doe that which wisemen, who thinke some Statute of the Realme more fit to be repealed then to stand in force, are accustomed to doe before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in reexamining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which yee labour to ouerthrow. As for the Orders which are established, sitb equitie and reason, the Law of nature, God and man, doe all fauour that which is in being, till orderly iudgement of decision be giuen against it; it is but Iustice to exact of you, and peruersnesse in you it should be to denie thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I iudge it a thing allowable for men to obserue those Lawes, which in their hearts they are stedfastly perswaded to bee against the Law of God: but your perswasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend, and in otherwise doing, yee offend against God, by troubling his Church without any iust or necessarie cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to thinke hardly of our lawes. Are those reasons demonstratiue, are they necessarie, or but meere probabilities onely? Argument necessarie and demonstratiue is such, as being proposed vnto any man and vnderstood, the minde cannot choose but inwardly assent. A*

Præf tract de
Eccem. &
Presbyt.

Mat. 23. 23.

Argument necessarie
& demonstratiue

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ny one such reason discharge I grant the conscience, and setteth it at full libertie. For the publike approbation giuen by the body of this whole Church vnto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore vnto a necessarie prooffe that they are not good, it must giue place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can shew, that all the Bookes yee haue hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be giuen. As for probabilities, what thing was there euer set downe so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable shew against it might be made? Is it meete that when publikely things are receiued and haue taken place, generall obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that priuate person led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, Peter or Iohn disallow them, and pronounce them naught? In which case your answer will bee, that concerning the Lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a priuate man, but of thousands, yea and euen of those amongst which diuers are in publike charge and authoritie. As though when publike consent of the whole hath established any thing, euery mans iudgement being thereunto compared were not priuate, howsoeuer his calling bee to some kind of publike charge. So that of peace and quietnesse there is not any way possible, vntesse the probable voice of euery intire societie or body politike, ouer-rule all priuate of like nature in the same bodie. Which thing effectually prooueth, that God being author of peace and not of confusion in the Church, must needs be author of those mens peaceable resolutions who concerning these things, haue determined with themselves to thinke and doe as the Church they are of, decreeth, till they see necessarie cause enforcing them to the contrarie.

7. Nor is mine owne intent any other in these seuerall Bookes of discourse, then to make it appeare vnto you; that for the Ecclesiasticall Lawes of this Land, we are led by great reason to obserue them and yee by no necessitie bound to impugne them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set vpon the face of this cause any fairer glasse then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeavour is to resolue the conscience, and to shew as neere as I can what in this Controuersie the heart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere iudgement, without either cloud of preiudice or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore seeing that Lawes and Ordinances in particular, whether such as wee obserue, or such as your selues would haue

T.C.1.3. p.171.

The matter contained in these eight Bookes.

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haue established, when the minde doth sift and examine them, it must needs haue often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of Lawes in generall, whereof vnlesse it be thoroughly informed, there will appeare no certaintie to stay our persuasion vpon: I haue for that cause set downe in the first place an Introduction on both sides needfull to be considered: Declaring therein what Law is, how different kinds of Lawes there are, and what force they are of according vnto each kind. This done, because yee suppose the Lawes for which yee striue are found in Scripture; but those not against which we striue; and vpon this surmise are drawne to hold it as the very maine pillar of your whole cause, that Scripture ought to be the onely rule of all our actions, & consequently that the Church-orders which we obserue being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasent vnto God: I haue spent the second booke in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon yee build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will haue alwaies a Church vpon earth while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in neede of Government, of which Government it behooueth himselfe to be both the author and teacher: so it cannot stand with duetie, that man should euer presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore, That in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular forme of Ecclesiasticall Politie, the Lawes whereof admit not any kind of alteration. The first three Bookes being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cause, vnto your generall accusations against vs, as hauing in the Orders of our Church (for so you pretend) corrupted the right forme of Church-politie with manifold Popish Rites and Ceremonies, which certaine reformed Churches haue banished from amongst them, and haue therby giuen vs such example as (you think) we ought to follow. This your assertion bath herein drawne vs to make search, whether these bee iust exceptions against the customes of our Church, when yee pleade that they are the same which the Church of Rome bath, or that they are not the same which some other Reformed Churches haue deuised. Of those foure Bookes which remaine, and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lyeth in Controuersie, the first examineth the causes by you alledged, wherefore the publike dueties of Christian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments and the rest, should not be ordered in such

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sort as with vs they are; nor that power whereby the persons of men are consecrated vnto the Ministerie, bee disposed of in such maner as the Lawes of this Church doe allow. The second and third are concerning the power of Iurisdiction: the one, whether Lay-men, such as your governing Elders are, ought in all Congregations for euer to be inuested with that power; the other, whether Bishops may haue that power ouer other Pastors, and therewithall that honour which with vs they haue. And because besides the power of Order which all consecrated persons haue; and the power of Iurisdiction which neither they all, nor they only haue, there is a third power, a power of Ecclesiasticall Dominion, communicable, as we thinke, vnto persons not Ecclesiasticall, and most fit to be restrained vnto the Prince our Soueraigne Commander ouer the whole body Politike: The eight Booke we haue allotted vnto this question, and haue sifted therein your Obiections against those preeminences Royall which thereunto appertaine. Thus haue I laide before you the briefe of these my Trauailes, and presented vnder your view the limes of that cause litigious betweene vs: the whole intire bodie whereof being thus compact, it shall bee no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular Controuersies resting place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How iust cause there is to feare the manifold dangerous euents likely to ensue vpon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8. The case so standing therefore my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of Governours yee must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange & dangerou innouations, which are more then likely to follow, if your Discipline, should take place, haue for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duetie to withstand your endeouours that way: The rather, for that they haue seene already some small beginnings of the fruite thereof, in them, who concurring with you in iudgement about the necessitie of that Discipline, haue aduentured without more adoe, to seperate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in execution. These mens hastines the warier sort of you doth not commend, yee wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flowne abroad before the feathers of the cause had bene growne; their errour with mercifull termes yee reprove, naming them in great commiseration of mind, your poore brethren. They on the contrarie side more bitterly accuse you as their false brethren, and against you they pleade, saying: From your breasts it is, that we haue sucked those things, which when yee deliuered vnto

vs,

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vs, yee termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milke of Gods word, howsoever yee now abhorre as poyson that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in vs. Yee sometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we haue had most sweete consultations, are now become our professed aduersaries, because wee thinke the Statute-Congregations in England to be no true Christian Churches; because we haue seuered our selues from them, and because without their leaue or licence that are in Ciuill Authoritie, we haue secretly framed our owne Churches according to the platforme of the word of God. For of that point betweene you and vs their is no controuersie. Alas, what would yee haue vs to doe? At such time as yee were content to accept vs in the number of your owne, your teachings we heard, wee read your Wriings: and though wee would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeale yee haue euer profest, that in the English Congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according vnto their owne Lawes,) the verie publique Seruice of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heapes of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning forme, borrowed from the Shoppe of Antichrist; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the most Holy: the kind of their Government by Bishops and Archbishops, Antichristian, that Discipline which Christ hath essentially tied, that is to say, so vnitd vnto his Church, that wee cannot account it really to bee his Church, which hath not in it the same Discipline, that verie Discipline no lesse there despised, then in the highest throne of Antichrist, all such partes of the word of God as doe any way concerne that Discipline, no lesse vnsoundly taught and interpreted by all Authorized English Pastors, then by Antichrists factors themselues; at Baptisme Crossing, at the Supper of the Lord kneeling, at both a number of other the most notorious badges of Antichristian recognisance vsuall. Being moued with these and the like your effectuall discourses, whereunto wee gaue most attentine eare, till they entred euen into our soules, and were as fire within our bosomes; wee thought we might hereof bee bold to conclude, that sith no such Antichristian Synagogue may be accompted a true Church of Christ, yee by accusing all Congregations ordered according to the Lawes of England as Antichristian, did meane to condemne those Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian Church. Yee tell vs now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatenings of them, who professing themselues the Inhabitants of mount

Psal. 55. 13.
Pref. aginst D.
Baner.

Sion,

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Sion, were to loth to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearefully troubled, we durst not, we durst not continue longer so neere her confines, lest her plagues might suddenly ouertake vs, before we did cease to be partakers with her sinnes: for so we could not chuse but acknowledge with griefe that we were, when they doing euill, wee by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like, thereof, or at least wise not so earnestly to dislike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glorie. For aduenturing to erect the Discipline of Christ without the leaue of the Christian Magistrate, haply yee may condemne vs as fooles, in that we hazard therby our estates and persons, further then you which are that way more wise thinke necessarie: but of any offence or sinne therein committed against God, with what conscience can you accuse vs, when your owne positions are, that the things we obserue should euery of them be dearer vnto vs then ten thousand liues; that they are the peremptorie commandements of God; that no mortall man can dispence with them, and that the Magistrate grieuouly sinneth in not constraining thereunto? Will yee blame any man for doing that of his owne accord, which all men should bee compelled to doe that are not willing of themselues? When God commandeth, shall we answere that we will obey, if so be Cæsar will grant vs leaue? Is Discipline an Ecclesiasticall matter or a Ciuill? If an Ecclesiasticall, it must of necessitie belong to the dutie of the Minister. And the Minister (yee say) holdeth all his authoritie of doing whatsoeuer belongeth vnto the Spirituall charge of the house of God, euen immediatly from God himselfe, without dependencie vpon any Magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, that the hearts of the people being willing to bee vnder the Scepter of Christ, the Minister of God, into whose hands the Lord himselfe hath put that Scepter, is without all excuse, if therby he guide them not. Nor doe we find that hitherto greatly ye haue disliked those Churches abroad where the people with direction of their godly Ministers, haue euen against the will of the Magistrate brought in either the doctrine or Discipline of Iesus Christ. For which cause we must now think the very same thing of you, which our Sauour did sometime viter concerning falsehearted Scribes and Pharises, They say & doe not. Thus the foolish Barrowist deriueth his schisme by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leaue to be satisfied by you from whome he hath sprung. And if such by your own acknowledgement, bee persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations

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which they haue made are of small and tender growth; the changes like-
 ly to ensue throughout all states and vocations within this Land, in case
 your desire should take place, must be thought vpon. First, concerning
 the supreme power of the highest, they are no small prerogatiues, which
 now thereunto belonging the forme of your Discipline will constraîne it
 to resigne, as in the last Booke of this Treatise we haue shewed at large.
 Againe it may iustly be feared, whether our English Nobilitie, when the
 matter came in triall, would contentedly suffer themselues to be alwaies
 at the call, and to stand to the sentence of a number of meane persons,
 assisted with the presence of their poore Teacher, a man (as sometimes
 it happeneth) though better able to speake, yet little or no whit apter to
 iudge then the rest; from whom, be their dealings neuer so absurd (vn-
 lesse it be by way of complaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made vn-
 to any one of higher power, in asmuch as the order of your Discipline
 admitteth no standing inequality of Courts, no spirituall Iudge to haue
 any ordinarie superiour on earth, but as many Supremacies as there are
 Parishes and seuerall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without
 cause that so many doe feare the ouerthrow of all learning, as a threat-
 ned sequelle of this your intended Discipline. For if the worlds prefer-
 uation depend vpon the multitude of the wise; and of that sort the
 number hereafter be not likely to waxe ouer-great, when (that where-
 with the soune of Syrach professeth himselfe at the heart grieved) Sap. 6. 24.
 men of vnderstanding are already so little set by: how should their Ecc. 1. 19.
 minds, whom the loue of so precious a Iewell filleth with secret ieaousie
 euen in regard of the least things, which may any way hinder the flour-
 ishing estate thereof, chuse but misdoubt lest this Discipline, which al-
 waies you match with diuine doctrine as her naturall and true sister, be
 found vnto all kinds of knowledge a stepmother; seeing that the greatest
 worldly hopes, which are proposed vnto the chiefeest kind of learning, ye
 seeke vtterly to extirpate as weedes; and haue grounded your platforme
 on such propositions, as doe after a sort vndermine those most renowned
 habitations, where, through the goodnes of Almighty God, all commen-
 dable Arts & Sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and
 so may they for euer continue) studied, proceeded in, & profess? To charge
 you as purposedly bent to the ouerthrow of that wherein so many of you
 haue attained no small perfection, were iniurious. Only therefore I wish
 that your selues did well consider how opposite certaine your positions
 are vnto the state of Collegiate societies, whereon the two Vniuersities
 consist

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consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take, are by your Lawes taken away, your selues who haue sought them yee, so excuse, as that yee would haue men to thinke yee iudge them not allowable, but tolerable onely, and to be borne with; for some helpe which ye find in them vnto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed: Your Lawes forbidding Ecclesiasticall persons vtterly the exercise of Ciuill power, must needs deprive the Heads and Masters in the same Colledges of all such authoritie as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of Nature, but altogether by Ciuill authoritie are subiect vnto them, or abroad, by keeping Courts amongst their tenants. Your lawes making permanent inequalitye amongst Ministers, a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those Colledges, the Seniors wherof are all or any part of them Ministers vnder the government of a Master in the same vocation, to choose, as oft as they meete together, a new President. For if so ye iudge it necessarie to do in Synods, for the auoiding of permanent inequalitye amongst Ministers, the same cause must needs euen in these Collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peraduenture yee meane to auoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those Corporations, and by bringing the Uniuersities vnto the forme of the Schoole of Geneua. Which thing men the rather are enclined to looke for, in asmuch as the ministerie, wherinto their founders with singular prouidence haue by the same Statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certaine time, your Lawes bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some Parish abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Ciuill is, that the knowledge thereof might bee spared, as a thing which this Land doth not need. Professors in that kind being few, yee are the bolder to spurne at them, and not to dissemblye your minds as concerning their remoouall: in whose studies although my selfe haue not much bene conuersant, neuerthelesse exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were giuen, as well for the singular treasures of wisdomes therein contained, as also for the great vse we haue thereof both in decision of certaine kinds of causes arising daily within our selues, and especially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith yee would perswade that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in euery respect as effectuall for prooffe that the same is the onely Law whereby to determine all our Ciuill controuersies.

And

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And then what doth let, but that as those men may haue their desire, who frankly broach it already that the worke of Reformation will neuer be perfect, till the Law of Jesus Christ be receiued alone; so Pleaders and Councillors may bring their Bookes of the Common-Law, and bestow them as the Students of curious and needlesse arts did theirs in the Apostles time? I leaue them to scan how farre those words of yours may reach, wherein yee declare that whereas now many houses lye waste through inordinate suites of Law, This one thing will shew the excellencie of Discipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subiects, that the Church is to censure such a partie who is apparantly troublesome and contentious, and without REASONABLE CAUSE vpon a meere will and stomach doth vex and molest his Brother, and trouble the Country. For mine owne part I doe not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, euen to send out your Writs of Surcease vnto all Courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceede and descend lower. But for as much as against all these and the like difficulties, your answer is, That we ought to search what things are consonant to Gods will, nor which be most for our owne ease; and therefore that your discipline, being (for such is your error) the absolute commandement of Almighty God, it must be receiued, although the World by receiuing it should be cleane turned vpside-downe, herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of diuine Authoritie is vsed to countenance these things, which are not the Commandements of God, but your owne erroneous collections; on him yee must father whatsoeuer yee shall afterwards be led, either to doe in withstanding the Aduersaries of your cause, or to thinke in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error, the mind once imagining it selfe to seeke the execution of Gods will, laboureth forthwith to remoue both things and persons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases if any strange or new thing seeme requisite to be done, a strange & new opinion concerning the lawfullnes thereof, is without all receiued and broached vnder countenance of diuine authoritie. One example herein may serue for many, to shew that false opinions touching the will of God to haue things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practises against the hinderances of them; and those practises new opinions more pernicious then the first, yea, most extreemely

AD. 19. 19.

Humb. Mot.
Pag. 74.

Counterp.
Pag. 108.

some-

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Mat. 15. 13.

Guy de Bres
contre l'erreur
des Anabap-
tistes.
Pag. 4.

Pag. 5.

Pag. 16.
Pag. 118. 119.

120.
Pag. 116.

sometimes opposite to that which the first did seeme to intend. Where the people tooke vpon them the reformation of the Church by casting out Popish superstition, they hauing receiued from their Pastors a general instruction that whatsoeuer the heauenly Father hath not planted, must be rooted out, proceeded in some forrein places so farre, that downe went oratories and the very Temples of God themselues. For as they chanced to take the compasse of their Commission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or lesse moderate. Amongst others there sprang vp presently one kind of men, with whose zeale and forwardnesse the rest being compared, were thought to be maruellous cold and dull. These grounding themselues on Rules more generall; that whatsoeuer the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the author; & that whatsoeuer Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors Christ are to vndo; found out many things more then others had done, the expiuration whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before remooued. Hereupon they secretly made their dolefull complaints euerie where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to professe some dislike of that which was euill in the Kingdome of darknesse. yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seene; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endenour to purge the truth of all manner of euill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousnesse onely should dwell. Priuate repentance they said must appeare by euery mans fashioning his owne life contrarie vnto the custome and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in lesse. To this purpose they had alwaies in their mouthes those greater things, Charitie, Faith, the true feare of God, the Crosse, the mortification of the flesh. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to count riches and honors vanitie, and in token thereof not onely to seeke neither, but if men were possessors of both, euen to cast away the one and resigne the other that all men might see their vnfained conuersion vnto Christ. They were solliciters of men to fasts, to often meditations of heauenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by praiers, not framed according to the froze maner of the world, but expressing such seruēt desires as might euen force God to harken vnto them. When they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way obseruers of ciuility & decent order such they reprobued as being carnally & earthly minded, Euerie word otherwise then seuerely & sadly vttered, seemed to pierce like a sword thro

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row them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighes to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, Woe bee to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament. So great was their delight to be alwaies in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lines, they iudged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to crosse the ordinarie custome in every thing, that when other mens use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abroad in worse: the ordinarie names of the daies in the weeke they thought it a kind of prophanesse to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction then by numbers, The First, Second, Third day. From this they proceeded vnto publique Reformation, first, Ecclesiasticall, and then Ciuill. Touching the former, they boldly auouched, that themselves only had the Truth, which thing vpon perill of their lines they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles liued, the same was neuer before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore that things might againe bee brought to that ancient integritie which Iesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to controule the Ministers of the Gospell for attributing so much force and Vertue vnto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is said to engender Faith in the heart, and to conuert the Soule of man, or to worke any such spirituall Diuine effect, these speeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in vs by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our vnderstanding, and so reuealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Ieremie promised before should bee, saying, I will put my Law in there inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The Booke of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against there opinions then only by allegation of Scripture they would not heare; besides it, they thought no other Writings in the World should be studied; in so much as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects vnto humane Writings, so farre to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any Bookes saue the Holy Bible in their custodie, they brought and set them publikely on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange phantasticall opinion soeuer at any time entred into their heads, their use was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviours incarnation, the state of soules departed, and such like, are things needlesse to bee rehearsed. And for as

Page. 124.
Lu. c. 6. 12.

Page. 127.

Page. 40.

Iere. 31. 34.

Page. 291

Page. 27.

E

much

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*much as they were of the same Suite with those of whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, They are still learning, but neuer attaine to the knowledge of truth, it was no maruaile to see them euery day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restlesse leuitie they did interpret to bee their growing to spirituall perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this meane in a manmer infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose braine was not possess'd with some speciall mysterie. Whereupon although their mutuall contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselues: yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the Aduersaries of their Faction, they had waies to lick one another whole, the sounder in his owne perswasion, excusing THE DEARE BRETHERN, which were not so farre enlightned, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swauing from him in some things. Their owne Ministers they highly magnified, as men whose Vocation was from God: the rest their manner was to terme disdainfully Scribes and Pharises, to account their Calling an humane Creature, and to detain the people as much as might bee from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Bapisme administred in the Church of Rome, They Iudged to bee but an execrable Mockerie and no Bapisme; both because the Ministers thereof in the Papacie are wicked Idolaters, lewd Persons, Theeues and Murderers, cursed Creatures, ignorant Beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belynging vnto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrists Synagogue. The custome of vsing God-fathers and God-mothers at Christnings they scorned. Baptizing of Infants, although confest by themselues to haue bene continued euen sithence the verie Apostles owne times, yet they altogether condemned: partly, because sundry errors are of no lesse Antiquitie; and partly, for that there is no Commandement in the Gospell of Christ, which saith, Baptize Infants, but bee contrariwise in saying, Goe Preach and Baptise, doth appoint that the Minister of Bapisme shall in that action first administer Doctrine, and then Bapisme, as also in saying, Whosoever doth belecue & is baptised, he appointeth that the partie to whom Bapisme is administred shall first beleue, and then be baptized; to the end that beleeuing may go before this Sacramēt in the receiuer, no otherwise then preaching in the Gauer, sith equally in both, the Law of Christ declareth not onely
what*

2. Tim. 3. 7.

Pag. 65.

Pag. 66.

Pag. 135.

Pag. 25.

Pag. 71.

Pag. 124.

Pag. 764.

Pag. 743.

Pag. 512.

Pag. 513.

Pag. 722.

Pag. 725.

Pag. 688.

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What things are required, but also in what order they are required. The pag. 38.
Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviours example)
after Supper: and for auoyding all those impieties which haue beene
grounded vpon the mysticall words of Christ, This is my body, This
is my bloud; they thought it not safe to mention either Body or Bloud
in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to vse no words but
these, Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: Drinke, shew pag. 112.
forth our Lords death. In Rites and Ceremonies their profession
was haired of all conformitie with the Church of Rome: for which cause
they would rather indure any torment then obserue the solempne festiualls
which others did, in as much as Antichrist (they said) was the first in-
uenter of them. The pretended end of their Ciuill reformation, was that
Christ might haue dominion ouer all, that all Crownes and Scepters
might bee throwne downe at his fecte, that no other might raigne ouer
Christian men but he, no Regiment keepe them in awe but his Discipline;
amongst them no Sword at all be carried besides his, the Sword of spiri-
tual Excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their
might in ouer-turning the seates of Magistracie, because Christ hath
said, Kings of Nations; in abolishing the execution of Iustice, pag. 841.
because Christ hath said, Resist not cuill; in forbidding Oathes the pag. 833.
necessarie meanes of iudicall tryall, because Christ hath said, Swear pag. 849.
not at all; finally, in bringing in communitie of goods, because Christ
by his Apostles hath giuen the World such example to the end that men
might excell one another, not in wealth the Pillar of secular authoritie,
but in vertue. These men at the first were onely pittied in their error, pag. 40.
and not much withstood by any; the great Humilitie, Zeale, and De-
uotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of
their harmelesse meaning. The hardest that men of sound vnderstan-
ding conceined of them, was but this, O quam honesta voluntate Lactant. de lu-
miseri erant? With how good a meaning these poore foules stic. lib. 5. ca. 19.
doe euill; Luther made request vnto Fredericke Duke of Saxo- pag. 6.
nie, that within his Dominion they might be fauourably dealt with and
spared, for that (their error exempted) they seemed otherwise right
good men. By meanes of which mercifull toleration they gathered
strength, much more then was safe for the State of the Common-wealth
wherein they liued. They had their secret corner-meetings and assem-
blies in the night, the people flocked vnto them by thousands. The pag. 410.
meanes whereby they both allured and retayned so great multitudes,

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were most effectuell; first, a wonderfull shew of zeale towards God, wherewith they seemed to bee euen rapt in euery thing they spake: secondly, an hatred of sinne, and a singular loue of integritie, which men did thinke to be much more then ordinarie in them, by reason of the custome which they had to fill the eares of the people with Inuectiues against their authorized Guides as well Spirituall as Ciuill: thirdly, the bountifull reliefe wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needie

Pag. 6.

Creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to bee drawne away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take vpon the miseries of the common sort, ouer whose heads their manner was euen to powre downe showres of teares in complayning that no respect was had

Pag. 7.

vnto them, that their goods were deuoured by wicked Cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all libertie both Temporall and Spirituall taken from them; that it was high time for God now to heare their grones, and to send them deliuerance: lastly, a cunning slight which they had to stroke and smooth vp the mindes of their Followers, as well by appropriating vnto them all the fauourable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrarie alwaies on the heads of such as were seuered from that retinue. Whereupon,

Pag. 7.

the peoples common acclamation vnto such deceiuers was: These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere Prophets. If any such Prophet or man of God did suffer by order of Law condigne and deserued punishment; were it for Fellonie, Rebellion, Murder, or what else: the people (so strangely were their hearts enchanted) as though blessed Saint Stephen had bene againe martyred, did lament that God tooke away his most deare Seruants from them. In all these things being fully perswaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all en should doe the like; there remayned after speculation, practice, whereby the whole World thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not bee done, but with mightie opposi-

Pag. 17.

tion and resistance: against which to strengthen themselues, they secretly entred into a League of Association. And peraduenture considering, that although they were many, yet long Warres would in time waste them out; they beganne to thinke whether it might not bee that God would haue them doe for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime Gods owne chosen people, the people of Israel did. Glad and faine they were to haue it so: which very desire was it selfe apt to breed both an opinion of possibilitie, and a willingnessse to gather Argu-

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ments

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ments of likelihood, that so God himselfe would haue it. Nothing more cleere vnto their seeming, then that a new Ierusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they vndoubtedly were themselues that new Ierusalem, and the old did by way of a certayne figuratiue resemblance, signifie what they should both be and doe. Here they drew in a Sea of matter, by applying all things vnto their owne Company, which are any where spoken concerning diuine fauours and benefits bestowed vpon the old Common-wealth of Israel, concluding, that as Israel was deliuered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this Worlds seruite thraldome vnto Sinne and Superstition; as Israel was to roote out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant in stead of them a People which feared God, so the same Lords good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, vnder the conduct of other Iosuaes, Sampsons, and Gedcons, performe a worke no lesse miraculou in casting out violently the wicked from the Earth, and establishing the Kingdome of Christ with perfect libertie: and therefore as the cause why the children of Israel tooke vnto one man many wiues, might be, lest the casualties of Warre should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not vnlike that for the necessary propagation of Christs Kingdome vnder the Gospell, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatsoeuer they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to iustifie or perswade it vnto others, all was the heauenly Fathers appointment, his commandement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I haue gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew that when the mindes of men are once erroneously perswaded, that it is the will of God to haue those things done which they phancy; their opinions are as Thornes in their sides, neuer suffering them to take rest till they haue brought their speculations into practice: the lets and impediments of which practice their restlesse desire and study to remoue, leadeth them euery day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and cleane contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as goe masked vnder the cloke of diuine authoritie, impossible it is, that euer the wit of man should imagine, till time haue brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoueth Wisedome to feare the sequels thereof, euen beyond all apparant cause of feare. These men, in whose mouthes at the first, sounded nothing but onely mortification of the flesh, were

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*come at the length to thinke they might lawfully haue their sixe or seuen
 Wives apiece: they which at the first thought Iudgement and Iustice it
 selfe to be mercilesse cruelty; accompted at the length their owne hands
 sanctified with being imbrued in Christian blood: they who at the first
 were wont to beate downe all Dominion, and to vrge against poore Con-
 stables, Kings of Nations; bad at the length both Consults and Kings
 of their owne erection amongst themselues, finally, they which could
 not brooke at the first that any man should seeke, no not by Law, the re-
 couery of goods iniuriously taken or with-held from him; were growne
 at the last to thinke they could not offer vnto God more acceptable sa-
 crifice, then by turning their Adversaries cleane out of house and home,
 and by enriching themselues with all kind of spoile and pillage; which
 thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readinesse their answer,
 that now the time was come, when according to our Sauours promise,
 The meeke ones must inherit the earth, and that their title here-
 vnto was the same which the righteous Israelites had vnto the goods
 of the wicked Egyptians. Wherefore sith the World hath had in these
 men so fresh experience, how dangerous such actiue errors are, it must
 not offend you though touching the sequell of your present misperswasi-
 ons much more be doubted, then your owne intents and purposes doe hap-
 ply ayme at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when yee af-
 firme that your Pastors, Doctores, Elders, and Deacons, ought to bee in
 this Church of England, Whether her Maicstie and our State will
 or no, when for the animating of your Confederates, ye publish the mu-
 sters which yee haue made of your owne Bands, and proclaime them to
 amount I know not to how many thousands; when yee threaten, that sith
 neither your suits to the Parliament, nor supplications to our Conuocati-
 on-house, neither your defences by Writing, nor challenges of Disputati-
 on in behalfe of that cause are able to preuaile, we must blame our selues,
 if to bring in discipline some such meanes here after be vsed as shall cause
 all our hearts to ake. That things doubtfull are to be construed in
 the better part, is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concer-
 ning the publike State of a Common-weale. But howsoeuer these and
 the like speeches be accounted as arrowes idely shot at random, without
 either eye had to any marke, or regard to their lighting place: hath not
 your longing desire for the practice of your Discipline, brought the mat-
 ter already vnto this demurrer amongst you, whether the People and
 their godly Pastors that way affected, ought not to make separation from
 the*

Page 41.

Mat. 5. 5.

Exod. 11. 2.

Marc. in his 3.
Libell, Pag. 28.

Demonstr. in
the Pref.

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the rest, and to beginne the exercise of Discipline without Licence of Ciuill Powers, which Licence they haue sought for, and are not heard? Vpon which question, as ye haue now deuided your selues, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other; so in case these earnest Ones should preuaile, what other sequell can any wiseman imagine but this, that hauing first resolued that attempts for Discipline without Superiors are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to bee disputed what may bee attempted against Superiors, which will not haue the Scepter of that Discipline to rule ouer them? Yea euen by you which haue stayed your selues from running head-long with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath bene done without the leaue or liking of your lawfull Superiors, for the exercise of a part of your Discipline amongst the Clergie thereunto addicled. And lest examination of principall parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold for a barre against that impediment, one Opinion ye haue newly added vnto the rest euen vpon this occasion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths, which may turne to the molestation of your Brethren in that cause. The next neighbour Opinion whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for Dispensation with Oaths alreadie taken, if they afterwards bee found to import a necessitie of detecting ought which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be. O mercifull God, what mans wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearefull euils, whereinto our weake and impotent nature is inclinable to sinke it selfe, rather then to shew an acknowledgement of errour in that which once we haue vnauidedly taken vpon vs to defend, against the streame as it were of a contrarie publike resolution; Wherefore, if we any thing respect their errour, who being perswaded euen as ye are, haue gone further vpon that perswasion then ye allow, if wee regard the present State of the highest Governour placed ouer vs, if the qualitie and disposition of our Nobles, if the Orders and Lawes of our famous Vniuersities, if the profession of the Ciuill, or the praetice of the Common Law amongst vs, if the mischiefes whereinto euen before our eyes so many others haue salne head-long from no lesse plausible and faire beginnings then yours are: there is in euery of these considerations most iust cause to feare, lest our hastinesse to embrace a thing of so perillous consequence, should cause Posterity to feele those euils, which as yet are more easie for vs to preuent, then they would be for them to remedie.

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The conclu-
sion of all

9. *The best and safest way for you therefore my deare Brethren is, to all your deeds past a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye haue taken in hand, and to try it euen point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactnesse ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bit-ternesse wherein your minds haue hitherto ouer-abounded, and with meekenesse to search the Truth. Thinke yee are men, deeme it not impossible for you to erre: sife vnpartially your owne hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemencie of affection, which hath bred, and still doth feede these opinions in you. If Truth doe any where manifest it selfe, seeke not to smother it with glozing Delusion, acknowledge the greatnesse thereof, and thinke it your best Victorie when the same doth preuaile ouer you.*

That yee haue bene earnest in speaking or writing, againe and againe the contrarie way, should be no blemish or discredit at all vnto you. Amongst so many so huge Volumes, as the infinite paines of Saint Augultine haue brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater loue, commendation and honour, then the Booke wherein he carefully collected his owne ouersights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Iobs, whereby his Wisdome and other Vertues may appeare: but the glorie of an Ingennous minde he hath purchased by these words onely, Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I haue spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintaine Argument, yea twice, howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed. Farre more comfort it were for vs (so small is the ioy wee take in these strifes) to labour vnder the same yoke, as men that looke for the same eternall reward of their Labours, to be enioyned with you in bands of indissoluable loue and amitie, to liue as if our persons being many, our Soules were but one, rather in such dismenbred sort to spend our few and wretched dayes in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome Contentions: the end whereof, if they haue not some speedie end, will bee heauie euen on both sides. Brought alreadie wee are euen to that estate which Gregorie Nazianzene mournefully describeth, saying,

Iob. 39:37.

Greg. Naz. in
Apul.

*My minde leadeth me (sith there is no other remedy) to flie and to conuey my selfe into some corner out of sight, where I may scape from this cloudie tempest of malicioufnesse, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly warre amongst themselues, and that little remnant of loue which was, is now consumed to nothing. The onely godlinesse wee glorie in, is to finde
out*

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out somewhat whereby wee may iudge others to bee vngodly. Each others faults we obserue, as matter of exprobration, and not of griefe. By these meanes wee are growne hatefull in the eyes of the Heathens themselues; and (which woundeth vs the more deeply) able wee are not to denie but that wee haue deserued their hatred. With the better sort of our owne, our fame and credit is cleane lost. The lesse wee are to maruell if they iudge vildly of vs, who although wee did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also build that are lewd, and what wee object one against another, the same they vse to the viter scorne and disgrace of vs all. This wee haue gained by our mutuall home dissentions. This wee are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to striue, then becommeth men of vertuous and mild disposition. *But our trust in the Almighty is, that with vs contentions are now at their highest flote, and that the day will come (for what cause of despaire is there?) when the passions of former enmitie being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our vnfainedly reconciled loue, shew our selues each towards other the same, which Ioseph and the brethren of Ioseph were at the time of their enter-viue in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirstie desire whereof what man soeuer amongst you shall any way helpe to satisfie, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will) the blessings of the God of Peace both in this World and in the World to come, be vpon him more then the stars of the Firmament in number.*



WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKES

Following.

The *first* Booke, concerning Lawes in generall.

The *second*, Of the vse of diuine Law contayned in Scripture, whether that bee the onely Law which ought to serue for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, Of Lawes concerning Ecclesiasticall Politie; whether the forme thereof bee in Scripture so set downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, Of generall exceptions taken against the Lawes of our Politie, as being Popish and banished out of certaine Reformed Churches.

The *fifth*, Of our Lawes that concerne the publike religious duties of the Church; and the manner of bestowing that power of order, which inableth
men

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men in fundrie degrees and callings to execute the same.

The *sixt*, Of the power of Iurisdiction, which the reformed platforme claymeth vnto Lay-Elders, with others.

The *seuenth*, Of the power of Iurisdiction, and the honor which is annexed thereunto in Bishops.

The *eighth*, Of the power of Ecclesiasticall Dominion or supreme Authoritie, which with vs the highest Gouvernour or Prince hath, as well in regard of domesticall Iurisdctions, as of that other forrainly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.





OF THE LAWES OF
ECCLESIASTICALL
POLITIE:

The first Booke.

Concerning Lawes, and their feuerall kindes
in generall.

The matter contained in this first Booke.

- 1 **T**he cause of writing this generall discourse concerning lawes.
- 2 Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set for himselfe to doe all things by.
- 3 The law which naturall agents obserue, & their necessary manner of keeping it.
- 4 The law which the Angels of God obey.
- 5 The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
- 6 Mens first beginning to vnderstand that law.
- 7 Of mans will, which is the first thing that lawes of action are made to guide.
- 8 Of the naturall finding out of lawes by the light of reason to guide the will vnto that which is good.
- 9 Of the benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.
- 10 How reason doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes whereby politike societies are governed, and to agreement about lawes whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth.
- 11 Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made knowne such supernaturall laws as doe serue for mens direction.
- 12 The cause why so many naturall or rationall lawes are set downe in holy Scripture.
- 13 The benefit of hauing diuine lawes written.
- 14 The sufficiencie of Scripture vnto the end for which it was instituted.
- 15 Of lawes positie contained in Scripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vse of Scripture.
- 16 A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cause of
writing this
generall
counse.



That goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall neuer want attentue and fauourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto euery kinde of regiment is subiect, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in publique proceedings are innumerable and inuitable, they haue not ordinarily the iudgement to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefite of all, and for men that carry singular free dome of mind; vnder this faire & plausible colour whatsoeuer they vtter, passeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the waight of their speech, is supplied by the aptnesse of mens mindes to accept and beleue it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintaine things that are established, we haue not onely to strue with a number of heauie prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who thinke that herein we serue the time, and speake in fauor of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seeke preserment; but also to beare such exceptions as mindes so auerted before-hand vsually take against that which they are loath should be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that wee are to speake in this present cause, may seeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate, (for many talke of the truth, which neuer sounded the depth from whence it springeth, and therefore when they are led therunto they are soone weary, as men drawne from those beaten pathes wherewith they haue been iniured;) yet this may not so farre preuaile, as to cut off that which the matter it selfe requireth, howsoeuer the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no. They vnto whom we shall seeme tedious, are in no wise iniured by vs, because it is in their owne hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complaine of obscuritie, they must consider, that in these matters it commeth no otherwise to passe, then in sundry the workes both of art and also of nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see, is notwithstanding it selfe oftentimes not seene. The sturclinesse of houses, the goodlinesse of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth vp the one, that roote which ministrerh vnto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosome of the earth concealed; and if there bee at any time occasion to search into it, such labour is then more necessary then pleasant, both to them which vndertake it, and for the lookers on. In like maner the vse and benefite of good Lawes, all that liue vnder them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first originall causes from whence they haue sprung bee vnkowne, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend that the lawes which they should obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behoueth the very foundation & roote, the highest wellspring and fountaine of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to doe, when we doe it, the paynes wee take are more needfull a
great

great deale then acceptable, and the matters which wee handle seeme by reason of newnesse, (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) darke, intricate, and vnfamiliar. For as much helpe whereof as may be in this case, I haue endeououred throughout the bodie of this whole Discourse, that euery former part might giue strength vnto all that follow, and euery later bring some light vnto all before. So that if the iudgements of men doe but hold themselves in suspence as touching these first more generall Meditations, till in order they haue perused the rest that ensue: what may seeme darke at the first will afterwards bee found more plaine, euen as the later particular decisions will appeare I doubt not more strong, when the other haue bene read before. The Lawes of the Church, whereby for so many Ages together we haue bene guided in the exercise of Christian Religion, and the seruice of the true God, our Rites, Customes, and Orders of Ecclesiasticall Government, are called in question; we are accused as men that will not haue Christ Iesus to rule ouer them. but haue wilfully cast his Statutes behinde their backs, hating to be reformed and made subiect vnto the scepter of his Discipline. Behold therefore we offer the Lawes whereby we liue, vnto the generall triall and iudgement of the whole World; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom wee desire to serue according to his owne will, that both wee and others (all kinde of partiall affection being cleane laid aside) may haue eyes to see, and hearts to embrace, the things that in his sight are most acceptable. And because the point about which wee strue is the qualitie of our Lawes, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with consideration of the nature of Law in generall, and of that Law which giueth life vnto all the rest which are commendable, iust, and good, namely the Law whereby the Eternall himselfe doth worke. Proceeding from hence to the Law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall haue the easier access vnto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we haue in hand.

2 All things that are, haue some operation not violent or casuall. Neither doth any thing euer beginne to exercise the same, without some fore-conceiued end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtayned, vnlesse the worke be also fit to obtayne it by. For vnto euery end euery operation will not serue. That which doth assigne vnto each thing the kinde, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the forme and measure of working, the same wee tearme a *Law*. So that no certaine end could euer bee attained, vnlesse the actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to say, made suteable, fit, and correspondent vnto their end, by some Canon, Rule or Law. Which thing doth first take place in the workes euen of God himselfe. All things therefore doe worke after a sort according to Law: all other things according to a Law, whereof some Superiours vnto whom they are subiect is Author; onely the workes and operations of God, haue him both their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The being of God, is a kinde of Law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giueth perfection to that hee doth. Those naturall, necessary, and internall operations of God, the *generation* of the Sonne, the *proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compasse of my present intent: which is to touch onely such opera-

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

tions as haue their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be. Which eternall decree is that we tearme an eternall Law. Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the most High; whom although to know be life, and ioy to make mention of his name; yet our foundest knowledge is, to know that wee know him not as indeede hee is, neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence when wee confesse without confelſion, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatnesse aboute our capacitie and reach. He is aboue, and we vpon earth; therefore it behooueth our words to be warie and few. Our God is one, or rather very *Omnese*, and meere vnitie, hauing nothing but it selfe in it selfe, and not consisting (as all things doe besides God) of many things. In which essentiall vnitie of God, a Trinitie personall neuerthelesse subsisteth, after a manner farre exceeding the possibilitie of mans conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one deitie, from the Father, by the Sonne, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Sonne doth heare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Sonne, the same we haue at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last, and therefore the nearest vnto vs in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned amongst the very Heathens themselves haue all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither haue they otherwise spoken of that cause, then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obserueth in working a most exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, ^a Διὸς δ' ἑταλείο βουλῆ. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegist.* ^b πᾶντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ θεμιουργὸς ἔχουσαν. ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confest by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *Intellectual* worker. Finally the Stoicks, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held neuerthelesse that the same fire hauing art, did ^c ὁ δὲ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πάντων κόσμου. They all confesse therefore in the working of that first cause, that *Counsel* is vsed, *Reason* followed, a *Way* obserued, that is to say, constant *Order* and *Law* is kept, whereof it selfe must needs be author vnto it selfe. Other wise it should haue some worthier & higher to direct it, & so could not it selfe be the first. Being the first, it can haue no other then it selfe to be the author of that Law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a Law both to himselfe, & to all other things besides. To himselfe he is a Law in all those things whereof our Sauour speaketh, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I.* God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, haue some end for which they are done: & the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to doe them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created, *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone.* Therefore let vs make an helper for him. That & nothing else is done by God, which to leaue vndone were not so good. If therefore it bee demanded, why God hauing power and habilitie infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as wee see they are: the reason hereof is, the end which hee hath proposed; and the Law where-

by

Iohn 16. 13. 14.
15

a Iupiters
counsell was
accomplished.
b The creator
made the
whole world
not with hands
but by reason.
Stob. in eclog.
phys.

c Proceed by
a certaine and
a set way in
the making of
the world.

Iob 5. 17.

Gen. 2. 18.

by his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not worke infinitely, but correspondently vnto that end for which it worketh, euen all things, *χρησῶν*, in most decent and comely sort, all things in *measure, number, & waight*. The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant vertue: Which abundance doth shew it selfe in varietie, and for that cause this varietie is oftentimes in Scripture exprest by the name of *riches*. *The Lord hath made all things for his own sake*. Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall vnto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of euery act proceeding externally from God, wee are nor able to discern, and therefore cannot alwayes giue the proper and certaine reason of his Workes. Howbeit vndoubtedly, a proper and certaine reason there is of euery finite work of God, in as much as there is a Law imposed vpon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite euen as the Worker himself is. They erre therefore who thinke that of the will of God to doe this or that, there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason knowne to vs; but that there is no reason therof, I iudge it most vnreasonable to imagin, in as much as he worketh all things, *καὶ ἡ βασιλευ τῆ θ:λήματ & αὐτῆ*, not onely according to his own will, but *the counsell of his owne will*. And whatsoeuer is done with counsell or wise resolution, hath of necessitie some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to vs in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How vnsearchable are his iudgements! &c.* That Law eternall which God himselfe hath made to himselfe, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect beautie the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning her selfe, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, euen before his workes of old I was set vp*; that Law which hath beene the Patterne to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath beene of God, and with God euerlastingly; that Law the Author and Obseruer whereof is one onely God to be blessed for euer; how should either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Booke of this Law we are neither able nor worthy to open and looke into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend we admire; the rest with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore that according to this Law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things*; although there seeme vnto vs confusion and disorder in the affaires of this present World; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, rectè fieri cuncta ne dubites*, Let no man doubt but that euery thing is well done, because the World is ruled by so good a Guide, as transgresseth not his own Law, then which nothing can be more absolute, perfect, & iust. The Law whereby he worketh, is eternall, and therefore can haue no shew or colour of mutabilitie: for which cause a part of that Law being opened in the promises which God hath made, (because his promises are nothing else but Declarations what God will doe for the good of men) touching those promises the Apostle hath witnessed, that God may as possibly denie himselfe & not be God, as faile to performe them. And concerning the counsell of God, hee termeth it likewise a thing *unchangeable*; the counsell of God, and that Law of God where-

Sapi. 2. 1.

Sapi. 11. 17.

Ephes. 1. 7.

Phil. 4. 19.

Col. 2. 3.

Prou. 16. 4.

Ephes. 1. 11.

Rom. 11. 33.

Prou. 8. 23.

Rom. 11. 36.

Boet. Lib. 4. de

Consol. Philos.

2. Tim. 2. 13.

Hebr. 6. 17.

of now we speake being one. Nor is the freedome of the will of God any whit abated, let or hindred by means of this; because the imposition of this Law vpon himselve is his owne free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name eternall, being *that order which God before all Ages hath set downe with himselve, for himselve to doe all things by.*

The law which natural agents haue giuen them to obserue, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

3 I am not ignorant that by Law eternall the learned for the most part doe vnderstand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himselve in all his workes to obserue, but rather that which with himselve he hath set downe as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the seuerall condition where-with he hath indued them. They who thus are accustomed to speake, apply the name of *Law* vnto that onely rule of working which Superior Authoritie imposeth; whereas wee somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, terme any kind of rule or Canon whereby actions are framed, a *Law*. Now that *Law* which as it is laid vp in the bosome of God, they call *eternall*, receiueth according vnto the different kind of things which are subiect vnto it, different and sundry kindes of names. That part of it which ordreth naturall Agents, we call vsually *Natures Law*: that which Angels doe cleerly behold, and without any swaruing obserue, is a *Law celestiall* and heavenly: the *Law of Reason*, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this World, and with which by reason they may most plainly perceiue themselues bound; that which bindeth them, and is not knowne but by speciall reuelation frō God, *diuine Law*; *humane Law*, that which out of the *Law* either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a *Law*. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto *this second Law eternal*; and euen those things which to this *eternal Law* are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by *the first eternall Law*. For what good or euill is there vnder the Sunne, what action correspondent or repugnant vnto the *Law* which God hath imposed vpon his creatures, but in or vpon it God doth worke according to the *Law* which himselve hath eternally purposed to keepe, that is to say, *the first Law eternal*? So that a two-fold *Law* eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceiue how they both take place in *all things. Wherefore to come to the *Law* of nature, albeit thereby we sometimes meane that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keepe: yet for as much

* Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ.

Th. 1. 2. q. 93. art. 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, à quo pax vniuersitatis administratur. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. li. 19. c. 22.* Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo iuste permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subiicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum anime inserit, iuxta illud *Augustini*, Iussisti Domine & sic est, vt pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. *Confessio. 1. ca. 12.* Nec male scholastici, Quemadmodum iniquum videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quòd à fine particulari suo, atq; adeo à lege æternâ exorbitât, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipsi in casu particulari constitutum: sic verisimile est homines etiam cum peccant & deficiunt à lege æternâ vt præcipiente, re incidere in ordinem æternæ legis vt punientis.

as those things are termed most properly naturall Agents, which keepe the *Law* of their kind vniuitingly, as the Heauens and Elements of the World, which can doe no otherwise then they doe; and for as much as wee giue vnto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* Agents, that so wee may distinguish them from the other, expedient it will be, that wee seuer the *Law* of Nature obserued by the one, from that which the other is tyed vnto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one *Tenure*, *Statute* and *Law* is spoken of by all, but hath in it more then men haue as yet attained to know, or perhaps euer shall attaine, seeing the trauell of wading herein is giuen of God to the sonnes of Men, that perceiuing

ceining how much the least thing in the World hath in it more then the wisest
 are able to reach vnto, they may by this meanes learne humilitie. *Moses*, in de-
 scribing the worke of Creation, attributeth speech vnto God, *God said, Let there
 be light: Let there be a firmament: Let the Waters vnder the Heauen be gathered
 together into one place: Let the Earth bring forth: Let there be Lights in the Fir-
 mament of Heauen.* Was this onely the intent of *Moses* to signifie the infinite
 greatnesse of Gods power, by the easinesse of his accomplishing such effects,
 without trauell, paine, or labour? Surely it seemeth that *Moses* had herein, besides
 this, a further purpose, namely, first, to teach that God did not worke as a neces-
 sary, but a voluntary Agent, intending beforehand and decreeing with himselve
 that which did outwardly proceed from him: Secondly, to shew that God did
 then institute a Law naturall to be obserued by creatures, and therefore according
 to the manner of Lawes, the Institution thereof is described, as being established
 by solemne iniunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be
 in such sort as they are, to keepe that tenure and course which they doe, impor-
 teth the establishment of Natures Law. This Worlds first Creation, and the
 preseruacion since of things created, what is it, but only so far forth a manifesta-
 tion by execution, what the Eternall Law of God is concerning things naturall?
 And as it commeth to passe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a Law is
 once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all States framing them-
 selues thereunto; euen so let vs thinke it fareth in the naturall course of the
 World: since the time that God did first proclaime the Edicts of his Law vpon
 it, Heauen and earth haue harkned vnto his voyce, and their labour hath bin to
 doe his will: *He made a Law for the Raine, He gaue his Decree vnto the Sea, that
 the Waters should not passe his commandement.* Now, if nature should intermit her
 course, and leaue altogether, though it were but for a while, the obseruation of
 her own Lawes; if those principall and Mother Elements of the World, whereof
 all things in this lower World are made, should lose the qualities which now they
 haue; if the frame of that Heauenly Arch erected ouer our heads should loosen
 and dissolue it selfe; if Celestiall Spheres should forget their wonted Motions,
 and by irregular volubilitie turne themselues any way as it might happen; if the
 Prince of the Lights of Heauen, which now as a Gyant doth run his vnwearied
 course, should as it were through a languishing faintnesse begin to stand and to
 rest himselfe; if the Moone should wander from her beaten way, the times and
 seasons of the yeere blend themselues by disordered and confused mixture, the
 Winds breathe out their last gaspe, the Clouds yeeld no Raine, the Earth be de-
 feated of Heauenly Influence, the Fruits of the Earth pine away as Children at
 the withered breasts of their Mother, no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what
 would become of Man himselfe, whom these things now doe all serue? See wee
 not plainly that obedience of Creatures vnto the Law of Nature is the stay of
 the whole World? Notwithstanding, with Nature it commeth sometimes to
 passe as with Art: Let *Phidias* haue rude and obstinate stufte to carue, though his
 Art doe that it should, his Worke will lacke that beautie which otherwise in fi-
 tter matter it might haue had. Hee that striketh an Instrument with Skill, may
 cause not withstanding a very vnpleasant sound, if the String whereon hee stri-
 keth chance to be vnpeapeable of Harmonic. In the matter whereof things nat-
 urall

Psal. 19. 5.

Theophrast. in
Metaph.

turall consist, that of *Theophrastus* taketh place, Πολύ τὸ ἐκ ὑπακῶν ὑδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εἶν, *Much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no meanes yeeld to receiue that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gaue themselves vnto the contemplation of nature amongst the Heathen, obserued often: but the true originall cause thereof, diuine malediction, laid for the linne of man vpon these creatures which God had made for the vse of man; this being an article of that sauing truth which God hath reuealed vnto his Church, was aboute the reach of their meerely naturall capacitie and vnderstanding. But howfoeuer these swarings are now and then incident into the course of nature, neuerthelesse so constantly the Lawes of nature are by naturall agents obserued, that no man denyeth but those things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwayes or for the most part after one and the same manner. If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her owne Law, we must haue recourse to that higher Law wherof we haue already spoken, and because all other Lawes doe thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall neede for brieue resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certayne exemplarie draughts or patternes, which subsisting in the bosome of the Highest, and being thence discouered, shee fixeth her eye vpon them, as Trauellers by Sea vpon the Pole-starre of the world, and that according thereto shee guideth her hand to worke by imitation: although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, that *each thing both in small and in great fulfilleth the taske which destinie hath set downe*: and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, *What they doe they know not, yet is it in shew and appearance, as though they did know what they doe, and the truth is, they doe not discern the things which they looke on*: neuerthelesse, for as much as the workes of nature are no lesse exact, then if shee did both behold and studie how to expresse some absolute shape or mirror alwayes present before her; yea, such her dexteritie and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to doe that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be, but nature hath some Director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes.

Arist. Rhet. I.
cap. 39.

Τὸν πεπραγμένον
νῦν μοιρίων ἑ-
καστον ἐκπληροῖ
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον.
ὁ σπριόσασιν ἐκ
ὁδῶσιν, ὁ δὲ
πρῆσασιν δεκτέ-
σιν ἐπὶ ἐνάσι καὶ
δ' αὖ μὲν ὁρῶσι
ἢ γνῶσκησι.

Act. 17. 28.

* Forme in o-
ther creatures,
is a thing pro-
portionable
vnto the soule
in liuing crea-
tures. Sensible
it is not, nor o-
therwise dis-
cernable, then
only by effects.
According to
the diuersitie
of inward
formes, things
of the world
are distingui-
shed into their
kinds.

Who the guide of Nature, but onely the God of Nature? *In him we liue, moue, and are.* Those things which nature is said to doe, are by diuine Arte performed, vsing Nature as an instrument: nor is there any such Arte or Knowledge diuine in Nature her selfe working, but in the guide of natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall, which are not in the number of voluntarie Agents (for of such onely we now speake and of no other) doe so necessarily obserue their certayne Lawes, that as long as they keepe those * formes which giue them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to doe otherwise then they doe; seeing the kindes of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the seuerall ends for which they serue, they themselves in the meane while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe, nor why: it followeth that all which they doe in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth vp, and euen actually frameth the same. The manner of this diuine efficiencie being farre aboue vs, we are no more able to conceiue by our reason, then creatures vnreasonable by their sense

fense are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affaires. Onely thus much is discerned, that the naturall generation and processe of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the fetled stabilitie of diuine vnderstanding. This appointeth vnto them their kinds of working, the disposition whereof in the puritie of Gods owne knowledge and will is rightly termed by the name of *Pronidence*. The same being referred vnto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the Ancient to be called *naturall destinie*. That law the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authentickall, or an originall draught written in the bosome of God himselfe; whose spirit being to execute the same, vseth every particular nature, every meere naturall agent, onely as an instrument created at the beginning, and euer since the beginning vsed to worke his owne will and pleasure withall. Nature therefore is nothing else but Gods instrument: in the course whereof *Dionysius* perceiuing some luddaine disturbance, is said to haue cried out, *Aut Deus natura patitur, aut mundi machina dissoluitur*, Either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater then himselfe hindred; or if that be impossible, then hath he determined to make a present dissolution of the World, the execution of that law beginning now to stand still, without which the world cannot stand. This workman whole seruitor nature is, being in truth but onely one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gaue him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the ayre the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Nepitune*, in the earth the name of *Vesta*, and sometimes of *Ceres*; the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moon the name of *Diana*, the name of *Aeolus*, and diuers other in the winds; and to conclude, euen so many guides of Nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of things naturall in the world. These they honored, as hauing power to worke or cease according as men deserued of them. But vnto vs there is one onely guide of all agents naturall, and he both the creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored and honoured by all for euer. That which hitherto hath bene spoken, concerneth naturall agents considered in themselves. But wee must further remember also (which thing to touch in a word shall suffice) that as in this respect they haue their Law, which Law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their owne perfection: so likewise another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts vnited into one bodie; a Law which bindeth them each to serue vnto others good, and all to preferre the good of the whole before whatsoeuer their owne particular; as we plainly see they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall wont, that which is heauie mounting sometime vpwards of it owne accord, and forsaking the center of the earth, which to it selfe is most naturall, euen as if it did heare it selfe commanded to let goe the good it priuately wissheth, and to relieue the present distresse of Nature in common.

4 But now that we may lift vp our eies (as it were) from the footstoolle to the throne of God, and leauing these naturall, consider a little the state of heauenly and diuine creatures; touching Angels which are spirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious Inhabitants of those sacred Pallaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortalitie, no shadow of matter for teares, discontentments, griefes, and vncomfortable passions to worke vpon, but all ioy, tranquillitie, and

Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. Cap. 3.

Omne quod mouetur ab aliquo est quasi instrumentum quoddam primi mouentis. Ridiculum est autem etiam apud indoctos ponere instrumentum moueri non ab aliquo principali agente.

The law which Angels doe worke by. *Psal. 104. 4. Heb. 1. 7. epb. 3. 10.*

Dan. 7. 10.
 Matth. 26. 53.
 Heb. 12. 22.
 Luc. 2. 13.

Matth. 6. 10.

Matth. 18. 10.

Pfal 91. 11. 12.

Luc. 15. 7.

Heb. 1. 14.

Al. 10. 3.

Dan. 9. 23.

Matth. 18. 10.

Dan. 4. 10.

Σὸ δὲ ἄγγε-
 λος ἐστὶν ἰσ-
 ραῦτος πολυ-
 μίχθου ἄγ-
 γελος, ὁ οἶσι με-
 λους ἐρεθίσ-
 ῃς παῖσι τὴν
 λίστα.

Arift. Metaph.

1. cap. 7.

Ioh. 38. 7.

Matth. 28. 10.

Pfal. 148. 2.

Heb. 1. 6.

Esa. 6. 3.

This is intima-

ted whene cloa-

uer we finde

them referred

the sources of

God: as Iob 1.

6. and 38. 7.

3. Pet. 2. 4.

Ep. Iud. vers. 6.

Pfal 148. 2.

Luc. 2. 13.

Matth. 26. 53.

Pfal. 148. 2.

Heb. 12. 22.

Apoc. 22. 9.

and peace, euen for euer and euer doe dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mightie, and royall armies; so likewise in perfection of obedience vnto that Law, which the Higheft, whom they adore, loue, and imitate, hath imposed vpon them; such obseruants they are thereof, that our Saviour himselte beeing to set down the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more, then onely that heere it might bee with vs, as with them it is in heauen. God which moueth meece naturall agents as an efficient onely, doth otherwise moue intellectuall creatures, and especially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of so great excellencie they all adore him; and beeing rapt with the loue of his beautie, they cleaue inseparably for euer vnto him. Desire to resemble him in goodnesse, maketh them vnweariable, and euen vnvariable in their longing to do by all means all maner good vnto all the creatures of God, but especially vnto the children of men; in the countenance of whose nature looking downward they behold themselues beneath themselues, euen as vpward in God, beneath whom themselues are, they see that character which in no where but in themselues and vs resembled. Thus farre euen the Painims haue approched; thus farre they haue seene into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confessing, that the fierie throne of God is attended on by those most industrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongst men; and the mirror of humane wisdom plainely teaching, that God moueth Angels, euen as that thing doth stirre mans heart, which is thereunto presented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced vnto these three general kinds; first, most delectable loue, arising from the visible apprehension of the puritie, glorie, and beautie of God, inuisible sauing onely vnto Spirits that are pure; secondly adoration, grounded vpon the euidence of the greatnesse of God, on whom they see how all things depend; thirdly, imitation, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodnes, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heauen and earth with the rich treasures of most free and vnderferued grace. Of Angels we are not to consider onely what they are, and doe, in regard of their owne being; but that also which concerneth them as they are lincked into a kind of corporation amongst themselues, and of societie or fellowship with men. Consider Angels each of them seuerally in himselfe, and their Law is that which the Prophet *David* mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praise him*. Consider the Angels of God associated, and their Law is that which disposeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree about an other. Consider finally the Angels as hauing with vs that communion which the *Apottle* to the Hebrewes noteth, and in regard whereof Angels haue not disdaind to profess themselves our *fellow-seruants*; from hence there springeth vp a third Law, which bindeth them to works of ministeriall employment. Euerie of which their seuerall functions are by them performed with ioy. A part of the Angels of God notwithstanding (we know) haue fallen, and that their fall hath bene through the voluntarie breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable vertue. Impossible it was that euer their will should change or encline to remit any part of their dutie, without some object having force to auert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection

of blisse, wherein now the elect Angels are without possibilitie of falling. Of any thing more then of God they could not by any meanes like, as long as whatsoeuer they knew besides God, they apprehended it not in it selfe without dependencie vpon God; because so long God must needs seeme infinitely better then any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented vnto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see alwayes how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to sinne, but by reflex of their vnderstanding vpon themselves; when being held with admiration of their owne sublimity and honour, the memorie of their subordination vnto God, and their dependencie on him was drowned in this conceipt; whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God, could not choosē but be also interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride. Since their fall, their practises haue bene the cleane contrary vnto those before mentioned. For being dispersed some in the ayre, some on the earth, some in the water, some amongst the minerals, dennes, and caues, that are vnder the earth: they haue by all meanes laboured to effect an vniuersall rebellion against the lawes, and as farre as in them lyeth, vter destruction of the workes of God. These wicked spirits the Heathens honoured in stead of Gods, both generally vnder the name of *Dij inferi* Gods infernall; and particularly, some in Oracles, some in Idolles, some as household Gods, some as Nymphes; in a word, no foule and wicked spūit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world, and dissolued the workes of the diuel. Thus much therefore may suffice for Angels, the next vnto whom in degree are men.

Iohn 8. 44.
1. Pet. 5. 8.
Apoc. 9. 11.
Gen. 3. 15.
1. Ebr. 0. 21. 1.
Iob 1. 7. or 2. 5.
Iohn 13. 27.
Act. 5. 3.
Apoc. 10. 8.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is whatsoeuer hee may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now hee is not; all other things besides are somewhat in possibilitie, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be: and when they are it, they shall be perfecter then now they are. All which perfections are contained vnder the generall name of *Goodnesse*. And because there is not in the world any thing where by another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Againe, sith there can be no goodnesse desired which proceedeth not from God himselfe, as from the supreme cause of all things: and euerie effect doth after a sort containe, at leastwise resemble the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seeke the highest, and to couet more or lesse the participation of God himselfe. Yet this doth no where so much appeare as it doth in man: because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodnesse is that generall perfection which all things do seeke, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coueting, as much as may be, to be like vnto God in being euer, that which cannot hereunto attayne personally, doth seeke to continue it selfe another way, that is, by off-spring and propagation. The next degree of goodnes, is that which each thing couereth by affecting resemblance with God, in the constancie and excellencie of those operations which belong vnto their kind. The immutabilitie of God they striue vnto, by working cyther alwayes or for the

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

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀπίστανται
Arii. de an.
lib. 2. cap. 9.

most

Εν τοῖς οὐρα
 δει το βελτιον
 εαν ενδεχεν
 ται υπαρχεν
 μαλλον η ουσις
 δει ποιει των
 ενδεχμενων
 το βελτιον.
 Ari. de cal.
 cap. 5.
 Math. 5. 48.
 Ser. 7. 27.

η δε τοιαυτη
 ψυχη κερει
 ουδ εποτε εχει
 υμωσα ενση-
 ματα τε ων
 τας ανδρωπων
 κληροις κερ-
 ροις παντας
 υποισα, μι-
 μιμνη αυτις
 τον πατερα.

Mens first be-
 ginning to
 grow to the
 knowledge of
 that law which
 they are to
 obserue. Vide
 Isa. 7. 16.

most part after one and the same manner; his absolute exactnes they imitate, by tending vnto that which is most exquisite in euery particular. Hence haue risen a number of axiomes in Philosophie, shewing, how *The workes of nature doe alwaies aime at that which cannot be bettered.* These two kinds of goodnes rechar- ged, are so neerely vnited to the things themselues which desire them, that wee scarcely perceiue the appetite to stirre in reaching foorth her hand towards them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more appa- rent; especially of such as are not expressely desired vnlesse they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause then for knowledge it selfe desired. Con- cerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of vertue, man amongst the creatures of this inferiour world, aspireth to the greatest conformitie with God; this is not only knowne vnto vs, whom hee himselfe hath so instructed, but euen they doe ac- knowledge, who amongst men are not iudged the neereft vnto him. With *Plato* what one thing more vsual, then to excite men vnto the loue of wisdome, by shewing how much wise men are thereby exalted aboue men; how knowledge doth raise them vp into heauen; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and diuine? And *Mercurius Trismegistus* (speaking of the vertues of a righteous soule, *Such spirits* (saith he) *are neuer cloyed with prai- sing and speaking well of all men, with doing good vnto euerie one by word and deed, because they studie to framē themselues according to THE PATERNE of the father of spirits.*

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is betweene the Angels of God and the children of men this difference. Angels already haue full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can bee imparted vnto them: men if wee view them in their spring, are at the first without vnderstanding or knowledge at all. Neuertheless from this vtter vacuities they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be euen as the Angels themselues are. That which agreeeth to the one now, the other shall attayne vnto in the end; they are not so farre dis- ioyned and seuered, but that they come at length to meete. The soule of man being therefore at the first as a booke, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steppes and degrees it riseth vnto per- fection of knowledge. Vnto that which hath bene already set downe concern- ing naturall agents this wee must adde, that albeit therein wee haue comprised as well creatures liuing, as voide of life, if they bein degree of nature beneath men; neuertheless a difference we must obserue between those naturall agents that worke altogether vnwittingly, and those which haue though weake, yet some vnderstanding what they doe, as fishes, fowles, and beastes haue. Beasts are in sensible capacitie as ripe euen as men themselues, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignitie of nature inferiour vnto plants, yet exceed them in firmeness of strength or durability of being; and plants though beneath the excellency of creatures indued with sense, yet exceed them in the facultie of ve- getation and of fertility: so beafts though otherwise behind men, may notwith- standing in actions of sense and phancie goe beyond them; because the ende- uors of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to seeke, are in lower the more remisse, not esteeming thereof so much as those thing doe, which haue no better

proposed

propofed vnto them. The foule of man therefore being capable of a more diuine perfection, hath (befides the faculties of growing vnto fenfible knowledge which is common vnto vs with beafts) a further abilitie, whereof in them there is no fhew at all, the ability of reaching * higher then vnto fenfible things. Till we grow to fome ripenefle of yeeres, the foule of man doth onely ftore it felfe with conceits of things of inferiour and more open qualitic, which afterwards doe ferue as Instruments vnto that which is greater: in the meane while about the reach of meaner creatures it afcendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing about this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in fpeech; we then count it to haue fome vfe of naturall reafon. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helpes of true Art and Learning, (which helpes I muft plainly confefle, this Age of the VVorld, carrying the name of a Learned Age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard) there would vndoubtedly bee almoft as great difference in maturitie of iudgement betweene men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as betweene men that are now and Innocents. VVhich fpeech if any condemne, as being ouer-Hyperbolicall, let them confider but this one thing. No Art is at the firft finding out fo perfect, as induftrie may after make it. Yet the very firft man that to any purpofe knew the way wee fpeake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neere in all partes of naturall knowledge, then fithence in any one part thereof, the whole VVorld befides hath done. In the pouertie of that other new-deuifed aid, two things there are notwithstanding fingular. Of maruailous quicke difpatch it is, and doth fhew them that haue it as much almoft in three dayes, as if it dwell threefcore yeeres with them. Againe, becaufe the curiofitic of mans wit doth many times with perill wade farther in the fearch of things, then were conuenient: the fame is thereby reftreined vnto fuch generalities, as euery where offering themfclues, are apparant vnto men of the weakeft conceit that need bee. So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, wee may find it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of speedie Difcourfe, and reftreaineth the mind of man that it may not waxe ouer-wife. Education and Inftitution are the meanes, the one by vfe, the other by Precept, to make our naturall facultie of reafon, both the better and the fooner able to iudge rightly betweene Truth and Error, good and euil. But at what time a man may be faid to haue attained fo farre forth the vfe of reafon, as fufficeth to make him capable of thofe Lawes, whereby hee is then bound to guide his Aftions; this is a great deale more eafie for common fenfe to difcerne, then for any man by Skill and Learning to determine: euen as it is not in Philofophers, who beft know the nature both of Fire and of Gold, to teach what degree of the one will ferue to purifie the other, fo well as the Artizan (who doth this by Fire) difcerneth by fenfe, when the fire hath that degree of heate which fufficeth for his purpofe.

7 By reafon man attaineth vnto the knowledge of things that are, and are not fenfible: It refteth therefore that we fearch how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of fuch things vnfenfible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can moue vnleffe there be fome end, the defire wherof prouoketh vnto motion; how fhould that diuine power of the Soule, that Spirit

* ο δὲ ἀνθρώπος ἔστι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μεταβαίνει, καὶ διδρασκὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πᾶντων μαζοῦ, ἐστὶν ἡ γνῶσις ἀκατάπτως ἀναγίνεται. *Metric. Trism.*
Aristotelicall demonstration

Ramiftry.

Of mans will, which is the thing that lawes of action are made to guide.

Ephes. 4. 23.

Salust.

Mat. 6. 2.

Deut. 30. 19.

of our mind, as the Apottle termeth it, euer stir it selfe vnto action, vnlesse it haue also the like spurre? The end for which we are moued to worke, is sometimes the goodnesse which we conceiue of the very working it selfe, without any further respect at all; and the cause that procureth action, is the meere desire of action, no other good besides being thereby intended. Of certaine turbulent wits it is said, *Illis quia mouere magna merces videbatur*. They thought the verie disturbance of things established, an hire sufficient to set them on worke. Sometimes that which wee doe is referred to a further end, without the desire whereof we would leaue the same vndone, as in their actions that gaue Almes to purchase thereby the prayse of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likenes of his Maker, resembleth him also in the manner of working; so that whatsoeuer wee worke as men, the same we doe wittingly worke and freely; neither are wee according to the manner of naturall Agents any way so tyed, but that it is in our power to leaue the things wee doe vndone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the verie doing it selfe, causeth not action, vnlesse apprehending it as good, wee so like and desire it. That wee doe vnto any such end, the same wee choose and preferre before the leauing of it vndone. Choice there is not, vnlesse the thing which wee take, be so in our power that wee might haue refused and left it. If fire consume the stubble, it chooseth not so to doe, because the nature thereof is such that it can doe no other. To choose, is to will one thing before another. And to will, is to bend our soules to the hauing or doing of that which they see to bee good. Goodnesse is seene with the eye of the vnderstanding. And the light of that Eye, is Reason. So that two principall fountaines there are of humane action, *Knowledge* and *will*; which will in things tending towards any end, is termed *Choice*. Concerning Knowledge, Behold, sayth MOSES, *I haue set before you this day good and euill, life and death*. Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Choose life*; that is to say, the things that tend vnto life, them choose. But of one thing we must haue speciall care, as being a matter of no small moment, and that is, how the will properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred vnto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour naturall desire which wee call appetite. The obiect of appetite is, whatsoeuer sensible good may be wished for; the obiect of will is, that good which Reason doth lead vs to seeke. Affections, as ioy, and grieffe, and feare, and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and formes of appetite, can neyther rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with affections or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the will, are in the power thereof to bee performed or staied. Finally, appetite is the wils Sollicitor, & the will is appetites Controuler; what we couet according to the one, by the other we often reiect: neither is any other desire termed properly will, but that where reason and vnderstanding, or the shew of reason, prescribeth the thing desired. It may be therefore a question, whether those operations of men are to bee counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible prouoketh appetite, and appetite causeth action, Reason being neuer called to counsell; as when we eate or drinke, or betake our selues vn-

to rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men hauing attayned to the vse of reason are voluntarie. For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen in those things which are done without their priuie, and are of so meane reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like sort voluntarily we are said to doe that also, which the will if it listed might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof wee doe not expressely vse our Reason or Vnderstanding, and so immediately apply our wils thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the will doth yeeld her assent, as it were with a kinde of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparant, as in expresse Mandates or Prohibitions, especially vpon aduice and consultation going before. Where vnderstanding therefore needeth in those things, Reason is the Director of mans will, by discovering in action what is good. For the Lawes of wel-doing are the Dictates of right Reason. Children which are not as yet come vnto those yeeres wheratt they may haue; againe, Innocents which are excluded by naturall defect from euer hauing: Thirdly, mad men which for the present cannot possibly haue the vse of right Reason to guide themselves, haue for their guide the Reason that guideth other men, which are Tutors ouer them, to seeke and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light of Reason, whereby good may bee knowne from euill, and which discovering the same, rightly is termed right. The will notwithstanding doth not incline to haue or doe that which Reason teacheth to be good, vnlesse the same doe also teach it to be possible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wish any thing which seemeth good, bee it neuer so impossible: yet for such things the reasonable will of man doth neuer seeke. Let Reason teach impossibilitie in any thing, and the will of man doth let it goe; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibilitie thereof being manifest. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular obiect whatsoeuer being presented vnto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect so good, but it may haue the shew of some difficultie or vnpleasant qualitie annexed to it; in respect whereof the will may shrinke and decline it: contrariwise (for so things are blended) there is no particular euill which hath not some appearance of goodnesse whereby to insinuate it selfe. For euill as euill cannot be desired: if that be desired which is euill, the cause is the goodnesse which is or seemeth to bee ioyned with it. Goodnesse doth not mooue by being, but by being apparant; and therefore many things are neglected which are most precious, onely because the value of them lyeth hid. Sensible goodnesse is most apparant, neere, and present; which causeth the appetite to bee therewith strongly prouoked. Now pursuit and refusall in the will doe follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodnesse; which the vnderstanding apprehendeth, grounding it selfe vpon sense, vnlesse some higher reason doe chance to teach the contrary. And if reason haue taught it rightly to be good, yet not so apparantly that the minde receiueth it with vtter impossibilitie of being otherwise; still there is place left for the will to take or leaue. Whereas therefore amongst so many things as are to bee done, there are so few, the goodnesse whereof reason in such sort doth or easily can discover; wee are not to maruaile at the choice of euill, euen then when

*O mihi preteritos referat silu-
picter annos!*

*Εἰ δὲ τις ἐπὶ
κακίαν ὀρμῆ,
πρῶτον μὲν εἶχ
ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν
αὐτῆς ὀρμίσσει
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ'
ἀγαθῶν.*

*Paulo post.
Ἀδύνατον γὰρ
ὄρμην ἐπὶ κακῷ
βουόμενος εἶχεν
αὐτὰ, ὅτε ἐλπί-
σι ἀγαθῶν, ὅτε
ὄρμω μισήσους
κακῷ.*

*Alcin. de dog-
mat. Plat.*

the contrarie is probably knowne. Hereby it commeth to passe, that custome inuring the minde by long practice, and so leauing there a sensible impressiō, preuaileth more then reasonable perswasion what way so euer. Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, & yet the will of man not incline it selfe thereunto, as oft as the preiudice of sensible experience doth ouerthrow. Nor let any man thinke that this doth make any thing for the iust excuse of iniquitie. For there was neuer sinne committed, wherein a lesse good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot bee done without the singular disgrace of nature, and the vtter disturbance of that diuine Order, whereby the preeminence of chiefest acceptation is by the best things worthily challenged. There is not that good which cōcerneth vs, but it hath euidence enough for it selfe, if reason were diligent to search it out. Through neglect thereof, abused we are with the shew of that which is not; sometimes the subtiltie of Satan inueagling vs, as it did ^a *Eue*; sometimes the hastines of our wils preventing the more considerate aduice of sound reason, as in ^b the Apostles, when they no sooner saw what they liked not, but they forth with were desirous of fire from Heauen; sometimes the very custome of euil, making the heart obdurate against whatsoeuer instructions to the contrarie, as in them ouer whom our Sauour spake weeping, *O Ierusalem, how often, and thou wouldst not?* Still therefore that where with we stand blameable, and can no way excuse it, is, In doing euill, we preferre a lesse good before a greater, the greatnes whereof is by reason inuestigable and may be knowne. The search of knowledge is a thing painfull; and the painfulnesse of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereunto. The roote hereof, diuine malediction; whereby the ^d instruments being weakened wherewithall the soule (especially in reasoning) doth worke, it preferreth rest in ignorance, before wearisome labour to know. For a spurre of diligence therefore we haue a naturall thirst after knowledge ingrafted in vs. But by reason of that originall weaknesse in the instruments, without which the vnderstanding part is not able in this World by discourse to worke, the very conceit of painfulnesse is as a bridle to stay vs. For which cause the Apostle who knew right well, that the wearinesse of the flesh is an heauie clog to the will, striketh mightily vpon this Key, *Awake, thou that sleepest, Cast off all which presseih downe, Watch, labor, strine to go forward & to grow in knowledge.*

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent of discouering the naturall way, whereby Rules haue bin found out concerning that goodnes wherewith the wil of man ought to be moued in humane actions; As every thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the vtmost good and greatest perfection wherof nature hath made it capable, euen so man. Our felicitie therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choise but wish and couet it. All particular things which are subiect vnto action, the will doth so farre forth incline vnto, as reason iudgeth them the better for vs, & consequently the more auailable to our blisse. If reason erre, we fall into euill, and are so farre forth deprived of the generall perfection we seeke. Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions, the knowledge of good from euill is necessary; it onely resteth that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the euill by. For he that knoweth

what

a ² *Cor.* 11. 3.

b *Luke* 9. 51.

c *Mat.* 23. 37.

d *Sap.* 9. 15.

A corruptible bodie is heavy vnto the soule, and the carnally Mansion keepeth downe the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we discern the things that are vpon

Earth, & with great labour find we out the things which are before vs.

Who can then seeke out the things that are in Heauen?

Ephes. 5. 14.

Heb. 12. 1. 2.

1. Cor. 16. 15.

Pro. 2. 4.

Luke 13. 24.

Of the naturall way of finding out Lawes by reason, to guide the will vnto that which is good.

what is straight, doth euen thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straightnesse in bodies capable thereof is crookednesse. Goodnesse in actions is like vnto straitnesse; wherefore that which is done well we terme right. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that trauaileth, because by it he cometh soonest to his iourneyes end: so in action, that which doth lye the euenest betweene vs and the end wee desire, must needs bee the fittest for our vse. Besides which fitnesse for vse, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquitie, deformitie. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not onely delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most diuinely haue giuen to the active perfection of men, a name expressing both beautie and goodnesse, because goodnesse in ordinary speech is for the most part applyed onely to that which is beneficiall. But we in the name of goodnesse, doe heere imploy both. And of discerning goodnesse there are but the two wayes; the one the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other the obseruation of those signes and tokens, which being annexed alwayes vnto goodnesse, argue that where they are found, there also goodnesse is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard that all shun it, and had rather walke as men doe in the darke by hap hazard, then tread so long and intricate Mazes for knowledge sake. As therefore Physicians are many times forced to leaue such Methods of curing as themselves know to bee the fittest, and being ouer ruled by their Patients impatience are faine to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto: in like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present age full of tongue and weake of braine, behold wee yeeld to the streame thereof, into the causes of goodnesse we will not make any curious or deepe inquirie; to touch them now and then it shall bee sufficient, when they are so nere at hand that easily they may be conceiued without any farre removed discourse: that way we are contented to proue, which being the worse in it selfe, is not withstanding now by reason of common imbecility the fitter and likelier to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of sundry kindes: some more certaine, and some lesse. The most certaine token of euident goodnesse is, if the generall perswasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common receiued error is neuer vnterly ouerthrowne, till such times as we goe from signes vnto causes, and shew some manifest roote or fountayne thereof common vnto all, whereby it may cleerly appeare how it hath come to passe that so many haue beene ouer-seene. In which case surmises and sleight probabilities will not serue; because the vniuersall consent of men is the perfectest and strongest in this kind which comprehendeth onely the signes and tokens of goodnesse. Things casuall do varie, and that which a man doth but chance to thinke well of, cannot still haue the like hap. Wherefore although wee know not the cause, yet thus much wee may know, that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the iudgements of all men generally or for the most part runne one and the same way, especially in matters of naturall discourse. For of things necessarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, *They keep either alwayes or for the most part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the sentence of God himselfe.

τὸ εὐσεβὲς καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔστι καὶ σπουδαίον ἡμῶν κριτὴς γὰρ αὐτὸ φῶς ὁ καρπὸν ἀριστοκρατίας.

Καλοκράτεια.

ἡ δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπιτελοῦσα αὐτῶν ἀποβαίνει.

a Non p̄stet
 error contingere,
 ubi omnes idem
 opinantur.
 Monticar.
 in 1. Polit.
 Quicquid in
 omnibus indivi-
 duis unius speci-
 ei communiter
 inest, id causam
 communem ha-
 beat oportet, que
 est eorum indivi-
 duorum species
 & natura. Idem
 Quod à tota ali-
 qua specie fit, u-
 niuersalis parti-
 cularisque natu-
 re fit inflinãu.
 Ficin. de Cbrist.
 Relig.

Si proficere cu-
 pis, primo firmè
 id verum puta
 quod sana mens
 omnium homi-
 num atestatur.
 Cusa. in com-
 pend. cap. 1.
 Non licet natu-
 rale uniuersalè
 que hominum
 iudicium falsum
 vanumque ex-
 istimare. Teleſ.
 Ο γὰρ ἀδελ-
 φοί, τὸ το εἶ-
 ναι φεσμέν, ὃ δὲ
 ἀναρπών τὰς ψυ-
 χὰς αἰσιν, οὐ
 εὖ δύναται ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐπεῖ. Arist. Eth.
 10. cap. 2.
 b Rom. 2. 14.

Ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ-
 ρουῶν τὸ λόγον,
 ἀναρπῶν τὸ λόγον.
 Theophan
 Metaph.

3. Cor. 4. 17.

selfe. ^a For that which all men haue at all times learned, Nature her selfe must needs haue taught; and God being the Author of Nature, her voyce is but his instrument. By her from him we receiue whatsoeuer in such sort we learne. Infinite duties there are, the goodnes whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although wee had no other warrant besides to approue them. The Apostle S. Paul hauing speech concerning the Heathen faith of them, ^b *They are a law vnto themselves.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of reason, wherewith God illuminateth euery one which commeth into the world, men being inabled to know Truth from falshood, and good from euill, doe thereby learne in many things what the will of God is, which will himselfe not reuealing by any extraordinary means vnto them, but they by naturall discourse attayning the knowledge thereof, seeme the makers of those Lawes which indeed are his, and they but onely the finders of them out. A Law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule vnto goodnesse of operation. The rule of diuine operations outward, is the definitiue appointment of Gods owne Wisedome set downe within himselfe. The rule of naturall agents that worke by simple necessity, is the determination of the Wisedome of God, knowne to God himselfe the principall director of them, but not vnto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of naturall agents which worke after a sort of their owne accord, as the beaſts doe, is the iudgement of common sense or fancie concerning the sensible goodnesse of those obiects wherwith they are moued. The rule of ghostly or immateriall natures, as Spirits and Angels, is their intuitiue intellectuall iudgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodnes of that obiect, which with vnspokeable ioy and delight doth set them on worke. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the sentence that reason giueth concerning the goodnesse of those things which they are to doe. And the sentences which reason giueth, are some more, some lesse generall, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The main principles of reason are in themselves apparent. For to make nothing euident of it selfe vnto mans vnderstanding, were to take away all possibilitie of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophrastus* is true, *They that seek a reason of all things doe utterly ouerthrow reason.* In euery kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed, the mind doth presently imbrace them as free from all possibilitie of error cleere and manifest without prooffe. In which kind, axiomes or principles more generall are such as this, *That the greater good is to be chosen before the lesse.* If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harme, and couet whatsoeuer is pleasant and sweete, should bee commaunded to count the pleasures of sinne, gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith vertuous actions are compact, yet still to reioyce and delight in them; surely this could neuer stand with reason: but that Wisdome thus prescribing, groundeth her Lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue; and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they draw after them is vnspokeable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the Wisdome of the Apostle buildeth a Law, inioyning patience vnto himselfe; *The present lightnesse of our affliction worketh vnto vs euē with abundance vpon abundance an eternall waight*

waight of glory, while we looke not on the things which are seene, but on the things which are not seene. For the things which are seene are temporal, but the things which are not seene eternall. Therefore Christianitie to be embraced, whatsoeuer calamities in those times it was accompanied withall. Vpon the same ground our Sauiour proueth the Law most reasonable, that doth forbid those crimes which men for gaines sake fall into. For a man to win the World, if it be with the losse of his soule, what benefit or good is it? Axiomes lesse generall, yet so manifest that they need no further prooffe, are such as these, *God to be worshipped, Parents to be honored, Others to be vsed by vs as we ourselues would by them.* Such things, as soone as they are alleaged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no prooffe or further discourse to bee assured of their goodnesse. Notwithstanding whatsoeuer such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, and drawne from out of the very bowels of Heauen and Earth. For we are to note, that things in the World are to vs discernable, not onely so farrre forth as serueth for our vitall preseruation, but further also in a two-fold higher respect. For first if all other vses were vtterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature speculatiue and delighted with contemplation in it selfe, they were to bee knowne euen for meere knowledge and vnderstandings sake. Yea further besides this, the knowledge of euery the least thing in the World, hath in it a second peculiar benefit vnto vs, in as much as it serueth to minister Rules, Canons, and Lawes for men to direct those actions by, which wee properly terme humane. This did the very Heathens themselues obscurely insinuate, by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right, to be the Daughter of Heauen and Earth. We know things either as they are in themselues, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference vnto himselfe, and other things in relation vnto man, I may iustly terme the Mother of all those principles, which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees in that law of nature, whereby humane actions are framed. First therefore hauing obserued that the best things, where they are not hindered, doe still produce the best operations; (for which cause where many things are to concurre vnto one effect, the best is in all congruities of reason to guide the residue, that it preuailing most, the worke principally done by it may haue greatest perfection:) when hereupon we come to obserue in our selues, of what excellencie our soules are in comparison of our bodies, and the diuiner part in relation vnto the baser of our soules; seeing that all these concurre in producing humane actions, it cannot bee well vnlesse the chiefeft doe command and direct the rest. The soule then ought to condict the bodie, & the spirit of our mindes the soule. This is therefore the first Law, whereby the highest power of the minde requireth generall obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it vnto action. Touching the seuerall graund Mandates, which being imposed by the vnderstanding facultie of the mind, must be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the same method found out, whether they import our dutie towards God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not heere stand to open, by what degrees of discourse the minds euen of meere naturall men, haue attayned to know, not onely that there is a God, but also what power, force, wisdome and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that knowne relation

Mat. 6. 26.

Arist. Polit. 1.
cap. 5.

a Ουδεις θεος
 δδσος ανθρω-
 πωις Plat.in
 Theat.
 b Οτι γαρ
 θεος δοκει το
 αιτιον πασι
 ειναι η αληθεια
 Arist. Meteor.
 lib.1. cap. 2.
 c Αλλ' ομοιω-
 κσα τις τεις
 γε δηραντες
 υσοιη κατα
 βαρυ σωφο-
 ρυνης μετεγυ-
 σος, επι παση
 ορμη η μικρη η
 μεγαλη παρα-
 μωτος θεου εει
 πε καλιστα.
 Plat.in Tim.
 d Arist. Ethic.
 lib.8. cap. vi.
 e Deut. 6. 5.
 f Mat. 22. 38.

relation which God hath vnto vs^a as vnto children, and vnto all good things as vnto effects, whereof himselve is the^b principall cause, these axiomes and Lawes naturall concerning our dutie haue arisen; *That in all things we goe about, his aid is by Praier to be craued;* ^d *That he cannot haue sufficient honor done vnto him, but the vttermost of that we can do to honor him we must;* which is in effect the same that we read, *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind.* Which Law our Sauour doth terme the^e *First and the great Commandement.* Touching the next, which as our Sauour addeth is like vnto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largenes, in as much as it is the root out of which all Lawes of duty to men-ward haue growne, as out of the former all offices of Religion towards God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to know, that it is their duty no lesse to loue others then themselues. For seeing those things which are equal, must needs all haue one measure: if I cannot but wish to receiue all good, euen as much at every mans hand as any man can wish vnto his own soale, how should I look to haue any part of my desire herein satisfied, vnlesse my selfe bee careful to satisfie the like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To haue any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieue them as much as mee: so that if I doe harme, I must looke to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of loue to mee, then they haue by mee shewed vnto them. My desire therefore to be loued of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth vpon me a naturall dutie of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equalitie betweene our selues and them that are as our selues, what seuerall rules and Canons naturall reason hath drawne for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely, *That because we would take no harme, we must therefore do none; That sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must our selues auoid all extremitie in our dealings; That from all violence and wrong we are vtterly to abstaine,* with such like; which further to waile in would bee tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessarie, seeing that on these two generall heads already mentioned, all other specialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall measure whereby to iudge our doings, is the sentence of reason, determining and setting downe what is good to bee done. Which sentence is either mandatoric, shewing what must bee done; or else permissiue, declaring onely what may be done; or thirdly admonitoric, opening what is the most conuenient for vs to doe. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether betweene doing & not doing of one thing which in it selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had bene for *Ioseph* to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd Mistris, the one euill, the other good simply. The second is, when of diuers things euill, all being not euitable, wee are permitted to take one; which one sauing only in case of so great vrgency were not otherwise to bee taken; as in the matter of diuorce amongst the Iewes. The last, when of diuers things good, one is principall and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feete, which possessions they might haue retained vnto themselues without sinne; againe in the Apostle *Saint Pauls* owne choyce to maintayne himselfe by his owne labour, whereas in

g Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non potest. I. in arenam C. de inof. test. Quod quisque iuris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem vti debet. I. quod quisq. Ab omni penitus iniuria atque vti abstinentium. I. I. §. 1. quod vti, aut clam.
 Matt. 22. 40.
 On these two Commandements hang the whole law.
 Gen. 30. 9.
 Mat. he 10. 4.
 Acts 4. 37.
 Acts 5. 4.

2. Thef. 3. 8.

living

huing by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had beene no offence committed. In goodnes therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to passe that euen of good actions some are better then other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excell another, but all should bee either absolutely good, as hitting iumpe that indiuisible point or center wherein goodnesse consisteth, or else missing it, they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomnesse and oftennesse of doing well. But the nature of goodnesse being thus ample, a Law is properly that which reason in such sort defineth to bee good that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or Humane Nature is that, which men by discourse of naturall reason haue rightly found out themselves to be all for euer bound vnto in their actions. Lawes of Reason haue these marks to be knowne by. Such as keepe them, resemble most liuely in their voluntarie actions, that very manner of working which Nature her selfe doth necessarily obserue in the course of the whole World. The works of Nature are all behoouefull, beautifull, without superfluitie or defect: euen so theirs, if they be so framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, those lawes are inuestigable by reason, without the help of reuelation supernaturall and diuine. Finally, in such sort they are inuestigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the World hath alwaies beene acquainted with them; according to that which one in *Sophocles* obserueth concerning a branch of this Law, *It is no Child of two daies or yesterdaies birth, but hath beene no man knoweth how long sit hence.* It is not agreed vpon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not so vnderstand, as if euery particular man in the whole World did know and confesse whatsoeuer the Law of Reason doth containe; but this Law is such, that being proposed, no man can reiect it as vnreasonable and vniust. Againe, there is nothing in it, but any man (hauing naturall perfection of wit, and ripenesse of iudgement) may by labour and trauaile find out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are such, as it is not easie to finde men ignorant of them. Law Rationall therefore, which men commonly vse to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which humane Nature knoweth it selfe in reason vniuersally bound vnto, which also for that cause may be termed most fitly the law of Reason: this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their naturall vnderstanding euidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be befecming or vnbesecming, vertuous or vicious, good or euill for them to doe. Now, although it be true, which some haue said, that whatsoeuer is done amisse, the Law of Nature and Reason therby is transsgrest; because euen those offences which are by their speciall qualities breaches of supernaturall Lawes, doe also, for that they are generally euill, violate in generall that principle of Reason, which willeth vniuersally to flie from euill: yet doe we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to containe in it all manner Lawes whereunto reasonable creatures are bound; but (as hath beene shewed) we restraine it to those onely duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either doe or might vnderstand to be such duties as concerne all men. *Certayne halfe-waking men there are (as Saint Augustine noteth) who neither altogether asleepe in folly, nor yet thorowly awake in the light of true vnderstanding, haue thought that there is not at all any thing iust and righteous in it selfe: but looke wherewith Nations are inured,*

ὁ γὰρ τι νῦν
τὸ καλὸν,
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ποτα
Σὴν τῆτο κ' ἔ-
δῆς ὄψεν ἐξ
οὔτου ἐάν, *Sopho-
Ausi.*

Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 3. Omnia peccata sunt in vniu- sum contra rationem & naturam legem, Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 12. cap. 1. Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est. Doct. Christi. lib. 3. cap. 14.

the

the same they take to be right and iust. Whereupon their Conclusion is, that seeing each sort of people hath a different kinde of right from other, and that which is right of it owne nature, must be emery where one and the same, therefore in it selfe there is nothing right. These good folke (saith he, that I may not trouble their wits with rehearfall of too many things) haue not looked so farre into the world as to perceiue, that, Doe as thou wouldst be done vnto, is a sentence which all Nations vnder heauen are agreed vpon. Refer this sentence to the loue of God, and it extinguisheth all haynous crimes: refer it to the loue of thy Neighbour, and all grieuous wrongs it banisheth out of the world. Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) Saint Augustines iudgement, namely, that there are in it some things which stand as Principles vniuersally agreed vpon: and that out of those Principles, which are in themselves euident, the greatest morall duties we owe towards God or Man, may without any great difficultie be concluded. If then it be here demanded, by what meanes it should come to passe (the greatest part of the Law morall being so easie for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding haue beene ignorant euen of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sinne: I denie not, but lewd and wicked custome, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force euen in plaine things to smother the light of naturall vnderstanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they haue beene accustomed, be good or euill. For examples sake, that grosser kinde of Heathenish Idolatric, whereby they worshipped the very works of their owne hands, was an absurditie to reason so palpable, that the Prophet *Dauid* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almost no oddes betweene them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other, *They that make them are like vnto them, and so are all that trust in them.* That wherein an Idolater doth seeme so absurd and foolish, is by the Wiseman thus exprest, *He is not ashamed to speake vnto that which hath no life; He calleth on him that is weake, for health; He prayeth for life vnto him, which is dead; Of him, which hath no experience, he requireth helpe; For his iourney he sueth to him, which is not able to goe; For gayne, and worke, and successe in his affaires, he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cause of which senselesse stupiditie is after wards imputed to custome: *When a father mourned grieuously for his sonne that was taken away suddenly, he made an Image for him that was once dead, whom now he worshipped as a God, or dayning to his seruants ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus by proesse of time this wicked custome preuailed, and was kept as a Law; the authoritic of Rulers, the ambition of Crafts-men, and such like meanes thrusting forward the ignorant, & increasing their superstition.* Vnto this which the Wiseman hath spoken, somewhat besides may be added. For what soeuer we haue hitherto taught, or shal hereafter, concerning the force of mans naturall vnderstanding, this wee alwayes desire withall to be vnderstood, that there is no kinde of facultie or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetuall ayde and concurrence of that supreme cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as wee cause God in his iustice to with-draw, there can no other thing follow then that which the Apostle noeth, euen men indued with

with the light of Reason to walke notwithstanding in the vanitie of their minde, Ephes. 4. 17. having their cogitations darkened, and being strangers from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, because of the hardnesse of their hearts. And this cause is mentioned by the Prophet *Esay*, speaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who see not how the manifest Law of Reason condemneth their grosse iniquitie & sinne. They haue not in them, saith he, so much wit as to thinke, *Shall I bow to the Stocke of a tree? All Knowledge and Vnderstanding is taken from them. For God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see.* Esay 44. 18, 19. That which we say in this cause of Idolatry, serueth for all other things, wherein the like kind of generall blindnesse hath preuailed against the manifest Lawes of Reason. Within the compasse of which Lawes we doe not onely comprehend what soeuer may be easily knowne to belong to the duty of all men; but euen what soeuer may possibly be knowne to be of that qualitie, so that the same be by *necessarie* consequence deduced out of cleere and manifest principles. For if once wee defend vnto probable collections what is conuenient for men, we are then in the Territorie where free and arbitrarie determinations, the Territorie where humane Lawes take place, which Lawes are after to be considered.

9 Now the due obseruation of this Law which Reason teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good: that obserue the same. For wee see the whole World and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth onely that worke which is naturall vnto it, it thereby preferueth both other things, and also it selfe. Contrariwise, let any principall thing, as the Sunne, the Moone, any one of the Heauens or Elements, but once cease or faile, or swarue; and who doth not easily conceiue that the sequell thereof would be ruine both to it selfe, and what soeuer dependeth on it? And is it possible that man, being not onely the noblest Creature in the World, but euen a very World in himselfe, his transgressing the Law of his Nature should draw no manner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulation and anguish vnto euerie soule that doth euill.* Good doth follow vnto all things by obseruing the course of their nature, and on the contrarie side euill by not obseruing it: but not vnto naturall Agents that good which wee call *Reward*, not that euill which we properly terme *Punishment*. The reason whereof is, because amongst creatures in this World, only mans obseruation of the Law of his nature is *Righteousnesse*, onely mans transgression *Sinne*. And the reason of this is, the difference in his manner of obseruing or transgressing the Law of his nature. Hee doth not otherwise then voluntarily the one or the other. What wee doe against our wils, or constrainedly, wee are not properly said to doe it; because the motiue cause of doing it is not in our selues, but carrieth vs, as if the wind should driue a Feather in the Aire, wee no whit furthering that whereby wee are driuen. In such cases therefore the euill which is done, moueth compassion; men are pittied for it, as being rather miserable in such respect then culpable. Some things are likewise done by man, though not through outward force and impulsion, though not against, yet without their wils; as in alienation of mind, or any the like ineuitable vtter absence of wit and iudgement. For which cause, no man did euer thinke the hurtfull actions of furious Men and Innocents to bee punishable. Againe, some things wee doe neither against nor without, and yet not simply and meere-ly with

The benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.

with our wills; but with our wills in such sort moued, that albeit there be no impossibilitie but that wee might, neuerthelesse wee are not so easily able to doe otherwise. In this consideration one euill deede is made more pardonable then another. Finally, that which we doe being euill, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing, or the difficultie of doing otherwise is greater; vnlesse this necessitie or difficultie haue originally risen from our selues. It is no excuse therefore vnto him, who being drunke committeth incest, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne; in as much as himselfe might haue chosen whether his wits should by that meane haue bene taken from him. Now rewards and punishments doe alwayes presuppose some thing willingly done well or ill; without which respect though wee may sometimes receiue good or harme, yet then the one is onely a benefite, and not a reward; the other simply an hurt, not a punishment. From the sundrie dispositions of mans will, which is the roote of all his actions, there groweth varietie in the sequel of rewards and punishments, which are by these and the like rules

measured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By these and the like Rules mens actions are determined of and iudged, whether they be in their owne nature rewardable or punishable. Rewards and punishments are not receiued, but at the hands of such as being about vs, haue power to examine and iudge our deedes. How men come to haue this authoritie one ouer another in externall actions, wee shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all doe acknowledge, that sith eucry mans heart and conscience doth in good or euill, euen secretly committed and knowne to none but it selfe, either like or disallow it selfe, and accordingly either reioyce, very nature exulting as it were in certaine hope of reward, or else grieue as it were in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case bee looked for from any other, sauing onely from him, who discerneth and iudgeth the very secrets of all hearts: therefore he is the onely Rewarder and Reuenger of all such actions, although not of such actions onely, but of all whereby the Law of nature is broken, whereof himselfe is Author. For which cause, the Romane Lawes, called the Lawes of the twelue Tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach vnto, threaten the Neglecters of them with none but diuine punishment.

IO That which hitherto we haue set downe, is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishnes, which imagine that Religion & Vertue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harme vnto our selues, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how nature it selfe teacheth Lawes and Statutes to liue by. The lawes which haue bin hitherto mentioned, do bind men absolutely, euen as they are men, although they haue neuer any settled fellowship, neuer any soleme agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do. But for as much as we are not by our selues sufficient to furnish our selues with competent store of things needfull for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignitie of man: therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in vs liuing single and solely by our selues, we are naturally induced

Voluntate sub-
lata, omnem a-
ctum parem esse.
l. scilicet in man-
C. de Adult.
bonam volun-
tatem p'ueniūq;
proficere repu-
tari l. si quis in
Testament.

Diuos casū ad-
emto, pietatem
adhibento. Qui
secus faxit, Deus
ipse vindex erit.
How Reason
doth leade
men vnto the
making of hu-
mane Lawes,
whereby politi-
que societies
are gouerned,
and to agree-
ment about
Lawes, where-
by the Fellow-
ship or Commu-
nion of in-
dependent so-
cietie standeth.
Ετι γάρ ο μαν-
τασοςται τι
παλιες ενσφ
κοινον δικαιοσ
νη αδικον κιν
μνησμελια κωνο-
νια προς αλλη-
λους η μανδ
συνθηκη.
Aryst. Rhet. 1.

to seeke communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of mens v-
niting themselves at the first in politique societies, which societies could not bee
without government, nor government without a distinct kind of law from that
which hath beene already declared. Two foundations there are which beare vp
publique societies; the one, a naturall inclination, wherby all men desire sociable
life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed vpon, touching
the manner of their vnion in liuing together. The later is that which we call the
law of a common-weale, the very soule of a politique body, the parts wherof are
by law animated, held together, and set on worke in such actions as the common
good requireth. Lawes politique, ordained for externall order and regiment a-
mongst men, are neuer framed as they should be, vnlesse presuming the will of
man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and auerse from all obedience vnto the
sacred Lawes of his nature; in a word, vnlesse presuming man to be in regard of
his depraued minde, little better then a wild beast, they doe accordingly provide
notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they bee no hinderance
vnto the common good for which societies are instituted: vnlesse they do this,
they are not perfect. It resteth therefore that we consider how nature findeth out
such laws of government, as serue to direct euen nature depraued to a right end.
All men desire to leade in this world an happy life. The life is led most happily,
wherin all vertue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle in exhorting
men to contentment, although they haue in this world no more then verie
bare food and raiment, giueth vs thereby to vnderstand, that those are euen the
lowest of things necessary, that if we should be stripped of all those things with-
out which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these
is such an impediment, as till it be remoued, suffereth not the mind of man to ad-
mit any other care. For this cause first God assigned *Adam* maintenance of life,
& then appointed him a law to obserue. For this cause after men began to grow
to a number, the first thing we reade they gaue themselves vnto, was the tilling of
the earth, and the feeding of cattle. Hauing by this meane whereon to liue, the
principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religi-
on. True it is, that the Kingdome of God must be the first thing in our purposes
and desires. But in as much as righteous life presupposeth life, in as much as to
liue vertuously it is impossible except we liue; therefore the first impediment,
which naturally we endeouour to remoue, is penury and want of things without
which we cannot liue. Vnto life many implements are necessary; moe, if we seek
(as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it ioy, comfort, delight, & pleasure.
To this end we see how quickly sundry Arts Mechanicall were found out in the
verie prime of the World. As things of greatest necessitie are alwayes first
provided for, so things of greatest dignitie are most accounted of by all such as
iudge rightly. Although therefore Riches be a thing which euery man with-
eth; yet no man of iudgement can esteeme it better to bee rich, then wise,
vertuous, and religious. If wee bee both or eyther of these, it is not because
we are so borne. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the o-
ther, as naked in minde as wee are in body. Both which necessities of man had
at the first no other helpes and supplies, then onely domesticall; such as that
which the Prophet implieth, saying, *Can a mother forget her childe?* Such as that

1.Tim.6.8.

Gen.1.29.

Gen.2.17.

Gen.4.2.

Gen.4.26.

Mat.6.33.

Gen.4.20&21-22

Esay.49.15.

1 Tim. 5. 8.
Gen. 18. 19.

Gen. 4. 8.

Gen. 6. 5.
Gen. 5.

2. Pet. 2. 5.

Arist. Pol. lib. 3.
c. 4.

which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, *He that careth not for his owne is worse then an Infidell*; such as that concerning ABRAHAM, *Abraham will command his sonnes and his household after him, that they keepe the way of the Lord.* But neyther that which we learne of our selues, nor that which others teach vs can preuayle, where wickednesse and malice haue taken deepe roote. If therefore when there was but as yet one onely Family in the World, no meanes of instruction humane or diuine, could prevent effusion of blood: how could it bee chosen but that when Families were multiplied and increased vpon earth, after separation, each prouiding for it selfe, enuy, strife, contention, and violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not nature furnished man with wit and valour, and as it were with armour, which may bee vsed as well vnto extreame euill as good? yea, were they not vsed by the rest of the world vnto euill; vnto the contrarie onely by *Seth, Enoch*, and those few the rest in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquitie of our times: not vniustly; for the dayes are euill. But compare them with those times, wherein there were no ciuill societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of publike regiment established, with those times wherein there were not aboue eight righteous persons liuing vpon the face of the earth: and wee haue surely good cause to thinke that God hath blessed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs behold most happy daies. To take away all such mutuall greouances, iniuries and wrongs, there was no way but onely by growing vpon composition and agreement amongst themselues, by ordaining some kinde of gouernement publike, and by yeelding themselves subiect thereunto; that vnto whom they graunted authority to rule and gouerne, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and iniury was offered, they might be defendours of themselues; they knew that howsoeuer men may seeke their owne commoditie, yet if this were done with iniury vnto others, it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good meanes to be withstood; finally, they knew that no man might in reason take vpon him to determine his own right, and according to his owne determination proceede in maintenance thereof, in as much as euery man is towards himselfe, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endlesse, except they gaue their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree vpon: without which consent, there were no reason that one man should take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another; because although there be, according to the opinion of some verie great and iudicious men, a kinde of naturall right in the noble, wise, and vertuous, to gouerne them which are of seruite disposition; neuerthelesse for manifestation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to bee gouerned, seemeth necessary. To Fathers within their priuate Families, Nature hath giuen a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the World, euen from the first foundation thereof, all men haue ever bin taken as Lords and lawfull Kings in their owne houses. Howbeit ouer a whole grand multitude, hauing no such dependency vpon any one, and consisting of so many Families as euery politique society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should haue complete lawfull power, but by consent of men, or immediate appoynt-

ment

ment of God; because not hauing the natural superiority of Fathers, their power must needs be eyther vsurped, and then vnlawfull; or if lawfull, then eyther granted or consented vnto by them ouer whom they exercise the same, or else giuen extraordinarily from God, vnto whom all the World is subiect. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the Arch-Philosopher was of, that as the chiefest person in euery household was alwayes as it were a King; so when numbers of households ioyned themselues in Ciuil Societies together, Kings were the first kind of Governours amongst them. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason, why the name of *Father* continued still in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers: as also the ancient custome of Governours to doe as *Melchisedec*, and being Kings to exercise the office of Priests, which Fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion. Howbeit not this the onely kind of Regiment that hath bin receiued in the World. The inconueniences of one kind, haue caused fundry other to be deuised. So that in a word all publike Regiment, of what kind soeuer, seemeth evidently to haue risen from deliberate aduice, consultation and composition betweene men, iudging it conuenient and behooffull; there being no impossibilitie in nature considered by it selfe, but that men might haue liued without any publike Regiment. Howbeit the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not denie but that the Law of Nature doth now require of necessity some kind of Regiment; so that to bring things vnto the first course they were in, and vtterly to take away all kind of publike Government in the World, were apparantly to ouerturn the whole World. The case of mans nature standing therefore as it doth, some kind of Regiment the Law of nature doth require, yet the kinds thereof being many, nature yeth not to any one, but leaueh the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first when some certaine kind of Regiment was once approued, it may be that nothing was then further thought vpon for the manner of governing, but all permitted vnto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule;* till by experience they found this for all parts verie inconuenient, so as the thing which they had deuised for a remedie, did indeed but increase the sore which it should haue cured. They saw that to liue by one mans will, became the cause of all mens miserie. This constrained them to come vnto Lawes, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them.* If things be simply good or euill, and withall vniuersally so acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for such things. The first kind therefore of things appointed by Lawes humane, containeth what soeuer being in it selfe naturally good or euill, is notwithstanding more secret then that it can be discerned by euery mans present conceit, without some deeper discourse and iudgement. In which Discourse, because there is difficultie and possibility many waies to erre, vnlesse such things were set downe by Lawes, many would bee ignorant of their duties which now are not; and many that know what they should do, would neuerthelesse dissemble it, and to excuse themselues pretend ignorance and simplicitie, which now they cannot. And because the greatest part of men are such as preferre their owne priuate good before all things, euen that good which is sensuall, before whatsoeuer is most Diuine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one, and proner to the

Arist. Polit. l. 1. cap. 2. Vide et Platonem in 3. de legibus.

* *Cum preme- retur ini. mul- titudo ab ijs qui maiores op. s habebant, ad vnum aliquem consue- giebant, virtute prestantem; qui cu prohiberet iniuriã seniores, equitate consuetudã summos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inuenta Cic. Offic. lib. 2. τὸ γυνάεσι τιμῶν καὶ φίλων ἐπιποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐσπέρηταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ὁμοῖα ὑποπράσσειν τοῖς ἀδράμοις οἱ γέγραμμι μὲν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ἐνδύς ἀσπράξω καὶ κοινῶ νόμοι νομιέταις.*

Arist. Rhetic. ad Alex.
* *Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut et ignorantiam protelet in occasionem, et conscientiam corruptas in dissimulationem. Tertull. lib. 2. Spectacul.*

other then that duty prescribed thē by Law can preuaile sufficiently with them: therefore vnto Lawes that men doe make for the benefit of men, it hath seemed alwayes needfull to adde Rewards, which may more allure vnto good then any hardnesse deterreth from it; and punishments, which may more deterre from euill then any sweetnesse thereto allureth. Wherein as the generalitie is naturall, *Virtue rewardable, & Vice punishable*: so the particular determination of the reward or punishment, belongeth vnto them by whom Lawes are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is Positiue, and such lawfull, as men shall thinke with discretion conuenient by Law to appoint. In Lawes that which is naturall bindeth vniuersally, that which is positiue not so. To let goe those kind of Positiue Lawes, which men impose vpon themselues, as by vow vnto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make vnto our purpose, a little more fully to consider, what things are incident into the making of the Positiue Lawes for the Government of them that liue vnitid in publicke Societie. Lawes doe not onely teach what is good, but they inioyne it, they haue in them a certaine constraining force. And to constraine men vnto any thing inconuenient, doth seeme vnreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to deuise Lawes which all men shall be forced to obey, none but Wisemen be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall consequence; men of common capacitie, and but ordinary iudgement, are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of Regiment. Wee cannot be ignorant how much our obedience vnto Lawes dependeth vpon this point. Let a man, though neuer so iustly, oppose himselfe vnto them that are disordered in their wayes, and what one amongst them commonly doth not stomake at such contradiction, storme at reproofe, and hate such as would reforme them? Notwithstanding euen they which brooke it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by a Law, thinke very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the Law doth speake with all indifferency, that the Law hath no side-respect to their persons, that the Law is as it were an Oracle proceeded from wisdom & vnderstanding. Howbeit, Lawes do not take their constraining force from the qualitie of such as deuise them, but from that power which doth giue them the strength of Lawes. That which wee spake before concerning the power of Government, must here be applyed vnto the power of making Lawes whereby to gouerne; which power God hath ouer all; and by the natural Law wherunto he hath made all subiect, the lawfull power of making Lawes, to command whole Politike Societies of men, belongeth so properly vnto the same intire Societies, that for any Prince or Potentate, of what kind foener vpon earth, to exercise the same of himselfe, and not eyther by expresse Commission immediatly & personally receiued from God, or else by authoritie deriued at the first from their consent vpon whose persons they impose Lawes, it is no better then mere tyrannie. Lawes they are not therefore which publicke Approbation hath not made so. But Approbation not onely they giue who personally declare their assent by voyce, signe, or act, but also when others doe it in their names, by right originally at the least deriued from them. As in Parliaments, Councils, and the like Assemblies, although we be not personally our selues present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of others agents there

in our behalfe. And what wee doe by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no lesse effectually to bind vs then if our selues had done it in person. In many things assent is giuen, they that giue it not imagining they doe so, because the maner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute Monarke commandeth his subiects that which seemeth good in his owne discretion, hath not his edict the force of a law, whether they approve or dislike it? Againe, that which hath been receiued long sithence, and is by custome now established, we keepe as a Law which we may not transgresse; yet what consent was euer thereunto sought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally haue no full and perfect power to command whole politike multitudes of men; therefore vterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no mans commandement liuing. And to be commaunded we doe consent, when that society whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without reuoking the same after by the like vniuersall agreement. Wherefore as any mans deed past is good as long as him selfe continueth: so the acte of a publique society of men done fise hundred yeares sithence, standeth as theirs, who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal: we were then aliue in our Predecessors, and they in their Successors do liue still. Lawes therefore humane, of what kinde soeuer, are auailable by consent. If here it be demanded how it commeth to passe, that this being common vnto all Lawes which are made, there should be found euen in good Lawes so great variety as there is: we must note the reason hereof to be, the sundrie particular ends, whereunto the different disposition of that subiect or matter for which Lawes are provided, causeth them to haue especiall respect in making Lawes. A Law there is mentioned amongst the Grecians, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to haue bene Authour: and by that Law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drinke did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober. No man could euer haue thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby onely to punish the iniury committed, according to the grauity of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harm aduisedly done is naturally lesse pardonable, and therefore worthy of sharper punishment? But for as much as none did so vsually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, euen because they would be so much the more freely outrageous: it was for their publique good where such disorder was growne, to frame a positiu law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertaineth those knowne lawes of making lawes; as that Law-makers must haue an eye to the place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of lawes cannot serue for all kinds of regiment: that where the multitude beareth sway, lawes that shall tend vnto the preseruation of that state, must make common smaller offices to goe by lot, for feare of strife and diuision likely to arise, by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, & not missed without grudge and discontentment, whereas at an vncertaine lot none can finde themselves grieued on whom soeuer it lighteth; contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to passe by popular election, that neither the people may eniue such as haue those honours, in as much as themselues bestow them, and

*Arist. polit. lib.
2. cap. ult.*

that the chiefeft may bee kindled with defire to exercife all parts of rare and beneficiall vertue; knowing they fhall not lofe their labour by growing in fame and eftimation amongst the people: if the helme of chiefe gouernement bee in the handes of a few of the wealthieft, that then Lawes prouiding for continuance thereof muft make the punifhment of contumely and wrong offered vnto any of the common fort, fharp and grieuous, that fo the cuill may bee prevented, whereby the rich are moft likely to bring themfelues into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take fo great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their perfons are contumeliously troden vpon. In other kindes of regiment the like is obserued concerning the difference of pofitiue Lawes, which to bee euerie where the fame is impoffible and againft their nature. Now as the learned in the Lawes of this Land obserue, that our Statutes fometimes are onely the affirmation or ratification of that which by common Law was held before: fo heere it is not to be omitted, that generally all Lawes humane which are made for the ordering of politiques Societies, be either fuch as eftablifh fome dutie whereunto all men by the Law of Reason did before ftand bound; or elfe fuch as make that a dutie now which before was none. The one fort wee may for diftinction fake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerely* humane. That which playne or neceffarie reason bindeth men vnto, may bee in fundrie confiderations expedient to be ratified by human law. For example, if confufion of blood in marriage, the libertie of having many wiues at once, or any other the like corrupt and vnreasonable cuftome doth happen to haue preyuailed farre, and to haue gotten the vpper hand of right reason with the greateft part; fo that no way is left to rectifie fuch foule diforder, without prefcribing by law the fame things which reason neceffarily doth enforce, but is not perceiued that fo it doth; or if many be growne vnto that which the Apofle did lament in fome, concerning whom he writeth, faying, that *Euen what things they naturally know, in thofe verie things as Beafts void of reason, they corrupted themfelues*; or if there be no fuch fpeciall accident, yet for as much as the common fort are led by the fway of their fenfuall defires, and therefore doe more fhun finne for the fenfible cuils which follow it amongst men, then for any kind of fentence which reason doth pronounce againft it: this verie thing is caufe fufficient why duties belonging vnto each kinde of vertue, albeit the law of reason teach them, fhould notwithstanding bee prefcribed euen by humane Law. Which Law in this cafe we terme *mixt*, becaufe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the fame which reason neceffarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reason it differeth in the manner of binding onely. For whereas men before ftood bound in confcience to doe as the Law of Reason teacheth; they are now by vertue of humane Law become conftainable, & if they outwardly tranfgrefle, punifhable. As for Lawes which are *meerely* humane, the matter of them is any thing which Reason doth but probably teach to be fit and conuenient; fo that till fuch time as Law hath paffed amongst men about it, of it felfe it bindeth no man. One example whereof may bee this: Landes are by humane Law in fome places after the owners deceafe, diuided vnto all his children; in fome, all descendeth to the eldeft fonne. If the Law of Reason did neceffarily require but

Staudf. pref.
to the Pleas of
the Crowne.

Επιτ.Ιυδ.υ.ιο.
ἔτι πολλοὶ ἀνάσ-
κει μάλλον ἢ
λόγον περὶ θάρ-
ρυσι καὶ ἡμι-
αιε δ τῶ καλῶ.
Arist. Ethic. lib.
10 cap. 10.

but the one of these two to be done, they which by Law haue receiued the other, should be subiect to that heauy sentence, which denounceth against all that decree wicked, vniust, and vnreasonable things, *uoc.* Whereas now which soeuer be receiued, there is no law of reason transgress; because there is probable reason why either of them may be expedient, and for eyther of them more then probable reason there is not to be found. Lawes whether mixtly or meerly humane are made by politike societies: some, onely as those societies are ciuilly vnited; some, as they are spirituallly ioyaed and make such a body as wee call the Church. Of Lawes humane in this latter kind wee are to speake in the third Booke following. Let it therefore suffice thus farre to haue touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciously endued our nature, and thereby inabled the same to find out both those Lawes which all men generally are for euer bound to obserue, and also such as are most fit for their behoofe who leade their liues in any ordered State of Government. Now besides that Law which simply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth vnto them as they are men linked with others in some forme of politike societie; there is a third kinde of Law which toucheth all such seuerall bodies Politicke, so farre forth as one of them hath publike commerce with another. And this third is the *Law of Nations*. Betweene men and beasts there is no possibilitie of sociable communion; because the well-spring of that communion is a naturall delight which man hath to transfuse from himselfe into others, and to receiue from others into himselfe, especially those things wherein the excellency of this kinde doth most consist. The chiefeft instrument of humane communion therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable vnderstanding. And for that cause seeing beasts are not hereof capable; for as much as with them wee can vse no such conference, they being in degree although about other creatures on Earth to whom Nature hath denyed sense, yet lower then to be sociable companions of man to whom Nature hath giuen reason; it is of *Adam* said that amongst the beasts *He found not for himselfe any meete companion.* Ciuill societie doth more content the nature of man, then any priuate kind of solitary liuing; because in societie this good of mutuall participation is so much larger then otherwise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we couet (if it might be) to haue a kinde of societie and fellowship euen with all Mankinde. Which thing *Socrates* intending to signifie, professed himselfe a Citizen, not of this or that Commonwealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very naturall desire in vs, (a manifest token that wee wish after a sort an vniuersall fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderfull delight men haue, some to visit forreine Countries, some to discover Nations not heard of in former Ages; wee all to know the affaires and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for trafficks sake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more strong; but for such cause also as moued the Queene of Saba to visit *Salomon*; and in a word because Nature doth presume that how many men there are in the World, so many Gods as it were there are, or at leastwise such they should be towards men. Touching Lawes which are to serue men in this behalfe; euen as those Laws of reason, which (man retaining his ori-

Esay 10.1.

Arist. pol. 1. c. 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. T. Busc. 5. c. 1. de Legib.

1. Reg. 10. 1.

2. Chron. 9. 1.

Mat. 13. 42.

Luke 11. 31.

ori-

originall integrity) had bin sufficient to direct each particular person in al his affaires and duties, are not sufficient but require the accessse of other laws, now that man and his offspring are growne thus corrupt and sinfull, againe as those lawes of Polity & Regiment, which would haue serued men living in publike society together with that harmlesse disposition which then they should haue had, are not able now to serue when mens iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds: in like manner the nationall lawes of naturall cōmerce between societies of that former & better quality might haue bin other then now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, iniury and wrong. Hereupon hath growne in euery of these three kindes, that distinction betweene *Primary* and *Secondary* Lawes; the one grounded vpon sincere, the other built vpon depraued nature. Primary lawes of nations are such as concerne embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of Forreiners & Strangers, such as serue for commodious traffick, and the like. Secondary lawes in the same kind, are such as this present vnquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with, I meane lawes of Armes; which yet are much better known then kept. But what matter the law of nations doth containe I omit to search. The strength & vertue of that law is such, that no particular nation can lawfully preiudice the same by any their feuerall lawes and Ordinances, more then a man by his priuate resolutions the Law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherein he liueth. For as ciuill Law being the act of a whole body Politique, doth therefore ouer-rule each feuerall part of the same body: so there is no reason that any one Commonwealth of it selfe, should to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause the Lacedemonians forbidding al accessse of strangers into their Coasts, are in that respect both by *Iosephus* & *Theodoret* deservedly blamed, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanities sake all the nations on earth should embrace. Now as there is great cause of communion, and consequently of lawes for the maintenance of communion amongst Nations: so among Nations Christian the like in regard euen of Christianity hath bene alwaies iudged needfull. And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations, the force of general Councils doth stand. For as one and the same law diuine, whereof in the next place we are to speake, is vnto all Christian Churches a rule for the chiefeest things, by meanes whereof they all in that respect make one Church, as hauing all but *one Lord, one Faith, & one Baptisme*: so the vrgent necessitie of mutuall communion for preferuation of our vnity in these things, as also for order in some other things conuenient to be euery where vniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth haue her Lawes of spiritual commerce betweene Christian Nations. Lawes by vertue whereof all Churches may enioy freely the vse of those reuerend religious and sacred consultations, which are termed Councils generall. A thing whereof Gods own blessed Spirit was the Author; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselues; a thing alwayes afterwards kept and obserued throughout the World; a thing neuer otherwise then most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition and tyranny began by factious and vile endeavors, to abuse that diuine inuention vnto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the iust authority of ciuill Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometime there is cunning vsed to frame them ac-

*Iose. lib. 2. contra
Appian.
Theod. lib. 9. de
sanand. Grac.
affect.*

Ephes. 4. 5.

Acts 15. 28.

ording to the priuate intents of men ouer-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grieuous abuse which hath beene of Councils, should rather cause men to studie how so gracious a thing may againe bee reduced to that first perfection, then in regard of stains and blemishes sithence growing, be held for euer in extreme disgrace. To speake of this matter as the cause requireth, would require very long discourse. All I will presently say, is this: Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto diuine Law bindeth vs, but yet in such sort, that men are not thereof on all sides resolued; or for the setting downe of some vniforme iudgement to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessitie, are notwithstanding offensiu and scandalous when there is open opposition about them; bee it for the ending of strifes touching matters of Christian beleefe, wherein the one part may seeme to haue probable cause of dissenting from the other; or bee it concerning matters of Politie, order and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselues to those heauenly precepts, which our Lord and Sauour with so great instancie gaue as concerning peace and vnitie, if we did all concur in desire to haue the vse of ancient Councils againe reued, rather then these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endlesse, or bring them to one onely determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword. It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adioyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to be spoken of, namely, wherefore God hath himselfe by Scripture made knowne such lawes as serue for direction of men.

Ioh. 14. 27.

II All things (God onely excepted) besides the nature which they haue in themselues, receiue externally some perfection from other things, as hath beene shewed. In so much as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of vse, it may vnto our perfectō adde somewhat. And whatsoeuer such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same wee properly terme our good; our soueraigne good or *blesseednes*, that wherin the highest degree of al our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained vnto, there can rest nothing further to be desired, & therefore with it our soules are fully content & satisfied, in that they haue they reioyce & thirst for no more: wherefore of good things desired, some are such that for themselues we couet them not, but only because they serue as instruments vnto that for which we are to seeke; of this sort are riches: another kinde there is, which although we desire for it selfe, as health, & vertue, & knowledge, neuertheles they are not the last marke whereto we aime, but haue their further end whereunto they are referred; so as in them we are not satisfied as hauing attained the vtmost we may, but our desires doe still proceede. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another: we labour to eate, and wee eate to liue, and wee liue to doe good, and the good which we doe, is as seede sowne^a with reference vnto a future harvest. But we must come at the length to some pawse. For if euery thing were to bee desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certaine end proposed vnto our actions, we should goe on we know not whither, yea whatsoeuer wee doe, were in vaine, or rather nothing at all were possible to bee done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being, were to annihilate vtterly our persons;

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made knowne such supernaturall lawes, as doe serue for mens direction.

^a Gal. 6. 8. He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life euertlasting.

persons; so we cannot remoue the last finall cause of our working, but wee shall cause whatfoeuer we worke to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for it selfe simply and for no other. That is simply for it selfe desirable, vnto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation vnto any other. The Ox and the Ass desire their food, neither propose they vnto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for it selfe; but why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it: whereas that which is desired simply for it selfe, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred vnto a further end. Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is vnto that end conuenient: but what he conueth as good in it selfe, towards that his desire is euer infinite. So that vnlesse the last good of all which is desired altogether for it selfe, be also infinite; wee doe euill in making it our end: euen as they who placed their felicitie in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or any thing here attainyd; because in desiring any thing as our finall perfection, which is not so, we doe amisse. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite. For the better, the more desirable; that therefore most desirable, wherein there is infinite of goodnesse; so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God: therefore he our felicitie and blisse. Moreover desire tendeth vnto vni- on with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and coniunction with him. Againe, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which haue it, vnlesse they inioy the thing wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enioy God, as an object wherein the powers of our soules are satisfied euen with euerlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being vnto God vnited, we liue as it were the life of God. Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attaine, so far as possibly may be attainyd the full possession of that which simply for it selfe is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, we are subiect vnto sundrie * imperfections, griefe of body, defects of minde; yea, the best things we doe are painfull, and the exercise of them grieuous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist, forced we are with very wearinesse, and that often, to interrupt them; which tediousnesse cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of blisse, when our vnion with God is complete. Complete vnion with him must be according vnto euery power and facultie of our minds, apt to receiue so glorious an object. Capable we are of God both by vnderstanding and will; by vnderstanding, as he is that Soueraigne truth, which comprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisdom: by will, as he is that Sea of goodnesse, whereof who- so tasteth, shall thirst no more. As the will doth now worke vpon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtainyd; so like- wise vpon the same hereafter receiued it shall worke also by loue. *Appetitus inhi-*

Vide Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 10. & Metaph. 12. cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

* Μόνον ὡ Ἀ-
σκήπτει τὸ ὄνο-
μα τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν
ἀνθρώποις τὸ
ἔργον οὐδαμῶς,
τὸ μὴ λίαν κα-
κῶν, ἐν δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ
ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ.
Τὸ δ' ἐνθάδε
ἀγαθὸν, μέρι-
ον τῶ καλῶ τὸ
ἐλευθέρου.
Ἀδύνατον ἔν
τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐν-
θάδε καθαρῶ-
ς εἶναι τῆς κακίας,
κατὰ δὲ χάριν
ἔχει τὸ θεῶ
τῶ εἰς πᾶν μὲν
βαλόντι τί τε
γνώστας τῶ ἀ-
γαθῷ, ὅτι ἀδι-
ναστον εἶναι αὐτὸ
ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ
κόσμος πληρω-
ματὶς τῆς κα-
κίας, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ θεῶς
ἀγαθῷ, ἢ τὸ ἀ-
γαθῶν δεῖν,
μενεῖται. Trif
...
An. de Trin.
lib. 9. cap. 14.

Where-

Where-

Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit vnto vs; we shall then loue the thing that is good, onely or principally for the goodnes of beauty in it selfe. The soule being in this sort as it is actiue, perfected by loue of that infinite good; shall as it is receptiue, be also perfected with those supernaturall passions of ioy, peace, and delight. All this endlesse and euerlasting. Which perpetuitie, in regard whereof our blessednes is termed *a crowne which withereth not*, doth neither depend vpon the nature of the thing it selfe, nor proceede from any naturall necessitie that our soules shoud so exercise themselves for euer in beholding and louing God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Vnder man no creature in the world is capable of felicitie and blisse; first, because there chiefest perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, as ours doth; secondly, because whatsoever externall perfection they tend vnto, it is not better then themselves, as ours is. How iust occasion haue wee therefore euen in this respect with the Prophet to admire the goodnesse of God; Lord, what is man that thou shouldest exalt him above the workes of thy handes, so farre as to make thy selfe the inheritance of his rest, and the substance of his felicity? Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should haue it? All men haue. Therefore this desire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to doe the same: how should it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remissely? So that our desire being naturall, is also in that degree of earnestnesse whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God shoud frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtaine? It is an axiome of nature, that naturall desire cannot vtterly be frustrate. This desire of ours being naturall should be frustrate, if that which may satisfie the same were a thing impossible for man to aspire vnto. Man doth seeke a triple perfection, first a sensuall, consisting in those things which very life it selfe requireth, eyther as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectuall, consisting in those things which none vnderneath man is either capable of, or acquainted with; lastly, a spirituall and diuine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural meanes here, but cannot here attaine vnto them. They that make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle to haue no God, but onely their belly, to be earthly minded men. Vnto the second they bend themselves, who seeke especially to excell in all such knowledge and vertue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of morall and ciuill perfection. That there is somewhat higher then either of these two, no other prooffe doth need, then the very proesse of mans desire, which being naturall should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot doe. For man doth not seeme to rest satisfied either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserued, or with performance of such actions as aduance him most deseruedly in estimation; but doth further couet, yea oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestnes, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vitall vse; that which exceedeth the reach of sense; yea somewhat aboue capacity of reason, somewhat diuine and heauenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth then conceiueth, somewhat it seeketh, & what that

Mat. 25. The iust shall goe into life euerlasting.

Mat. 22. They shall be as the Angels of God

2 Tim. 4. 8.

1. Pet. 1. 4.

Psal. 8.

Comment. in psalm. 2. Ad act. 1. 1.

Phil. 3. 19.

is directly it knoweth not; yet very intencie desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other knowne delights and pleasures are laide aside, they giue place to the search of this but onely suspected desire. If the soule of man did serue onely to giue him being in this life, then things appertayning vnto this life would content him, as wee see they doe other creatures: which creatures inioying what they liue by, seeke no further, but in this contentation doe shew a kinde of acknowledgement, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong vnto them. With vs it is otherwise. For although the Beauties, Riches, Honors, Sciences, Vertues, and perfections of all men liuing, were in the present possession of one: yet somewhat beyond and aboue all this there would still bee sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature euen in this life doth plainly claime and cal for a more diuine perfection, then either of these two that haue bene mentioned. This last and highest estate of perfection, whereof we speake, is receiued of men in the nature of a ^a reward. Rewards doe alwayes presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall meanes therefore vnto blessednesse are our workes: nor is it possible that nature should euer find any other way to saluation then onely this. But examine the workes which we doe, and since the first foundation of the World what one can say, My wayes are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to bee saued? There resteth therefore either no way vnto saluation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernaturall, a way which could neuer haue entred into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God himselve had not reuealed it extraordinarily. For which cause wee terme it the mysterie or secret way of saluation. And therefore S. Ambrose in this

^a Mat 5.12. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heauen. Aug. de doct. Christi. cap. 6 Summa merces est ut ipso perfruarur.

^b Ambros. contra Sym.

matter appealeth iustly from man to God, ^b *Cali mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignorauit, Let God himselve that made mee, let not man that knowes not himselve, bee my instructour concerning the mysticall way*

^c Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinae peritius dedissent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & priuatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirende veritatis studium contulerunt, existimantes multo esse preclarior humanarum diuinarumque rerum inuestigare ac scire rationem, quam struendo opibus aut cum inaudis honoribus inhaerere. Sed neq. adepti sunt id quod volebant, & operam simul atq. industriam perdidērunt; quia veritas, id est, arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac proprijs sensibus non potest comprehendī. Alioqui nihil inter Deam hominemq. distaret, si consilia & dispositiones illius maiestatis aeternae cogitatio efflueretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio diuina non teleceret, p̄ est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiae requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperiuit oculos eius aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut & humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, & errantē ac vagam viam consequende immortalitatis ostenderet, Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 1.

to Heauen. ^c *When men of excellent wit (saith Lactantius) had wholly betaken themselves vnto studie, after farewell bidden vnto all kind as well of priuate as publike actions, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seeke and to find out the reason of all affaires, as well Diuine as Humane, then to sticke fast in the toyle of piling vp riches, and gathering together heapes of Honors. Howbeit they both did faile of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; because truth which is the secret of the most high God, whose proper handy worke all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our owne. For God and man should be very neere Neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a suruey of the counsels and appointments*

of that Maiesty euerlasting. Which being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by it selfe should looke into the bosome of diuine Reason; God did not suffer him being desirous of the light of wisdom, to stray any longer vp and downe, and with bootlesse expense of trauell, to wander in darknesse that had no passage to get

out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and bestow vpon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donatius, to the end that man might both be cleerely conuicted of folly, and being through error out of the way, haue the path that leadeth vnto immortalitie laid plaine before him: Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus*, to shew, that God himselfe is the Teacher of the Truth, wherby is made knowne the supernaturall way of Saluation and Law for them to liue in that shall be faued. In the naturall path of euerlasting life, the first beginning is that abilitie of doing good, which God in the day of mans Creation indued him with; from hence obedience vnto the will of his Creator, absolute righteoufnesse and integritie in all his actions; and last of all, the Iustice of God rewarding the worthinesse of his deserts with the Crowne of eternall glory. Had *Adam* continued in his first estate, this had bin the way of life vnto him and all his Posteritie. Wherein I confesse not withstanding with the * wittiest of the Schoole Diuines, that if we speake of strict Iustice, God could no way haue bin bound to requite mans labours in so large & ample manner as humane felicitie doth import: in as much as the dignitie of this exceedeth so far the others value. But be it that God of his great liberallitie had determined in lieu of mans endeouours to bestow the same, by the rule of that iustice which best becometh him, namely, the iustice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with pressed and heaped & euen ouer-inlarged measure: yet could it neuer hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such iustice should adde to the nature of that reward the properie of euerlasting cōtinuance; sith possession of blisse, though it should be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountifull our good God might still appear in so rewarding the sonnes of men, albeit they should exactly performe whatsoeuer dutie their Nature bindeth them vnto. Howsoeuer God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded, must haue done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impossibilitie that the other should be looked for. The light of Nature is neuer able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of blisse, but by performing exactly the duties and workes of righteoufnesse. From Saluation therefore and life all flesh being excluded this way, behold, how the wisdom of God hath revealed a way mysticall and supernaturall, a way directing vnto the same end of life, by a course which groundeth it selfe vpon the guiltinesse of sinne, and through sinne desert of condemnation and death. For in this way the first thing is the tender compassion of God respecting vs drowned and swallowed vp in miserie, the next is Redemption out of the same by the precious death & merit of a mightie Sauour, which hath witnessed of himselfe, saying, *I am the way*, the way that leadeth vs from miserie into blisse. This supernaturall way had God in himselfe prepared before all Worlds. The way of supernaturall dutie which to vs he hath prescribed, our Sauour in the Gospell of Saint *Iohn* doth note, terming it by an excellencie, The Worke of God: ^b *This is the Worke of God, that yee beleuee in him whom he hath sent*. Not that God doth require nothing vnto happinesse at the hands of men, sauing only a naked beliefe (for Hope and Charitie we may not exclude :) but that without beliefe all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of those other diuine Vertues. Concerning Faith, the principall obiect whereof is that eternall Veritie

* Scot. lib. 4. Sent. dist. 49. 6. Loquendo de stricta iustitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quocumque merita est debitor perfectionis reddende tam intente, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam premium tali quidem iustitia qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogans in premis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessarium, quod per illam iustitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam premium; imò abundans fueret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

a Iohn 14. 6.

b Iohn 6. 29.

which hath discovered the Treasures of hidden Wisdome in Christ; concerning Hope, the highest object wherof is that euercasting goodnesse which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charitie, the finall object wherof is that incomprehenfible beautie which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Sonne of the liuing God: concerning these vertues, the first of which beginning heere with a weake apprehension of things not seene, endeth with the intuitiue Vision of God in the World to come; the second beginning heere with a trembling expectation of things farre removed, and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expresse; the third beginning heere with a weake inclination of heart towards him vnto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endlesse vnion, the mysterie wherof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope and Charitie, without which there can be no Saluation; was there euer any mention made sauing only in that Law which God himselfe hath from heauen reuealed? There is not in the Word a syllable muttered with certaine truth concerning any of these three, more then hath bin supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternall God. Lawes therefore concerning these things are supernaturall, both in respect of the manner of deliuering them which is diuine, and also in regard of the things deliuered, which are such as haue not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquitie withall.

^a The cause why so many naturall or rati-
onall Lawes are set downe in holy Scripture.

^b *Ius naturale est quod in lege & Euangelio continetur*, p. 16, l. d. 1.

12 ^a When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not reiected as needlesse. The Law of God therefore is, though principally deliuered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with Precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught euen with Lawes of Nature. In so much that ^b *Gratian* defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those generall duties, that concerne men naturally euen as they are men) termeth naturall right that which the Bookes of the Law and the Gospell doe containe. Neither is it vaine that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of Lawes in this kind. For they are either such as wee of our selues could not easily haue found out, and then the benefit is not small to haue them readily set downe to our hands; or if they bee so cleere and manifest that no man indued with reason can lightly bee ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the Schoole of Nature as seruing to proue things lesse manifest, and to induce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it selfe more hard and darke, vnlesse it should in such sort be cleered, the very applying of them vnto cases particular is not without most singular vse and profit many wayes for mens instruction. Besides, bee they plaine of themselves or obscure, the euidence of Gods owne testimonie added vnto the naturall assent of Reason concerning the certaintie of them, doth not a little comfort and confirme the same. Wherefore in as much as our actions are conuersant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to bee also of sundrie iudgements concerning that which ought to bee done: requisite it cannot but seeme the Rule of Diuine Law should herein helpe our imbecillitie, that wee might the more infallibly vnderstand what is good and what euill. The first Principles of the Law of Nature are easie, hard it were to find men ignorant of them: but concerning
the

the dutie which Natures Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so farre hath the naturall vnderstanding euen of sundry whole Nations bene darkned, that they haue not discerned, no, not grosse iniquitie to bee sinne. Againe, being so prone as wee are to fawne vpon our felices, and to bee ignorant as much as may bee of our owne deformities, without the feeling sense whereof wee are most wretched, euen so much the more, because not knowing them we cannot as much as desire to haue them taken away: how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a Law as sharp as the two-edged Sword, piercing the very closest and most vnsearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, humane Lawes by no means possible reach vnto? Hereby wee know euen secret concupiscence to be sinne, and are made fearefull to offend, though it bee but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needfull, and not impossible to be discerned by the Light of Nature it selfe, are there not many which few mens naturall capacitie, and some which no mans hath bene able to find out? They are, saith Saint *Augustine*, but a few, and they indued with great ripenesse of wit and iudgement, free from all such affaires as might trouble their Meditations, instructed in the sharpest and the subtilest points of Learning, who haue, and that very hardly, bene able to find out but onely the immortalitie of the Soule. The resurrection of the flesh what man did euer at any time dreame of, hauing not heard it otherwise then from the Schoole of Nature? Whereby it appeareth how much wee are bound to yeeld vnto our Creator the Father of all mercy eternall thanks, for that he hath deliuered his Law vnto the World, a Law wherein so many things are laid open, cleere, and manifest; as a Light which otherwise would haue bene buried in darknesse, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certaine losse of infinite thousands of Soules most vndoubtedly now saued. Wee see therefore that our soueraigne good is desired naturally, that God the Author of that naturall desire had appointed naturall means whereby to fulfill it; that man hauing vtterly disabled his nature vnto those means, hath had other reuealed from God, and hath receiued from Heauen a Law to teach him, how that which is desired naturally, must now supernaturally be attained; finally, wee see that because those later exclude not the former quite and cleane as vnecessary, therefore together with such supernaturall duties as could not possibly haue bene other wise knowne to the World, the same Law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such naturall duties as could not by Light of Nature casily haue bene knowne.

13 * In the first Age of the World God gaue Lawes vnto our Fathers, and by reason of the number of their daies, their memories serued in stead of Bookes; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being knowne to God, he mercifully relieued the same by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behooued them to be specially mindfull. In which respect wee see how many times one thing hath bene iterated vnto sundry euen of the best and wisest amongst them. After that the liues of Men were shortned, meanes more durable to preserve the Lawes of God from obliuion and corruption grew in vse, not without pre-

toritatem haberent, & que latere coperant, manifestarentur.

* The benefit of hauing Diuine Lawes written.

a Iosephus lib. secundo contra Appio. Lacademum quomodo non sunt ob impossibilitate reprehendendi, sed dilig. negligiam nuptiarum? Elsen set verò & Thebani ob eorum cum masculis planè impudentem & contra naturam; què rectè & vtiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarent, etiam suis legibus miscuere. Vide Th. 12. quæst. 49. 4. 5. 6. Lex nature sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. August. aut quisquis author est, lib. de quæst. non. & vit. iest. quis nesciat quid bene vite cõueniat, aut ignoret, quia quod sibi fieri non vult, alijs minimè debeat facere? At verò ubi naturalis lex euauit oppressa consuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, vt Dei iudicij omnes audirent: non quod penitus oblitterata est, sed quia maximã eius auctoritate carebat, idolatriæ studebatur; timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi auidæ erat concupiscencia. Data ergo lex est, vt quæ sciebantur aucto-

Exod. 24. 4.
Of c. 12.

Apoc. 1. 11.
Of 14. 13.
Aug. lib. 1. de
conf. Euan. g.
cap. vlt.

* I meane those histor-icall matters concerning the ancient state of the first World, the Deluge, the Sonnes of Noab, the children of Israels deliuerance out of Eg. pt, the life & doings of Moses their Captain, with such like: the certaine truth whereof deliuered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them onely by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them: to bee seene, is the shew of darke and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

cise direction from God himselfe. First therefore of *Moses* it is said, that hee wrote all the words of God; not by his owne private motion and deuce: for God taketh this act to himselfe, *I haue written*. Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to doe the like? Vnto the Holy Euangelist Saint *Iohn* how often expresse charge is given, *Write: write these things?* Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples, the words of Saint *Augustine* are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperauit*. Now although we doe not deny it to be a matter merely accidentall vnto the Law of God to bee written; although Writing bee not that which addeth authoritie and strength therunto: finally, though his Lawes doe require at our hands the same obedience howsoeuer they be deliuered; his providence notwithstanding which hath made principall choice of this way to deliuer them, who seeth not what cause we haue too admire and magnifie? The singular benefit that hath growne vnto the World by receiuing the Lawes of God; euen by his owne appointment committed vnto Writing, wee are not able to esteeme as the value thereof deserueth. When it the question therefore is, whether wee bee now to seeke for any reuealed Law of God elsewhere then only in the Sacred Scripture, whether wee doe now stand bound in the sight of God to yeeld to Traditions vrged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reuerence wee doe to his written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as diuine: our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authoritie of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conueyed then that which spreadeth it selfe by report, and descendeth by relation of former Generations vnto the Ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselues; howsoeuer if the simple were so perswaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enioy the benefit, as they account it, of that common errour. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becommeth; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Lett them that are indeed of this minde, consider but onely that little of things Diuine, which the * Heathen haue in such sort receiued. How miserable had the state of the Church of God beene long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, we had no Record of his Lawes but onely the memory of man, receiuing the same by report and relation from his Predecessors? By Scripture it hath in the wisdome of God seemed meet to deliuer vnto the World much but personally expedient to be practised of certaine men; many deepe and profound points of Doctrine, as being the maine original ground whereupon the Precepts of dutie depend; many Prophecies, the cleere performance whereof might confirme the World in beliefe of things vncene; many Histories to serue as looking Glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousnesse of God towards all that faithfully serue, obey and honour him; yea many intire Meditations of Pietie, to be as Patternes and Presidents in cases of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application vnto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to haue the seuerall Bookes of his holy Ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principall necessarrie Lawes of God, there are sundrie other things written, whereof wee might haply bee ignorant, and yet bee saued:

What?

What? shall we hereupon thinke them needlesse? shall we esteeme them as riotous branches wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant Vines overgrowne? Surely no more then we iudge our hands, or our eies superfluous, or what part soeuer, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithstanding any such defect receiue still the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts whereof though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to haue them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the speciall vses for which they serue: in like sort all those writings which containe in them the Law of God, all those venerable bookes of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of holy Writ, they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lacke whereof might deprive vs of life; nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needlesse, we should thinke it no losse or danger at all if we did want it.

14 Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite varietie of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all sorts of lawes, yet the principall intent of Scripture is to deliuer the lawes of duties supernaturall. Oftentimes it hath bene in very solemne maner disputed, whether all things necessary vnto saluation be necessarily set downe in the holy Scriptures or no. If we define that necessary vnto saluation, whereby the way to saluation is in any sort made more plaine, apparent, and easie to be knowne; then is there no part of true Philosophie, no art of account, no kind of science rightly so called, but the Scripture must containe it. If onely those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary graunt of saluation; it may be notwithstanding, and oftentimes hath bene demanded, how the bookes of holy Scripture containe in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chiefeft is to knowe what bookes we are bound to esteeme holie; which point is confest impossible for the Scripture it selfe to teach. Whereunto wee may answer with truth, that there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which proposing vnto it selfe an end (as euery one doth some end or other) hath bene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered simply whatsoeuer is needfull to the same end: but all kinds of knowledge haue their certaine bounds and limits; each of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in other sciences and knowne beforehand. He that should take vpon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needs deliuer vnto them whatsoeuer precepts are requisite vnto that end, otherwise he doth not the thing which hee taketh vpon him. Seeing then no man can pleade eloquently, vnlesse he be able first to speake, it followeth that abilitie of speech is in this case a thing most necessary. Notwithstanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous, that he which vndertaketh by writing to instruct an Orator, should therefore deliuer all the precepts of Grammar: because his profession is to deliuer precepts necessarie vnto eloquent speech, yet so, that they which are to receiue them be taught beforehand, so much of that which is thereunto necessarie as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit Scripture doe professe to containe in it all things which are necessarie vnto saluation; yet the

The sufficien-
cy of Scripture
vnto the end
for which it
was instituted.
*Utrum cognitio
supernaturalis
necessaria via-
toris, sit sufficien-
ter tradita in
sacra scriptura?*
This question
propoled by
Scotus, is af-
firmatiuely
concluded.

the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessarie, but all things that are necessarie in some certaine kind or forme; as all things that are necessarie, and either could not at all, or could not easily be knowne by the light of naturall discourse; all things which are necessarie to be knowne that we may be saued, but knowne with presupposall of knowledge concerning certaine principles, whereof it receaueth vs already perswaded, and then instructeth vs in all the residue that are necessary. In the number of these principles one is the sacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore perswaded by other meanes that these Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themselves do then teach vs the rest, and lay before vs all the duties which God requireth at our hands as necessary vnto saluation. Further, there hath bene some doubt likewise, whether *containing in Scripture* do import expresse setting downe in plaine tearmes, or else *comprehending* in such sort, that by reason we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions, instance hath sundrie wayes bene giuen. For our beliefe in the Trinity, the Coeternity of the Sonne of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, the duty of baptizing infants, these, with such other principall points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture no where to be found by expresse littoral mention, onely deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehension in Scripture being therefore receiued, still there is no doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete measure of things necessary be made vp. For let vs not thinke that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man shall be able to found the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially if things contained by collection do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoeuer may be at any time out of scripture but probably and coniecturally surmized. But let necessary collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessitie vrged vpon this Church, vnder the name of reformed Church discipline, there is any one which their bookes hitherto haue made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, alleage but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and vs, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be necessarie. It hath bene already shewed, how all things necessarie vnto saluation in such sort as before we haue maintained, must needs be possible for men to know; and that many things are in such sort necessarie, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impossible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all flesh is excluded from possibilitie of saluation, which to thinke were most barbarous; or else that God hath by supernaturall meanes reuealed the way of life so far forth as doth suffice. For this cause God hath so many times and waies spoken to the sonnes of men. Neither hath he by speech onely, but by writing also instructed and taught his Church. The cause of writing hath bene, to the end that things by him reuealed vnto the world, might haue the longer continuance, and the greater certaintie of assurance; by how much that which standeth on record, hath in both those respects preeminence aboue that which passeth from hand to hand, and hath no penne but the tongues, no booke but the eares of men

to record it. The severall Bookes of Scripture hauing had each some severall occasion and particular purpose which caused them to bee written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that speciall end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that euery Booke of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, ^a naturall, ^b historicall, ^c forreine, ^d supernaturall, so much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there haue beene reasons alleaged sufficient to conclude, that all things necessarie vnto saluation must bee made knowne, and that God himselfe hath therefore reuealed his will, because otherwise men could not haue knowne so much as is necessarie; his surceasing to speake to the world since the publishing of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and the deliuerie of the same in writing, is vnto vs a manifest token that the way of saluation is now sufficiently opened, and that wee neede no other meanes for our full instruction, then God hath already furnished vs withall. The maine drift of the whole new Testament, is that which Saint *Iohn* setteth downe as the purpose of his owne Historie, *These things are written, that yee might beleene that Iesus is Christ the Sonne of God, and that in beleeuing yee might haue life through his name.* The drift of the olde, that which the Apostle mentioneth to *Timothie*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise vnto saluation.* So that the generall ende both of olde and newe is one; the difference betweene them consisting in this, that the olde did make wise by teaching saluation through Christ that should come; the newe, by teaching that Christ the Sauour is come, and that Iesus whom the Iewes did crucifie, and whom God did raise againe from the dead, is hee. When the Apostle therefore affirmeth vnto *Timothie*, that the olde was able to make him wise to saluation, it was not his meaning that the olde alone can doe this vnto vs which liue sithence the publication of the newe. For hee speaketh with presupposall of the doctrine of Christ knowne also vnto *Timothie*; and therefore first it is sayd, *Continue thou in those things which thou hast learned and art perswaded, knowing of whom thou hast bene taught them.* Again, those Scriptures hee graunteth were able to make him wise to saluation; but hee addeth, *through the faith which is in Christ.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the new Testament, teaching that Christ hath wrought the Redemption of the world, which Redemption the olde did foreshew hee should worke; it is not the former alone which can on our behalfe performe so much as the Apostle doth auouch, who presupposeth, this when hee magnifieth that so highly. And as his words concerning the bookes of ancient Scripture, doe not take place but with presupposall of the Gospell of Christ embraced: so our owne words also, when wee extoll the complete sufficiencie of the whole intire body of the Scripture, must in like sort bee vnderstood vwith this caution, that the benefite of natures light bee not thought excluded as vn-necessarie, because the necessitie of a Diuiner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, vwhat place or calling soeuer he hold in the Church of God, may haue thereby the light of his naturall vnderstanding so perfected, that the one being relieued by the other, there can want no part of needfull instruction vnto any good worke which God himselfe requireth, bee it naturall or supernaturall, belonging simply vn-

^a Eph. 5. 29.
^b 2. Tim. 3. 8.
^c Tit. 1. 12.
^d 2. Pet. 2. 4.

Iohn 23. 31.

2. Tim. 3. 15.

2. Tim. 3. 14.

Verse 15.

to men as men, or vnto men as they are vnited in whatsoeuer kind of societie. It sufficeth therefore that nature and Scripture doe serue in such full sort, that they both ioyntly, and not seuerally either of them, be so complete, that vnto euerlasting felicitie wee neede not the knowledge of any thing more then these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides: and therefore they which adde traditions as a part of supernaturall necessarie truth, haue not the truth, but are in error. For they onely pleade, that whatsoeuer God reuealeth as necessary for all Christian men to doe or beleuee, the same wee ought to embrace, whether wee haue received it by writing or otherwise; which no man denieth: when that which they should confirme, who claime so great reuerence vnto traditions is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged diuine and holie. For wee doe not reiect them onely because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proued to be of God. That which is of God, and may be euidently proued to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although vnwritten, yet the selfesame force and authoritie with the written lawes of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *that the Apostles did in euery Church institute and ordeine some rites and customes seruing for the seemelinese of Church regiment, which rites and customes they haue not committed vnto writing.* Those rites and customes being knowne to be Apostolicall, and hauing the nature of things changeable, were no lesse to be accounted of in the Church then other things of the like degree, that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set downe in the Apostles writings. For both being knowne to be Apostolicall, it is not the manner of deliuering them vnto the Church, but the Author from whom they proceed, which doth giue them their force and credit.

Whitakerus aduersus Bellarmin. quest. 6. cap. 6.

Of lawes positive contained in Scripture: the mutability of certaine of them, and the generall vse of Scripture.

15 Lawes being imposed either by each man vpon himselfe, or by a publique societie vpon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men vpon euery seuerall societie, or by the Lord himselfe vpon any or euerie of these; there is not amongst these foure kinds any one, but containeth sundry both naturall and positive lawes. Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of grosse errors, who onely take such lawes for positive, as haue bene made or inuented of men, and holding this position, hold also, that all positive and none but positive lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall doe alwayes bind; lawes positive not so, but onely after they haue bene expressely and wittingly imposed. Lawes positive there are in euery of those kinds before mentioned. As in the first kinde the promises which we haue past vnto men, and the vowes we haue made vnto God; for these are lawes which we tye our selues vnto, and till we haue so tied our selues, they bind vs not. Lawes positive in the second kinde, are such as the ciuill constitutions peculiar vnto each particular common weale. In the third kinde the law of Heraldry in warre, is positive: and in the last all the Iudicials which God gaue vnto the people of *Israel* to obserue. And although no lawes but positive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positive. Positive lawes are either permanent or else changeable, according as the matter it selfe is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit,

Positiue; and either concerne men supernaturally as men, or else as parts of a supernaturall Societic, which societic wee call the Church. To concerne men as men supernaturally, is to concerne them as dueties which belong of necessitie to all, and yet could not haue beene knowie by any to belong vnto them, vnlesse God had opened them himselve, in as much as they doe not depend vpon any naturall ground at all out of which they may bee deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those naturall wayes of saluation, by which wee are not now able to attaine thereunto. The Church being a supernaturall societic, doth differ from naturall societies in this; that the persons vnto whom wee associate our selues, in the one are men simply considered as men; but they to whom wee bee ioyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy Men. Againe, the Church being both a societic, and a societic supernaturall; although as it is a societic, it haue the selfe-same originall grounds which other politique societies haue, namely, the naturall inclination which all men haue vnto sociable life, and consent to some certayne bond of association, which bond is the Law that appointeth what kinde of order they shall be associated in: yet vnto the Church, as it is a societic supernaturall, this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their association which belong to the Church of God, must be a Law supernaturall, which God himselve hath reuealed concerning that kinde of worship which his people shall doe vnto him. The substance of the seruice of God therefore, so far-forth as it hath in it any thing more then the Law of reason doth teach, may not be inuented of men, as it is amongst the Heathens; but must bee received from God himselve, as alwayes it hath beene in the Church, sauing onely when the Church hath beene forgetfull of her duetic. Wherefore to end with a generall Rule concerning all the Lawes which God hath tyed men vnto: those Lawes diuine that belong whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they liue in politique societic, or to men as they are of that politique societic which is the Church, without any further respect had vnto any such variable accident, as the state of men, and of societies of men, and of the Church it selfe in this world is subiect vnto; all Lawes that so belong vnto men, they belong for euer, yea although they be positiue Lawes, vnlesse being Positiue God himselve which made them alter them. The reason is, because the subiect or matter of Lawes in generall is thus farre forth constant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof Lawes were instituted, and being instituted are not changeable without cause, neither can they haue cause of change, when that which gaue them their first institution, remayneth for euer one and the same. On the other side, Lawes that were made for Men or Societies or Churches, in regard of their being such as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhaps bee cleane otherwise awhile after, and so may require to bee otherwise ordered then before; the Lawes of God himselve which are of this nature, no man indued with common sense will euer denie to bee of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the ones constancie, and the mutabilitie of the other. And this doth seeme to haue beene the very cause why St. Iohn doth so peculiarly terme the doctrine that teacheth saluation by Iesus Christ, *Euangelium æternum, An eternall Gospell*; because there can be no reason

1st. 29. 13.
Their feare
towards me
was taught
by the pre-
cept of men.

Apo. 14. 6.

wherefore

Κομῶν ἢ ἄρα ὁ
 θεὸς ἀπλῶν
 καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐν
 τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν
 λόγῳ, καὶ ἔτι
 αὐτοῦς μεθίστα-
 ται, ἔτι ἄλλως
 ἕστατα, ἔτι
 καὶ ἁφαιρισί-
 ας, ἔτι καὶ ὁ
 λόγος, ἔτι καὶ ἡ
 σημεῖον συμ-
 παῖς, ἢ ἂν ὕπαρ
 ἔσθ' ὄραρ, Plato
 in fine 2. Polit.

* Πολιτικοὶ
 ὄντες ἀπὸ προ-
 σάμματος κοινῆς
 ζωῆς. Ἄλλως
 γὰρ καὶ οἰόντες
 τὸς θεοὺς ἐν
 τι κατὰ ταυτὸ
 ποιεῖν ἡρμοσ-
 μέως ἀλλή-
 λους, ὕπερ ἢ
 τὸ πολιτεύεσ-
 θαι, καὶ ἄλλως
 πῶς νύμεν βίον
 κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ
 πρὸς αἶμα διτ-
 τον ἢ γὰρ πα-
 ρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ
 ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ
 οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι
 τὸ παρὰ τῶν
 θεῶν ἐπίσ-
 θευον μᾶλλον
 καὶ διὰ τὸτο καὶ
 ἡ χριστιανισ-
 μὲνος ἢ τοῦτ'
 πολὺς, Strab.
 Geogr. lib. 1. c.
 2. Plal. 119. 98.
 b Vide Oryphei
 Carmina.

wherefore the publishing thereof should bee taken away, and any other in stead of it proclaymed, as long as the World doth continue: whereas the whole Law of Rites and Ceremonies, although deliuered with so great solemnitie, is notwithstanding cleane abrogated, in as much as it had but temporarie cause of Gods ordayning it. But that we may at the length conclude this first generall introduction vnto the nature and originall birth, as of all other Lawes, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture contayneth, concerning the Author whereof, euen Infidels haue confessed, that he can neither erre nor deceiue; albeit about things easie and manifest vnto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation, because as a man whose wisdom is in waightie affaires admired, would take it in some disdayne to haue his counsell solemnly asked about a toy, so the meanenesse of some thing is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reuerend authoritic and dignitie of the Scripture, no lesse then they doe by whom Scriptures are in ordinarie talke very idly applyed vnto vaine and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious, then prophane; to take from thence our direction euen in all things great or small, then to wade through matters of principall waight and moment, without euer caring what the Law of God hath, either for or against our desseignes. Concerning the custome of the very Paynims, thus much Strabo witnesseth, * *Men that are ciuill, doe leade their liues after one common Law appointing them what to doe. For that otherwise a multitude should without harmonie amongst themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing, (for this is ciuilly to liue) or that they should in any sort menage communitic of life, it is not possible. Now Lawes or Statutes are of two sorts. For they are either receiued from gods, or else from men. And our ancient Predecessors did surely most honor and reuerence that which was from the gods; for which cause consultation with Oracles was a thing very vsual and frequent in their times. Did they make so much account of the voyce of their gods, which in truth were no Gods: and shall wee neglect the precious benefite of conference with those Oracles of the true and liuing God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plaine, and so easie accessse for all men? ^a *By thy Commandements (this was Dauids confession vnto God) thou hast made me wiser then mine Enemies. Again, I haue had more vnderstanding then all my Teachers, because thy testimonies are my Meditations.* What paynes would not they haue bestowed in the studie of these Bookes, who trauailed Sea and Land to gaine the treasure of some few dayes talke with men, whose wisdom the World did make any reckoning of? ^b That little which some of the Heathens did chance to heare, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully contayneth, they did in wonderfull sort affect; their speeches as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselues could not vtter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits which did euery where else conquer hardnesse, were with profoundnesse here ouer-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense, to the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life doth neede, and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach vnto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessaie to bee knowne, should lye obscure: finally, with the heavenly support*

support of a propheticall reuelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could neuer haue bene able to find out, or to haue knowne the necessitie of them vnto our euerlasting good: vse wee the precious gifts of God vnto his glorie and honour that gaue them, seeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully doe it.

16 Thus farre therefore we haue endeouored in part to open, of what nature and force Lawes are, according vnto their severall kindes; the Law which God with himselfe hath eternally set downe to follow in his owne workes; the Law which he hath made for his creatures to keepe; the Law of naturall and necessary Agents; the Law which Angels in heauen obey; the Law whereunto by the light of Reason men finde themselves bound in that they are men; the Law which they make by composition for multitudes and politike Societies of men to be guided by; the Law which belongeth vnto each Nation; the Law that concerneth the fellowship of all; and lastly, the Law which God himselfe hath supernaturally reuealed. It might peradventure haue bene more popular and more plausible to vulgar eares, if this first discourse had bene spent in extolling the force of Lawes, in shewing the great necessitie of them when they are good, and in aggrauating their offence by whom publique Lawes are iniuriously traduced. But for as much as with such kind of matter the passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way set forward vnto the tryall of that whereof there is doubt made; I haue therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, though a lesse easie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should maruaile whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, euen to shew in what manner as euery good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect Lawes is deriued from the Father of lights; to teach men a reason why iust and reasonable Lawes are of so great force, of so great vse in the world; and to enforme their mindes with some method of reducing the Lawes, whereof there is present controuersie, vnto their first originall causes, that so it may be in euery particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, iust and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thorowly vnderstood, or soundly iudged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth bee made manifest? If all parts of knowledge haue bene thought by wise men to bee then most orderly deliuered and proceeded in, when they are drawne to their first originall; seeing that our whole question concerneth the qualitie of Ecclesiasticall Lawes, let it not seeme a labour superfluous, that in the entrance thereunto all these seuerall kinds of Lawes haue been considered; in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all haue their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner. By meanes whereof it cometh to passe, that the force which they haue, is not obserued of many. Easier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then instructed how to iudge as they should doe of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally vnto all, the other such as none but the wiser and more iudicious sort can performe. Yea the wisest are alwayes touching this point the readiest to

acknow-

αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ νόμος
ἀποκρίσεται
ἕως ταύτης ἢ
ἀποφασίσει
ἐθέλει, Philo de
Mos.

A conclusion
shewing how
all this belon-
geth to the
cause in ques-
tion.

LAMB. I. 17.

Arist. Phys. lib. I.
CAP. I.

*Arist. Ethic. 10.
τὸ κρίμα ὁρ-
βῶς, καὶ ἴσως.
Intelligit de
legum qualitate
iudicium.*

Prou. 8. 15.

Ephes. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

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

acknowledge, that soundly to iudge of a Law, is the waightiest thing which any man can take vpon him. But if wee will giue iudgement of the Lawes vnder which we liue, first, let that Law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breede in religious mindes a dutifull estimation of all Lawes, the vse and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that Lawes apparantly good, are (as it were) things coppied out of the very Tables of that high euerlasting Law, euen as the Booke of that Law hath said concerning it selfe, *By me Kings reigne, and by me Princes decree iustice.* Not as if men did behold that Booke, & accordingly frame their Lawes; but because it worketh in them, because it discouereth, and (as it were) readeth it selfe to the world by them, when the Lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceiue not the goodnesse of Lawes made; neuerthelesse, sith things in themselues may haue that which wee peradventure discernenot; should not this breed a feare in our hearts, how we speake or iudge in the worke part concerning that, the vnaduised disgrace whereof may be no meane dishonor to him, towards whom we professe all submission and awe? Surely, there must be very manifest iniquitie in Lawes, against which we shal be able to iustifie our contumelious inuectiues. The chiefest roote whereof, when we vse them without cause, is ignorance, how Lawes inferior are deriued from that supreme or highest Law. The first that receiue impression fro thence, are natural agents. The Law of whose operations might be haply thought lesse pertinent, when the question is about Lawes for humane actions, but that in those very actions which most spirituallly and supernaturally concerne men, the Rules & Axiomes of naturall operations haue their force. What can be more immediate to our saluation, then our perswasion concerning the Law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of loue towards his Church, then the knowledge of that mysticall Vnion whereby the Church is become as neere vnto Christ, as any one part of his flesh is vnto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needs protect it; what prooue more strong, then if a manifest Law so require, which Law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other Law doth the Apostle for this alleage, but such as is both common vnto Christ with vs, and vnto vs with other things naturall, *No man hateth his owne flesh, but doth loue and cherish it?* The Axiomes of that Law therefore, whereby naturall Agents are guided, haue their vse in the morall, yea, euen in the spirituall actions of men, and consequently in all Lawes belonging vnto men howsoeuer. Neither are the Angels themselues so farre seuered from vs in their kinde and manner of working, but that betwene the Law of their heauenly operations, and the actions of men in this our state of mortalitie, such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselues Fellow-seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one One Lord, there must be some kinde of Law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a patterne and a spurre? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth vnto Saints, as they are linked together in the bond of spirituall societic, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publicly

publicly done by the Church wee are not somewhat to respect what the Angels of Heauen doe? Yea so farre hath the Apostle *S. Paul* proceeded, as to signifie that euen about the outward orders of the Church which serue but for comelineffe, some regard is to bee had of Angels; who bestlike vs when wee are most like vnto them in all parts of decent demeaner. So that the Law of Angels wee cannot iudge altogether impertinent vnto the affaires of the Church of God. Our largeness of speech, how men doe find out what things reason bindeth them of necessitie to obserue, and what it guideth them to chuse in things which are left as arbitrary; the care wee haue had to declare the different nature of Lawes which feuerally concerne all men, from such as belong vnto men eyther ciuilly or spirituallly associated, such as pertain to the fellowship which Nations, or which Christian Nations haue amongst themselues, and in the last place such as concerning euery or any of these God himselve hath reuealed by his holy Word; all serueth but to make manifest, that as the actions of men are of fundry distinct kinds, so the Lawes thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations some naturall, some rationally, some supernaturall, some politike, some finally Ecclesiasticall. Which if wee measure not each by his owne proper Law, whereas the things themselues are so different; there will be in our vnderstanding and iudgement of them confusion. As that first error sheweth whereon our opposites in this cause haue grounded themselues. For as they rightly maintayne, that God must bee glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend vnto his glory, vnlesse they be framed after his Law: So it is their error, to thinke that the only Law which God hath appointed vnto men in that behalfe is the sacred Scripture. By that which wee worke naturally, as when we breathe, sleepe, mooue, wee set forth the glory of God as naturall agents doe, albeit wee haue no expresse purpose to make that our end, nor any aduised determination therein to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the most part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and morall actions another Law taketh place, a Law by the obseruation wherof we glorifie God in such sort, as no creature else vnder man is able to doe; because other creatures haue not iudgement to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they doe, they neither can accuse nor approue themselues. Men doe both, as the Apostle teacheth; yea, those men which haue no written Law of God to shew what is good or euill, carrie written in their hearts the vniuersall Law of Mankind, the Law of reason, wherby they iudge as by a rule which God hath giuen vnto men for that purpose. The Law of Reason doth somewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creatour; but how to glorifie God in such sort as is required to the end he may be an euerlasting Sauour, this we are taught by diuine Law, which Law both ascertaineth the truth and supplieth vnto vs the want of that other Law. So that in morall actions, diuine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of reason to guide mans life; but in supernaturall it alone guideth. Proceede wee further, let vs place man in some publike societie with others, whether Ciuill or Spirituall: and in this case there is no remedie but we must adde yet a further Law. For although euen here likewise the Lawes of Nature and reason be of necessary vse; yet somewhat ouer and besides them is necessary, namely humane and positie Law, together with that Law which is

1. Cor. 11. 10.

Psal. 148-7, 8, 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

of commerce betweene grand societie, the Law of Nations & of Nations Christian. For which cause the Law of God hath likewise said, *Let every soule be subiect to the higher powers.* The publike power of all societie is about every soule containd in the same societie. And the principall vse of that power is to give Lawes vnto all that are vnder it; which Lawes in such case we must obey, vnlesse there be reason shewed which may necessarily inforce, that the Law of Reason or of God doth inioyne the contrary. Because except our owne priuate, and but probable resolutions, bee by the Law of publike determinations ouer-ruled; we take away all possibilitie of sociable life in the World. A playner Example whereof then our selues we cannot haue. How commeth it to passe that wee are at this present day so rent with mutuall contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the Politie of the Church? No doubt, if men had bene willing to learne how many Lawes their actions in this life are subiect vnto, and what the true force of each Law is, all these controneries might haue dyed the very day they were first brought forth. It is both commonly said, and truely, that the best men otherwise are not alwayes the best in regard of societie. The reason whereof is, for that the Law of mens actions is one, if they bee respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politike body.

Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled. And yet in societie with others, none lesse fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am perswaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strine, there are whose betters among men would bee hardly found, if they did not liue amongst men, but in some Wildernesse by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so vnframeable vnto societie wherein they liue, is for that they discern not aright what place and force these severall kindes of Lawes ought to haue in all their actions. Is there question either concerning the Regiment of the Church in generall, or about Conformitie betweene one Church and another, or of Ceremonies, Offices, Powers, Iurisdiction in our owne Church? Of all these things they iudge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some shew of probabilitie; and what seemeth in that sort conuenient, the same they thinke themselves bound to practise, the same by all meanes they labour mightily to vphold; whatsoever any Law of man to the contrarie hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the Law of priuate reason, where the Law of publike should take place, they breede disturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true distinction of Lawes and of their severall force, according to the different kind and qualitie of our actions, it shall not peradventure be amisse to shew in some one example how they all take place. To seeke no further; let but that be considered, then which there is not any thing more familiar vnto vs, our foode. What things are foode, and what are not, wee iudge naturally by sense, neither need we any other Law to be our director in that behalfe then the selfesame which is common vnto vs with beasts, But when wee come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodnesse hath provided for all things living; the Law of reason doth here require the dutie of thankfulness at our hands, towards him at whose hands wee haue it. And lest appetite in the vse of foode, should leade vs beyond that which is meete; wee owe in
this

Rom. 13.1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν-
μέν τοῖς δικαί-
οις τῆ ἀρετῆς διω-
σονται χρισθῶναι
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνό-
μοτοις, ἀτίμω-
τατοι, Αἰγύπτου.
3. α. ρ. 3.

Iob 34.3.

Psal. 145.15, 26.

this case obedience to that Law of reason, which teacheth mediocritie in meates and drinkes. The same things Diuine Law teacheth also, as at large wee haue shewed it doth all parts of morall dutie, whereunto we all of necessitie stand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certaine kinds of food the Iewes sometime had, and wee our selues likewise haue a Mysticall, religious, and supernaturall vse; they of their Paschall Lambe and Oblations; wee of our Bread and Wine in the Eucharist; which vse none but Diuine Law could institute. Now as we liue in ciuill societie, the state of the Common-wealth wherein we liue, both may and doth require certaine Lawes concerning food; which Lawes, sauing onely that we are members of the Common-wealth where they are of force, we should not need to respect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they must be respected and obeyed. Yea, the selfe-same matter is also a subiect wherein sometime Ecclesiasticall Lawes haue place; so that vnlesse wee will be Authours of confusion in the Church, our priuate discretion, which otherwise might guide vs a contrary way, must here submit it selfe to bee that way guided, which the publike iudgement of the Church hath thought better. In which case that of *Zonaras* concerning Fasts may bee remembered. *Fastings are good, but let good things be done in good & conuenient manner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the orders of the holy Fathers*, the positiuē Lawes of the Church of Christ, must bee plainly told *that good things doe lose the grace of their goodnesse, when in good sort they are not performed.* And as here mens priuate phantasies must give place to the higher iudgement of that Church which is in authoritie a Mother ouer them: so the very actions of whole Churches haue, in regard of commerce and fellowship with other Churches, bene subiect to Lawes concerning food, the contrary vnto which Lawes had else bene thought more conuenient for them to obserue; as by that order of abstinence from strangled and bloud may appeare; an order grounded vpon that fellowship which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we see how euen one and the selfe-same thing is vnder diuers considerations conueyed through many Lawes, and that to measure by any one kind of Law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath disposed all Lawes, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other. Wherefore that here wee may briefly end, of Law there can bee no lesse acknowledged, then that her seate is the bosome of God, her voyce the harmony of the World, all things in Heauen and Earth doe her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power; both Angels and men and creatures of what condition soeuer, though each in different sort and manner, yet
 all with vniforme consent, admiring her
 as the Mother of their peace
 and ioy.

ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ
 καλὸν, ἂν μὴ
 καλῶς γίνῃται.
 Zonar. in Can.
 ApoB. 66.

Act. 15. 20.

OF THE LAWES OF
ECCLESIASTICALL
POLITIE.

The second Booke.

Concerning their First Position who vrge Refor-
mation in the Church of England:

*Namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things which
in this life may be done by men.*

The matter contayned in this second Booke.

- 1 **A**N *Answer to their first prooffe brought out of Scripture, Prou. 2. 9.*
- 2 *To their second, 1. Cor. 10. 31.*
- 3 *To their third, 1. Tim. 4. 5.*
- 4 *To their fourth, Rom. 14. 23.*
- 5 *To their proofes out of Fathers, who dispute negatiuely from the authoritie of
holy Scripture.*
- 6 *To their proofe by the Scriptures custome of disputing from Diuine authoritie
negatiuely.*
- 7 *An examination of their opinion concerning the force of Arguments, taken
from humane authoritie, for the ordering of mens actions and perswasions.*
- 8 *A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.*



That which in the title hath bene proposed for the matter whereof wee treat, is only the Ecclesiasticall Law whereby wee are gouerned; So neither is it my purpose to maintayne any other thing, then that which therein truth and reason shall approoue. For concerning the dealings of men who administer Government, and vnto whom the execution of that Law belongeth; they haue their Iudge who sitteth in Heauen, and before whose Tribunall Seate they are accountable for whatsoeuer abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this Church) the want eyther of care or of consci-

ence in them hath bred. Wee are no Patrones of those things therefore; the best defence whereof is speedie redresse and amendment. That which is of God wee defend, to the vttermost of that habilitie which hee hath given: that which is otherwise, let it wither euen in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherefore all these abuses being seuered and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the Lawes themselues: come we to those things which in the verie whole intire forme of our Church-Politie haue bin (as wee perswade our selues) iniuriouly blamed by them who indeuor to ouerthrow the same, and in stead thereof to establish a much worse; onely through a strong misconceit they haue, that the same is grounded on diuine authoritie. Now, whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I doe but imagine the matters whereof we contend, to be fewer then indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to bee discusst by reason, then otherwise they seeme, when by heate of contention they are deuided into many slips, and of euery branch an heape is made: surely, as now we haue drawne them together, choosung out those things which are requisite to bee seuerally all discusst, and omitting such meane specialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselues; I know no cause why either the number or the length of these Controuersies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and loue on all sides; which of his infinite loue and goodnesse the Father of all peace and vnitie grant. Vnto which scope that our indeuour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things bee examined, which are as seedes from whence the rest that ensue haue growne. And of such the most generall is that, wherewith wee are here to make our entrance; a question not mooued (I thinke) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to bee soone (I trust) determined: the rather for that it hath growne from no other roote, then only a desire to enlarge the necessarie vse of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an error inlarging it further then (as wee are perswaded) soundnesse of truth will beare. For whereas God hath left sundry kindes of Lawes vnto men, and by all those Lawes the actions of men are in some sort directed: they hold that one onely Law, the Scripture, must bee the rule to direct in all things, euen so farre as to the *taking vp of a Rush or Straw*. About which point there should not need any question to grow, and that which is growne might presently end, if they did yeeld but to these two restraints: the first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speake, so low as that instance doth import, of taking vp a Straw, but rather keepe themselues at the least within the compasse of morall actions, actions which haue in them Vice or Vertue; The second, not to exact at our handes for euery action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which wee stand bound to deduce it, as by diuers testimonies they seeke to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions bee framed according to the Law of Reason; the generall Axiomes, Rules, and Principles of which Law being so frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, euen out of Scripture such duties may bee deduced by some kind of consequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may bee that euen all truth out of any truth may bee concluded) howbeit no man bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of

Script-

Scripture, as if either the place be to him vnknowne whereon they may be concluded, or the reference vnto that place not presently considered of, the action shall in that respect be condemned as vnlawfull. In this we dissent, and this wee are presently to examine.

I In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed, things most generall are most strong: Thus it must be, in as much as the certainty of our perswasion touching particulars, dependeth altogether vpon the credit of those generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore euery cause admit not such infallible evidence of prooffe, as leaueth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claime the generall assent of the whole World vnto that which they teach, and doe not feare to giue very hard and heavy sentence vpon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must haue speciall regard that their first foundations and grounds bee more then slender probabilities. This whole question which hath bene moued about the kinde of Church Regiment, wee could not but for our owne resolutions sake, endeavour to vnrip and list, following therein as neere as we might, the conduct of that iudiciall method which serueth best for inuention of truth. By meanes whereof hauing found this the head Theoreme of all their Discourses, who pleade for the change of Ecclesiasticall government in England, namely, *That the Scripture God is in such sort the rule of humane actions, that simply whatsoeuer we do, & are not by it directed therunto, the same is sin;* we hold it necessary that the proofes hereof be weighed: be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to iudge and determine: onely what difficulties there are, which as yet withhold our assent, till wee bee further and better satisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongst them will scorne or refuse to heare. First, therefore, whereas they alleage *that wisdome doth teach men every good way;* and haue thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, vnlesse wisdome do by Scripture leade vnto it: see they not plainly how they restrain the manifold wayes which wisdome hath to teach men by, vnto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdome are large, and within them much is contained. Wisdome was *Adams* Instructor in Paradise: Wisdome indued the Fathers who liued before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things: by the wisdome of the Law of God, *Dauid* attained to excell others in vnderstanding; & *Salomon* likewise to excell *Dauid*, by the selfe same wisdom of God, teaching him many things besides the Law. The waies of wel-doing are in number euen as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions: so that whatsoeuer we doe in this World and may doe it ill, we shew our selues therein by wel-doing to be wise. Now if wisdome did teach men by Scripture not only all the wayes that are right and good in some certaine kind, according to that of **S. Paul*, concerning the vse of Scripture; but did simply without any manner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach euery way of doing wel; there is no art but Scripture should teach it, because euery art doth teach the way how to do some thing or other wel. To teach men therefore wisdome professeth, and to teach them euery good way: but not euery good

The first pretended proofe of the first Position out of Scripture.

Pro. 2.9.
T.C. 1. p. 20.
I say that the Word of God containeth whatsoeuer things can fall into any part of mans life. For so *Salomon* saith in the second Chapter of the *Proverbs* My Son, if thou receiue my wordes, &c. then thou shalt vnderstand Iustice and iudgement, and equitie, and euery good way.

Psal. 119. 95.

* 2. Tim. 3. 16. The whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the Man of God may bee absolute, being made perfect vnto all good workes. Hee meaneth all and only those good workes which belong vnto vs as we are men of God, and which vnto saluation are necessary. Or if we vnderstand by men of God, Gods Ministers, there is not required in them an vniuersall skill of euery good worke or way, but an ability to teach whatsoever men are bound to doe that they may be saved. And with this kinde of knowledge the Scripture sufficeth to furnish them as touching matter.

way

way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on Earth, or the Angels of Heauen doe know, it is as a drop of that vnemptiable Fountaine of wisdom, which wisdom hath diuersly imparted her treasures vnto the World. As her wayes are of sundry kindes, so her manner of teaching is not meereely one and the same. Some things shee openeth by the sacred Bookes of Scripture; some things by the glorious Workes of Nature: with some things shee inspireth them from aboue by spirituall influence; with some things shee leadeth and trayneth them onely by wordly experience and practise. We may not so in any one speciall kind admire her, that wee disgrace her in any other; but let all her wayes be according vnto their place and degree adored.

2 That *all things be done to the glory of God*, the blessed Apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellencie of that vertue diuine, which being made manifest, causeth Men and Angels to extoll his greatnesse, and in regard thereof to feare him. By being glorified, it is not meant that hee doth receiue any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his Name wee glorifie, when wee testifie our acknowledgement of his glorie. Which albeit wee most effectually doe by the vertue of obedience: neuertheless it may be perhaps a question, whether Saint Paul did meane that we sinne as oft as euer we go about any thing, without an expresse intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himselfe, *I doe in all things please all men, seeking not mine owne commoditie, but rather the good of many, that they may be saued.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that Saint Paul did not moue either hand or foot, but with expresse intent euen thereby to further the common saluation of men? Wee moue, wee sleepe, wee take the Cuppe at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes doe, onely to satisfie some naturall desire, without present expresse and actuall reference vnto any Commandement of God. Vnto his glorie euen these things are done which wee naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and spirituallly wee doe. For by euery effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of Nature, his power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow, that of necessitie wee shall sinne, vnlesse wee expressly intend this in euery such particular. But bee it a thing which requirerh no more then onely our generall presupposed willingnesse to please God in all things; or bee it a matter wherein wee cannot so glorifie the Name of God as wee should, without an actuall intent to doe him in that particular some speciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleaged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actuall intelligent desire to fulfill that Law which maketh knowne what his will is, although no speciall clause or sentence of Scripture be in euery such action set before mens eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the onely Law wherby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinde of Lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former Booke hath bin proued at large: Nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Doe therefore all things vnto the glory of God* (saith the Apostle) *be inoffensie both to the Iewes and Grecians, and the Church of God; euen as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine owne commoditie, but manies that they may be saued.* In the least thing

The second
p. 006e out of
Scripture.
1 Cor. 10. 31.
1 Cor. 11. p. 26.
S. Paul saith
that whether
we eat or drink
or whatsoever
we do, we must
doe it to the
glorie of God.
But no man
can glorifie
God in any
thing but by
obedience; &
there is no o-
bedience but
in respect of
the Comman-
dement and
Word of God:
Therefore it
followeth that
the Word of
God directeth
a man in all
his actions.

thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively against the good of men whose benefit wee ought to seeke for as for our owne, wee plainly shew that wee doe not acknowledge God to bee such as indeed hee is, and consequently that we glorifie him not. This the blessed Apostle teacheth: but doth any Apostle teach, that wee cannot glorifie God otherwise, then onely in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth vs to doe? The Churches dispersed amongst the Heathen in the East part of the World, are by the Apostle Saint Peter exhorted, to haue their *conuersation honest amongst the Gentiles, that they which spake euill of them as of euill doers, might by the good workes which they should see, glorifie God in the day of visitation.* As long as that which Christians did was good, and no way subiect to iust reproofe, their vertuous conuersation was a meane to worke the Heathens conuersion vnto Christ. Seeing therefore this had bene a thing altogether impossible, but that Infidels themselues did discern, in matters of life and conuersation, when Beleeuers did well, and when otherwise; when they glorified their heauenly Father, and when not: it followeth that some things wherein God is glorified, may be some other way knowne, then onely by the sacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being vtterly ignorant, did notwithstanding iudge rightly of the qualitic of Christian mens actions. Most certaine it is that nothing but onely linne, doth dishonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to doe nothing whereby the Name of God may bee blasphemed; nothing whereby the saluation of Iew or Grecian or any in the Church of Christ may bee let or hindred, nothing whereby his Law is transgressed. But the question is, whether onely Scripture doe shew whatsoeuer God is glorified in.

1.Pet.2.12.

Rom.2.34

1.Cor.10.32

Rom.2.23

3 And though meates and drinckes be said to bee sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer: yet neyther is this a reason sufficient to prooue, that by Scripture wee must of necessitie be directed, in euery light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Onely it sheweth that vnto vs the Word, that is to say, the Gospell of Christ, hauing not deliuered any such difference of things cleane and vncleane, as the Law of Moses did vnto the Iewes; there is no cause but that we may vse indifferently all things, as long as we doe not (like Swine) take the benefit of them, without a thankefull acknowledgement of his liberalitie and goodnesse, by whose prouidence they are ioyned: and therefore the Apostle gaue warning beforehand to take heed of such as should ioyned to *abstaine from meates, which God hath created to bee receiued with thanksgiving, by them which beleeue and know the Truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it bee receiued with thanksgiving, because it is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.* The Gospell, by not making many things vncleane, as the Law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man vnto himselfe must sanctifie by a reuerend and holy vse: which will hardly be drawne so farre, as to serue their purpose, who haue imagined the Word in such sort to sanctifie all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor rayment put on, nor in the World any thing done, but this deed must needs be sinne in them, which doe not first know it appointed vnto them by Scripture before they doe it.

The third Scripture prooue.

1.Tim.4.5.

And that which S. Paul said of meates and drinckes, that they are sanctified vnto vs by the word of God, the same is to be vnderstanded of all things else whatsoeuer wee haue the vse of.

1.C.1.1.p.100.

1.Tim.4.

4. But

The fourth
Scripture
prooic.

Rom. 14. 23.
T.C.I. 1. p. 27.

Pfal. 19. 8.
Apoc 3. 14.
2 Cor. 1. 18.

Ioh. 10. 33.

Ioh. 20. 25.

4. But to come vnto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood vpon; that place of Saint Paul they say, is of all other most cleere, where speaking of those things which are called indifferent, in the end hee concludeth, that whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. But faith is not but in respect of the word of God. Therefore whatsoever is not done by the word of God, is sinne. Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs haue reference vnto some vttered word, as the obiekt of beliefe: neuerthelesse sith the ground of credit is the creditie of things credited; and things are made credible, eyther by the knowne condition and qualitie of the vtturer, or by the maniffest likelihood of Truth which they haue in themselves; hereupon it riseth, that whatsoever wee are perswaded of, the same wee are generally said to beleue. In which generalitie the obiekt of faith may not so narrowly bee restrained, as if the same did extend no further then to the onely Scriptures of God. Though (faith our Sauour) ye beleue not mee, beleue my workes; that ye may know and beleue that the Father is in mee, and I in him. The other Disciples said vnto THOMAS, Wee haue seene the Lord; but his answer vnto them was, Except I see in his hands the print of the nailes, and put my finger into them, I will not beleue. Can there be any thing more plaine, then that which by these two sentences appeareth, namely, that there may bee a certaine beliefe grounded vpon other assurance then Scripture; any thing more cleere, then that wee are said not onely to beleue the things which we know by anothers relation, but euen whatsoever wee are certainly perswaded of, whether it bee by reason, or by sense? For as

h And if any will say, that S. Paul meaneth there a full *ἁποφασίαν* and persuasion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it. But from whence can that spring but from Faith? how can we perswade and assure our selues that we do well, but whereas we haue the Word of God for our warrant? T.C.I. 1. c. 27. i What also that some euen of those Heathen men haue taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that euen those which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did see much of the equitie of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man: and that the chiefest difference is, that where they sent men for the difference of good & euill to the light of reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth them to the Schole of Christ in his Word, which only is able through faith to giue them assurance & resolution in their doings. T.C.I. 1. p. 60

Iohn 20. 21.

much therefore as^h it is granted that Saint Paul doth meane nothing else by Faith, but onely a full persuasion that that which wee doe is well done; against which kinde of faith or persuasion as Saint Paul doth count it sinne to enterprize any thing,ⁱ so likewise some of the very Heathen haue taught, as TULLY, that nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or wrong; whereby it appeareth that euen those which had no knowledge of the word of God, did see much of the equitie of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man: I hope wee shall not seeme altogether vnnecessarily to doubt of the soundnesse of their opinion, who thinke simply that nothing but onely the Word of God, can giue vs assurance in any thing we are to do, and resolue vs that we doe well. For might not the Iewes haue bene fully perswaded that they did well to thinke (if they had so thought) that in Christ God the Father was, although the onely ground of this their faith, had bene the wonderfull workes they saw him doe? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end perswade himselfe, that he did well to thinke that body, which now was raysed, to be the same: which had bene crucified? That which gaue Thomas this assurance was his sense; THOMAS, because thou hast seene, thou beleuest, faith our Sauour. What Scripture had Tully for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him, thinke hee did well to set downe

downe in writing a thing so consonant vnto truth. Finally, we all beleue that the Scriptures of God are Sacred, and that they haue proceeded from God, our selues we assure that wee doe right well in so beleeuing. We haue for this point a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure vs, that wee doe well to thinke it his Word. For if any one Booke of Scripture did giue testimonie to all; yet still that Scripture which giueth credit to the rest, would require another Scripture to giue credit vnto it: neyther could we euer come vnto any pause whereon to rest our assurance this way: so that vnlesse besides Scripture there were some thing which might assure vs that we doe well, we could not thinke we doe well, no not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy Rule of well doing. On which determination wee might bee contented to stay our selues without further proceeding herein, but that wee are drawne on into larger speech by reason of their so great earnestnesse, who beate more and more vpon these last alledged words, as being of all other most pregnant. Whereas therefore, they still argue, that *wherefoeuer Faith is wanting, there is sinne, and in every action not commanded, Faith is wanting; Ergo, in every action not commanded, there is sinne*: I would demand of them; first, for as much as the nature of things indifferent is neyther to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrarie; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith sinne be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of necessitie they must adde somewhat, and at leastwise thus set it downe: In euerie action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, Faith is wanting, and for want of Faith there is sinne. The next thing we are to enquire is, what those things bee which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be so permitted. When there are vnto one end fundrie meanes, as for example, for the sustenance of our bodies many kindes of food, many sorts of rayment to cloath our nakednesse, and so in other things of like condition: here the end it selfe being necessarie, but not so any one meane thereunto; necessarie that our bodies should be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or rayment necessary; therefore we hold these things free in their owne nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our owne discretion, except a principall bond of some higher duetic remoue the indifferencie that such things haue in themselves. Their indifferencie is remoued, if eyther wee take away our owne libertie, as *Ananias* did, for whom to haue sold or held his possessions it was indifferent, till his solemne Vow and Promise vnto God had strictly bound him one onely way: or if God himselfe haue precisely abridged the same, by restraining vs vnto, or by barring vs from some one or more things of many, which otherwise were in themselves altogether indifferent. Many fashions of Priestly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sonnes might haue had their free choice without sinne, but that God expressly tyed them vnto one. All meats indifferent vnto the Iew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as Swines flesh. Impossible therefore it is we should otherwise thinke, then that what things God doth neyther command nor forbid, the same he permitteth with approbation eyther to be done or left vndone. *All things are lawfull vnto me*, saith the Apostle, speaking as it seemeth, in the person of the Christian Gentile for maintenance of libertie in things indifferent: whereunto his
answere

T. C. L. 2. p. 58.

Act. 5.

Exod. 39. 1. 43.

Leuit. 11.

1. Cor. 6. 12.

answere is, that neuerthelesse *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwaies equally expediēt. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawfull because they are permitted, the question is, what light shall shew vs the conueniencie which one hath aboue another. For answer, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did send men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth vs to the Schoole of Christ in his Word, which only is able through faith to giue vs assurance and resolution in our doings.* Which word *Only*, is vterly without possibility of euer being proued. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that vnlesse the Word of the Lord had determined of the free vse of them, there could haue bin no lawfull vse of them at all; which notwithstanding is vntrue; because it is not the Scriptures setting downe such things as indifferent, but their not setting downe as necessary, that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our present purpose serueth nothing at all. Wee inquire not now whether any thing be free to be vsed, which Scripture hath not set downe as free: but concerning things knowne and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in choosling any one of them before another we sinne, if any thing but Scripture direct vs in this our choice. When many meates are set before me, all are indifferent, none vnlawfull; I take one as most conuenient. If Scripture require me so to doe, then is not the thing indifferent, because I must doe what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any, Scripture doth not require of mee to make any speciall choice of one: I doe not withstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to doe. A hard case, that hereupon I should be iustly condemned of sin. Nor let any man think, that following the iudgement of naturall discretion in such cases, we can haue no assurance that we please God. For to the author and God of our nature, how shall any operation proceeding in naturall sort, be in that respect vnacceptable? The nature which himselfe hath giuen to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way without Commandement of his to the contrary. My desire is to make this cause so manifest, that if it were possible, no doubt or scruple concerning the same, might remaine in any mans cogitation. Some truths there are, the veritie whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Christ is risen from the dead; which thing was not true at such time as Christ was liuing on earth, and had not suffered. It would be knowne therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the sinfull staine of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertaine vnto vs only, or a perpetuall truth, in such sort that from the first beginning of the world vnto the last consummation thereof, it neither hath bin, nor can be otherwise. I see not how they can restrain this vnto any particular time, how they can think it true now and not alwaies true, that in euery action not commanded there is for want of faith sinne. Then let them cast backe their eies vnto former generations of men, and marke what was done in the prime of the World, *Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job*, and the rest that liued before any syllable of the Law of God was written, did they not sinne as much as we doe in euery action not commanded? That which God is vnto vs by his Sacred Word, the same he was vnto them by such like meanes as *Eliphaz* in *Iob* describeth. If therefore we sinne in euery action which the Scripture commandeth vs not, it followeth that they did the like

like in all such actions as were not by Reuelation from Heauen exacted at their hands. Vnlesse God from Heauen did by Vision still shew them what to doe, they might doe nothing, not eate, not drinke, not sleepe, not moue. Yea, but euen as in darkeness, candlelight may serue to guide mens steps, which to vse in the day were madnesse; so when God had once deliuered his Law in Writing, it may be, they are of opinion, that it must needs be sinne for men to doe any thing, which was not there commanded them to doe, whatsoeuer they might doe before. Let this be graunted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, cyther that the light of Scripture once shining in the World, all other light of nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now wee need it not, neyther may we longer vse it; or if it stand vs in any stead, yet as *Aristotle* speaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the state of seruitude, saying, *They haue no reason so far forth as to conceiue when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themselves by themselves; so likewise our naturall capacitie and iudgement must serue vs onely for the right vnderstanding of that which the Sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who succeeded *Moses*, or the blessed Apostles which followed them, bin seled in this perswasion, neuer would they haue taken so great paines in gathering together naturall Arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To vse vnto them any other motiue then *Scriptum est, Thus it is written*, had bin to teach them other grounds of their actions then Scripture; which I grant, they alleage commonly but not onely. Onely Scripture they should haue alleaged, had they bin thus perswaded, that so farre forth we doe sinne, as we doe any thing otherwise directed then by Scripture. Saint *Augustine* was resolute in points of Christianitie to credite none, how godly and learned soeuer he were, vnlesse he confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrarie to them. Let them therefore with *S. Augustine*, reiect and condemne that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on some reason not contrarie to Scripture, & we are readie to giue them our hands in token of friendly consent with them.

5. But against this it may be obiected, and is, that the Fathers doe nothing more vsually in their Books, then draw arguments from the Scripture negatiuely in reproofe of that which is euil; *Scriptures teach it not, auoid it therefore*; these Disputes with the Fathers are ordinarie, neither is it hard to shew that the Prophets themselves haue so reasoned. Which Arguments being found and good, it should seeme that it cannot be vnfound or euil to hold still the same assertion, against which hitherto we haue disputed. For if it stand with reason thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught vs in Scripture, therefore we may not receiue or allow it: how should it seeme vnreasonable to thinke, that whatsoeuer we may lawfully doe, the Scripture by commanding it must make it lawfull? But how far such Arguments doe reach, it shall the better appeare by considering the matter wherein they haue bene vrged. First therefore, this we constantly deny, that of so many testimonies as they are able to produce for the strength of negatiue arguments, any one doth generally (which is the poynt in question) condemne cyther all opinions as false, or all actions as vnlawfull, which the Scripture teacheth vs not. The most that can be collected out of them is onely, that in some cases a negatiue argument taken from Scripture is strong; wherof no man indued with iudgement can doubt. But doth the strength of some negatiue Argument

Arist. Pol. 11

August. ep. 18.

The first assertion indeuoured to be proved by the vse of taking arguments negatiuely from the authoritie of Scripture: which kinde of disputing is vsuall in the Fathers.

prooue this kind of negatiue Argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture prescribeth not, condemned? The question betweene vs is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or vnlawfull for men to doe. The sentences alleaged out of the Fathers, are as peremptoric and as large in euery respect for matter of opinion, as of action: which argueth that in truth they neuer meant any otherwise to tye the one then the other vnto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tyed, as farre as each is required in the same kind of necessitie vnto Salvation. If therefore it be not vnlawfull to know, and with full perswasion to beleue, much more then Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemne the knowledge of so many Artes and Sciences as are otherwise learned then in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of ancient Catholike Fathers which seeme to close vp within the bosome thereof all manner good and lawfull knowledge: wherefore should these wordes be thought more effectually, to shew that we may not in deeds and practice, then they are to proue that in speculation and knowledge, we ought not to goe any farther then the Scripture? Which Scripture being giuen to teach matters of beleefe no lesse then of action; the Fathers must needs be, and are euen as plaine against credit, besides the relation; as against practise, without the Iniunction of the Scripture.

*Aug. contr. liter.
Petil. l. 3. c. 6.*

Saint *Augustine* hath said, *Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, or of what thing soeuer the question be; I say not if we, but if an Angell from Heauen shall tell vs any thing beside that you haue receiued in the Scripture vnder the Law and Gospell, let him be accursed.* In like sort *TERTULLIAN*, *We may not giue our selues this libertie to bring in any thing of our will, nor choose any thing that other men bring in of their will; we haue the Apostles themselves for Authors, which themselves brought nothing of their owne will, but the discipline which they receiued of Christ, they deliuered faithfully vnto the people.*

*Tertull. de pra-
scrip. aduers.*

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. *Augustine* saith, whether it be question of Christ, or whether it bee question of his Church, &c. And lest the Answerer should restrain the generall saying of *Augustine* vnto the Doctrine of the Gospell, so that hee would thereby shut out the Discipline, euen *Tertullian* himselfe before he was embrued with the Heresie of *Montanus*, giueth testimonie vnto the Discipline in these words, *We may not giue our selues, &c.*

*Hieron. contra
Meluid.
Hilar. in Ps. 131*

In which place the name of discipline importeth not as they who alleage it would faine haue it construed; but as any man who noteth the circumstance of the place, and the occasion of ventering the words, will easily acknowledge; euen the selfe-same thing it signifieth, which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there haue been vsed. To helpe them farther, doth not *S. Ierome* after the selfe-same manner dispute, *We beleue it not because we reade it not? Yea, We ought not so much as to know the things which the Booke of the Law containeth not,* saith *S. Hilarie*. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or giue credit vnto any thing, which sense, or experience, or report, or art doth propose, vnlesse wee finde the same in Scripture? No, it is too plaine that so farre to extend their speeches, is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To vrge any thing vpon the Church, requiring thereunto that Religious assent of Christian beleefe, where with the words of the Holy Prophets are receiued; to vrge any thing as part of that supernaturall and Celestially reuealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers cuer more thinke vnlawfull, impious, execrable. And thus as their speeches were meant, so by vs they must be restrained. As for those alleaged words

of CYPRIAN, *The Christian Religion shall find, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines haue sprung, and that from hence doth spring, and hither doth returne whatsoever the Ecclesiasticall Discipline doth containe: surely this place would neuer haue beene brought forth in this cause, if it had bin but once read ouer in the Author himselfe, out of whom it is cited. For the words are vttered concerning that one principall commandement of loue, in the honour whereof hee speaketh after this sort: Surely this commandement containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one Word is the Abridgement of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reason, and the authoritie of thy Word, o Lord, doth proclaime, this we haue heard out of thy mouth, here- in the perfection of all Religion doth consist. This is the first commandement and the last: this being written in the Booke of Life, is (as it were) an euerlasting lesson both to Men and Angels. Let Christian Religion reade this one Word, and meditate vpon this Commandement, and out of this Scripture it shall find the Rules of all Learning to haue sprung, and from hence to haue risen, and hither to returne whatsoever the Ecclesiasticall Discipline containeth; and that in all things it is vaine and bootlesse which Charitie confirmeth not.* Was this a sentence (trow you) of so great force to proue that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby euen as wel proue, that one Commandement of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as now they doe all meanes besides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech rather to passe by number, then to stay for waight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this case speake yet more plainely: *The Scripture* (saith he) *denieth what it noteth not*: which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth vp the Kings of Israel, and amongst those Kings *Dauid*: the Scripture reckoneth vp the sons of *Dauid*, and amongst those sonnes *Salomon*. To proue that amongst the Kings of Israel, there was no *Dauid* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the sons of *Dauid*, *Tertullians* Argument will fitly proue. For in as much as the Scripture did propose to reckon vp all, if there were moe, it would haue named them. In this case *the Scripture doth denie the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit I could not but thinke that man to doe mee some piece of manifest iniury, which would hereby fasten vpon me a generall opinion, as if I did thinke the Scripture to denie the very reigne of King *Henry* the Eight, because it no where noteth that any such King did reigne. *Tertullians* speech is probable concerning such matter as hee there speaketh of. There was, saith *Tertullian*, no second *Lamech*, like to him that had two wiues; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one such to haue bin in that Age of the World; so had there beene moe, it would by likelihood as well haue noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no second Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not*. Were it consonant vnto reason to diuorce these two sentences, the former of which doth shew how the later is restrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the later of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth thinke true, is by the Scripture denied, vnlesse it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a case so weak and feeble

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 8.
Let him heare what Cyprian sayth: The Christian Religion (sayth hee) shall find, that &c.

Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audiuiimus, hic inuenit consummationem omnis Religio. Primum est hoc mandatum & vltimum; hoc in libro vite scriptum inde scientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc vnum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Christiana Religio, & inueniet ex HAC Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanasse, & hinc nasci & huc reuerſi quicquid Ecclesiastica continet disciplina, & in omnibus irritum esse & frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

Tertull. lib. de Monog.
T. C. lib. 2. p. 81.
And in another place Tertullian saith that the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

hath bin so much persisted in. But to come vnto those their sentences, wherein matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Tertul.* is as before,

T. C. l. 2. p. 80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not against the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appeare by other places, where he saith, that whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is receiued, *Lib. 2. ad uxorem.*

so here againe pretended; who writing vnto his wife two Bookes, and exhorting her in the one to liue a widow, in case God before her should take him vnto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to ioyne her selfe to an Infidel, as in those times some

Widowes. Christian had done for the aduancement of their estate in this present World, hee vrgeth very earnestly *Saint Pauls* words, *Onely in the Lord*: whereupon he demandeth of them that thinke they may doe the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed & granted licence to doe against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth inioyne. And because in defence it might perhaps be replied, seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either partie chaunce to bee after conuerted vnto Christianitie, this should not make separation betweene them, as long as the vnconuerted was willing to retaine the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore thinke they should let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolue marriage being made? after great reasons shewed why God doth in Conuerts being married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet disallow that the faithfull when they are free should enter into bonds of Wedlocke with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, *They that please not the Lord, doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themselues into euill*, that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they doe that whereby they incurre his displeasure, they make an offer of themselues into the seruice of that enemy with whose seruants they linke themselues in so neere a bond. What one sillable is there in all this, prejudiciall any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alleaged, are two waies misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of womens persons; and in the latter, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in stead of *wilful incurring that which is euil*. And so in summe, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, *Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord displeaseth him, and with hurt is receiued*; but *Those women that please not the Lord by their kinde of marrying, doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themselues into euill*. Somewhat more shew

Quae Domino non placent, vix Dominum offendunt, vix male se inferunt.

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. And to come yet neerer, where he disputeth against the wearing of Crown or Garland (which is indifferent in it selfe) to those which objecting asked, where the Scripture saith that a man might not weare a Crowne; he answereth by asking, where the Scripture saith that they may weare? And vnto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, he answereth that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the Doctrine & Ecclesiastical discipline, but euen in matters arbitrary & variable by the aduice of the church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, vnllesse there be some word which doth permit the vse of them: it is not enough that the Scripture speaketh not against them, vnllesse it speake for them; and finally, where it displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not, wee must of necessity haue the Word of his mouth to declare his pleasure.

there is in a second place of *Tertullian*, which notwithstanding when we haue examined it, will be found as the rest are. The Roman Emperours custome was at certaine soleme times to bestow on his Souldiers a donatiue; which donatiue they receiued, wearing Garlands vpon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperours *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*, many who being Souldiers, had bin conuerted vnto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that Militarie course of life. In which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time coming

to the Tribune of the Army to receive his Donative, came but with a Garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demandeth what this great singularity would meane. To whom the Souldier, *Christianus sum, I am a Christian*. Many there were so besides him, which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a question, whether a Christian Souldier might herein doe as the vncristian did, and weare as they wore. Many of them which were verie sound in Christian Beliefe, did rather commend the zeale of this man, then approve his action. *Tertullian* was at the same time a *Montanist*, and an enemy vnto the Church for condemning that propheticall spirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boast they had received; as if in them Christ had performed his last promise; as if to them he had sent the Spirit that should be their perfecter and final instructor in the mysteries of Christian truth. Which exulceration of minde, made him apt to take all occasions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not so much commend it, he wrote his Book *De corona militis*, not dissembling the stomake wherewith he wrote it. For first the man hee commended as one more constant then the rest of his Brethren, *Who presumed, saith he, that they might well enough serue two Lords*. Afterwards, choler somewhat rising within him, he addeth, *It doth euen remaine that they should also deuise how to rid themselves of his Martyrdomes, towards the Prophecies of whose Holy Spirit they haue already shewed their disdain*. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but some of them send the Scriptures before, trusse vp bag and baggage, make themselves in a readinesse, that they may flie from Citie to Citie. For that is the onely poynt of the Gospel which they are carefull not to forget. I know euen their Pastors very well what they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare. Now these men, saith *Tertullian*, they must be answered where we doe finde it written in Scripture, that a Christian man may not weare a Garland. And as mens speeches vtred in heat of distempered affection, haue oftentimes much more eagerneesse then waighr; so he that shall marke the proofes alleaged, and the answers to things obiected in that Booke, will now and then perhaps espy the like imbecillitic. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads Garlands, are charged as transgressors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge against God the Lord of Nature, in as much as Flowers in such sort worne, can neither be smelt nor seene well by those that weare them: and God made Flowers sweet and beautifull, that being seene and smelt vnto, they might so delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weaknesse in striking onely, but also in repelling their strokes with whom he cōtendeth. They ask, saith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we should not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we should?* For in requiring on the contrary part the ayde of Scripture, they doe giue sentence before-hand that their part ought also by Scripture to be ayded. Which answer is of no great force. There is no necessity, that if I confesse I ought not to doe that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge my selfe bound to doe nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may leade me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all giue place, and are of no value; yet otherwise are strong and effectuell to perswade. Which thing himselfe well enough vnderstanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many

things doth neither command nor forbid, but vse silence; his resolution in fine is, that in the Church a number of things are strictly obserued, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once receiued and confirmed by vse, long vsage is a Law sufficient; that in ciuill affaires when there is no other Law, custome it selfe doth stand for Law; that in as much as Law doth stand vpon reason, to alledge reason serueth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatsoeuer is reasonable, the same is lawfull whosoever is Author of it; that the authoritie of custome is great; finally, that the custome of Christians was then and had bin a long time not to weare Garlands, and therefore that vndoubtedly they did offend, who presumed to violate such a custome by not obseruing that thing: the verie inueterate obseruation whereof was a Law sufficient to bind all men to obserue it, vnlesse they could shew some higher Law, some Law of Scripture to the contrarie. This presupposed, it may stand then verie well with strength and soundnesse of reason, euen thus to answer; *Whereas they aske what Scripture forbiddeth them to weare a Garland, wee are in this case rather to demand what Scripture commandeth them. They cannot here alleage that it is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long receiued custome forbidding them to doe as they did, (if so be it did forbid them) there was no excuse in the World to iustifie their act, vnlesse in the Scripture they could shew some Law that did licence them thus to breake a receiued custome. Now whereas in all the Bookes of *Tertullian* besides, there is not so much found as in that one, to proue not onely that we may doe, but that we ought to doe sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that verie Booke these sentences are brought to make vs beleue that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrarie minde. We cannot therefore hereupon yeeld, we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the argument of Scripture negatiue to be of force, not onely in Doctrine and Ecclesiasticall Discipline, but euen in matters arbitrarie. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold euen in that Booke, that neither the matter which he intreateth of was arbitrary but necessary, in as much as the receiued custome of the Church did tie and bind them not to weare Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further also he reckoneth vp particularly a number of things, whereof he expressely concludeth, *Harum & aliarum eiusmodi disciplinarum si legem expositules Scripturarum, nullā inuenies*; which is as much as if he had said in expresse words, Many things there are which concerne the discipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatiuely vrged may not in any case perswade vs, but they must be obserued, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any such thing. *Tertullian* therefore vndoubtedly doth not in this Booke shew himselfe to be of the same minde with them by whom his name is pretended.

The first assertion endeoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures custome of disputing from Diuine authority negatiuely. 1.

Ioh. 2. 5. God is light, and there is in him no darknesse at all. *Heb. 6. 18.* It is impossible that God should lye, *Numb. 23. 19.* God is not as man that he should lye.

6 But sith the Sacred Scriptures themselves afford oftentimes such Arguments as are taken from diuine authority both one way & other, *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it must be:* And again, in like sort, *He hath not, therefore it must not be:* some certainty concerning this point seemeth requisite to be set downe, God himselfe can neither possibly erre, nor leade into errour. For this cause his testimonies, whatsoeuer he affirmeth, are alwaies truth and most infallible cer-

tainty.

tainty. Yea further, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, & lacke nothing which they should haue, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his speech, the argument negatiuely is euermore strong and forcible, concerning those things that are apparantly requisite vnto the same end. As for example, God intending to set

downe sundrie times that which in Angels is most excellent, hath not any where spoken so highly of the as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ; therefore they are not in dignitie equall vnto him. It is the Apostle *S. Pauls* argument. The purpose of God was to teach his People, both vnto whom they should offer sacrifice, and what sacrifice was to be offered. To burne their sons in fire vnto *Baal* he did not command them, hee spake no such thing, neyther came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to haue done. Which argument the Prophet *Jeremie* vseth more then once, as being so effectual & strong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only commanded but forbidden them, and that expressly; yet the Prophet chooseth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law vnto themselves, then the crime of transgressing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himselfe precisely set downe a forme of executing that wherein we are to serue him, the fault appeareth greater to doe that which we are not, then not to doe that which we are commanded. In this we seeme to charge the Law of God with hardnesse onely, in that with foolishnesse; in this we shew our selues weake and vnapt to be doers of his Will, in that we take vpon vs to be Controllors of his wisdom: in this we faile to performe the thing which God seeth meete, conuenient, and good; in that we presume to see what is meete and conuenient better then God himselfe. In those actions therefore, the whole forme whereof God hath of purpose set downe to be obserued, we may not otherwise doe then exactly, as he hath prescribed: in such things negatiue Arguments are strong. Againe, with a negatiue argument *Dauid* is pressed concerning the purpose hee had to build a Temple vnto the Lord:

Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in. Wher soeuer I haue walked with all Israel, spake I one word to any of the Iudges of Israel, whom I commanded to feede my people, saying, Why haue yee not built me an house? The Iewes vrged with a negatiue argument touching the ayde which they sought at the hands of the King of Egypt, Woe to those rebellious children (saith the Lord) which walke forth to go down into Egypt, and haue not asked counsell at my mouth, so strengthen themselves with the strength of PHARAO. Finally, the league of *Isisua* with the *Gabeonites* is likewise with a negatiue Argument touched. It

T.C.I. 2. p. 48. It is not hard to shew that the Prophets haue reasoned negatiuely. As when in the person of the Lord the Prophet saith, Whereof I haue not spoken *Jerem. 19. 5.* and, Which neuer entered into my heart, *Jerem. 7. 31. 32.* and where he condemneth them, because they haue not asked counsell at the mouth of the Lord, *Esay. 30. 2.* And it may be shewed, that the same kinde of argument hath bene vsed, in things which are not of the substance of Saluation or Damnation, and whereof there was no comendement to the contrarye (as in the former there was, *Leuit. 18. 21. & 20. 3. Deut. 17. 16.*) In *Iosua* the children of Israel are charged by the Prophet, that they asked not counsell of the mouth of the Lord, when they entered into covenant with the *Gabeonites*, *Iosh. 9. 14.* And yet that Covenant was not made contrarye vnto any Comendement of God. Moreover, wee reade that when *Dauid* had taken this counsell to build a Temple vnto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his Word that there should be such a standing place, where the Arke of the Covenant and the seruice should haue a certayne abiding, and albeit there was no Word of God which forbad *Dauid* to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale hee had to the aduancement of his glory) concludeth against *Dauids* resolution to build the Temple, with this reason, namely, that he had giuen no comendement of this who should build it, *1. Chr. 17. 6.*

*Leuit. 18. 21.
Ex. 20. 3.
Deut. 28. 10.*

1. Chron. 17. 6.

Esay 30. 1.

was

10th. 9. 14.

was not as it should be : And why? The Lord gaue them not that aduice : *They sought not counsell at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which examples, if any man should suppose the force of negatiue arguments approued, when they are taken from Scripture in such sort as wee in this question are pressed therewith, they greatly deceiue themselves. For vnto which of all these was it saide, that they had done amisse in purposing to doe, or in doing any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our question is, whether all be sinne which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Israelites did at any time amisse by following their owne mindes, without asking counsell of God. No, it was that peoples singular priuiledge, a fauour which God vouchsafed them about the rest of the world, that in the affaires of their Estate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himselfe gaue them extraordinarily direction and counsell, as oft as they sought it at his hands. Thus God did first by speech vnto *Moses*; after by *Vrim & Thummim* vnto Priests; lastly, by dreames and visions vnto Prophets, from whom in such cases they were to receiue the answer of God. Concerning *Iosua* therefore, thus spake the Lord vnto *Moses*, saying, *He shall stand before LEAZAR the Priest, who shall aske counsell for him by the iudgement of VRIM before the Lord:* whereof had *Iosua* been mindfull, the fraud of the Gabeonites could not so smoothly haue past vnespied till there was no helpe. The Iewes had Prophets to haue resolued them from the mouth of God himselfe, whether Egyptian aides should profit them, yea or no: but they thought themselves wise enough, and him vnworthie to be of their counsell. In this respect therefore was their reproofe, though sharpe, yet iust, albeit there had beene no charge precisely giuen them that they should alwaies take heed of Egypt. But as for *Dauid*, to thinke that he did euill in determining to build God a Temple, because there was in Scripture no commaundement that he should build it, were very iniurious: the purpose of his hart was religious and godly, the act most worthy of honour and renowne; neither could *Nathan* choose but admire his vertuous intent, exhört him to goe forward, and beseech God to prosper him therein. But God saw the endlesse troubles which *Dauid* should be subiect vnto during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gaue charge to deferre so good a worke till the dayes of tranquillitie and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *Dauid* supposed that it could not stand with the duetie which he owed vnto God, to set himselfe in a house of Cedar trees, and to behold the Arke of the Lords Couenant vnsetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by causing *Nathan* to shew him plainly, that it should be no more imputed vnto him for a fault, then it had beene vnto the Iudges of Israel before him, his case being the same which theirs was, their times not more vnquiet then his, nor more vnfit for such an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negatiue Arguments so taken from the authoritie of Scripture, as by vs they are denied, there is in all this lesse then nothing. And touching that which vnto this purpose is borrowed from the Controuersies sometime handled betweene *M. Harding*, and the worthiest Diuine that Chri-

1. Chron. 17.
T. C. lib. 2 p. 50.
M. Harding repro-
procheth the
B. of Salisburie
with this kinde
of reasoning:
vnto whom the
B. answereth,
The argument
of authoritie
negatiuely, is
taken to be
good, when-
euer proofe is
taken of Gods
Word, & is v-
fild not onely
by vs, but also
by many of
the Catholike
Fathers. A litle

after he sheweth the reason why the argument of authoritie of the Scripture negatiuely is good, namely, for that the Word of God is perfect. In another place vnto *M. Harding*, casting him in the teeth with negatiue arguments, he alleageth places out of *Irenaeus*, *Chryostome*, *Leo*, which reasoned negatiuely of the authoritie of the Scriptures. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generalitie, without any such restraint as the Answerer imagineth, as they are there to be seene.

scndome

ftendome hath bred for the space of some hundreds of yeares, who beeing brought vp together in one Vniuersitie, it fell out in them which was spoken of two others; * They learned in the same, that which in contrary Campes they did practise. Of these two, the one obiecing that with vs Arguments taken from authoritie negatively are ouer-common, the Bishops answer hereunto is, that this kinde of argument is thought to be good, whensoever prooffe is taken of Gods Word, and is vsed not onely by vs, but also by S. PAVL, and by many of the Catholike Fathers. S. PAVL saith, God said not vnto ABRAMAM, In thy seedes all the Nations of the earth shall be blessed, but, In thy seede, which is Christ, and there of he thought he made a good argument. Likewijse, saith ORIGEN, The bread which the Lord gaue vnto his Disciples, saying vnto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserued till the next day. Such arguments ORIGEN and other learned Fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoeuer misliking M^r HARDING hath found in them. This kind of prooffe is thought to hold in Gods Commandements, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath specially charged vs, that we should neither put to them, nor take from them: and therefore it seemeth good vnto them that haue learned of Christ, Vnus est Magister vester Christus, and haue heard the voice of God the Father from heauen, Ipsum audite. But vnto them that adde to the Word of God what them listeth, and make Gods will subiect vnto their wil, & break Gods Commandements for their owne Traditions sake, vnto them it seemeth nor good. Again, the English Apologie alleaging the example of the Greekes, how they haue neither priuate Masses, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaseth M^r HARDING to leift out the matter, to vse the helpe of his wits where strength of truth failed him, & to answer with scoffing at negatives. The Bishops defence in this case is, The ancient learned Fathers hauing to deale with politique Heretikes, that in defence of their errors auouched the iudgement of all the old Bishops and Doctōrs that had bene before them, and the general consent of the Primitiue and whole vniuersall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfull as you doe now; the better to discover the shamelesse boldnesse, and nakednesse of their doctrine, were often times likewise forced to vse the negative, and so to driue the same Heretikes as we doe you, to proue their affirmatiues; which thing to doe it was neuer possible. The ancient Father IRENEVS thus stayed himselfe, as we doe by the negative, Hoc meq; Prophetæ prædicauerunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; Apostoli tradiderunt; This thing neither did the Prophets publish, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apostles deliuer. By a like negative CHRYSOSTOME saith, This tree neither PAVL planted, nor APOLOS watered, nor GOD increased. In like sort LEO saith, What needeth it to belieue that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets haue spoken, nor the Gospel hath preached, nor the Apostles haue deliuered? And againe, How are the new deuices brought in that our Fathers neuer knew? S. AVGVSTINE hauing reckoned vpon a great number of the Bishops of Rome, by a general negative saith thus, In all this order of succession of Bishops, there is not one Bishop found that was a Donatist. Saint GREGORIE being himselfe a Bishop of Rome, and writing against the Title of Vniuersall Bishop, saith thus, None of all my Predecessors euer consented to vse this vngodly Title; No Bishop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of Singularity. By such negatives, Maister HARDING, wee reprove the vanitie and nonelstie of your Religion; we tell you, none of the Catholike ancient learned

* Uell. Patere. Iugurtha ac Marins sub eodem Africano militantes, in ipsdem castris didiceret que postea in contrarijs saecerent.
Art. 1. Diuise 29.
Gal. 3.
Orig. in Leuit. Hom. 5.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 17.

Defens. par. 5.
ed. 15. diuis. 10

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

De incom. nat.
Dei, hom. 3.
Epist. 93. c. 12.

Epist. 97. cap. 3.
Epist. 165.

Lib. 4. Ep. 32.

Fathers

Fathers eyther Greeke or Latine, euer vsed eyther your priuate Masse, or your halfe Communion, or your barbarous vnknowne prayers. PAUL neuer planted them, APOLLOS neuer watered them, GOD neuer increased them, they are of your selues, they are not of God. In all this there is not a syllable which any way croseth vs. For concerning arguments negatiue taken from humane authoritie, they are here proued to bee in some cases verie strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofes, when the Authors of needlesse innovations are opposed with such negatiues, as that of LEO, *How are these new deuices brought in which our fathers neuer knew?* when their graue and reuerend Superiors doe reckon vp vnto them, as *Augustine* did vnto the *Donatists*, large Catalogues of Fathers, wondred at for their wisdom, pietie, and learning, amongst whom for so many ages before vs, no one did euer so thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perswaded; surely, by vs they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negatiue. Much lesse when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it selfe doe beare them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatiuely may be good, but whether it bee so generally good, that in all actions men may vrge it. The Fathers, I grant, doe vse very generall and large termes, euen as *Hiero* the King did in speaking of *ARCHIMEDES*, *From henceforward whatsoever ARCHIMEDES speaketh, it must be beleued.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could simply in nothing be deceiued, but that hee had in such sort approued his skil, that he seemed worthy of credit for euer after in matters appertayning vnto the science hee was skilfull in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed, that mens speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speake. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of iudgment, peruse the Bishops speeches, and consider well of those negatiues concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of *Irenaeus*, *Chryostome*, and *Leo*, which three are chofen from amongst the residue, because the sentences of the others, (euen as one of theirs also) doe make for defence of negatiue arguments taken from humane authority, and not from diuine only. They mention no more restraint in the one then in the other: yet I thinke themselues will not hereby iudge, that the Fathers tooke both to be strong, without restraint vnto any speciall kinde of matter, wherein they held such argument forcible. Nor doth the Bishop either say or proue any more, then that an argument in some kindes of matter may be good, although taken negatiuely from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actions or perswasions.

T.C.1.1.p.95. When the question is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. The reason is, because the infirmite of man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it; neither yet be free fro error in those things which he speaketh or giueth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely cōpelleth the Hearer, but only induceth him to some liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perswade the simpler sort, then for a disputer to enforce him that is learned.

7 An earnest desire to draw all things vnto the determination of bare & naked scripture, hath caused here much paynes to be taken in abating the estimation & credit of man. Which if we labour to maintaine as far as truth & reason will beare, let not any thinke that we trauel about a matter not greatly needfull. For the scope of all their pleading against mans authoritie is, to over-throw such Orders, Lawes, & Constitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leaue neither face nor memorie of Church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they haue in this case spoken,

ken, I would for breuities sake let passe, but that the drift of their speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to say that simply an Argument taken from mans authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely, is hard. By a mans authority we here vnderstand, the force which his word hath for the assurance of anothers minde that buildeth vpon it; as the Apostle somewhat did vpon their report of the house of *Cloe*, and the Samaritans in a matter of farre greater moment vpon the report of a simple woman. For so it is said in *S. Iohns* Gospel, *Many of the Samaritanes of that Citie beleueed in him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He hath told me all things that euer I did.* The strength of mans authority is affirmatiuely such, that the weightiest affaires in the world depend thereon. In Iudgement & Iustice are not here-upon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three witnesses, euery word shall be confirmed?* This the law of God would not say, if there were in a mans testimonie no force at all to proue any thing. And if it bee admitted that in matter of fact there is some credit to be giuen to the testimonie of man, but not in matter of opinion and iudgement; we see the contrarie both acknowledged, and vniuersally practised also throughout the world. The sentences of wise and expert men were neuer but highly esteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in question; are we not bold to relye and build vpon the iudgement of such as are famous for their skill in the laws of this Land? In matter of State, the waight many times of some one mans authority is thought reason sufficient, euen to sway ouer whole Nations. And this not onely with the simpler sort; but the learned and wiser wee are, the more such arguments in some cases preuaile with vs. The reason why the simpler sort are moued with authoritie, is the conscience of their owne ignorance; whereby it commeth to passe, that hauing learned men in admiration, they rather feare to dislike them, then know wherefore they should allow and follow their iudgements. Contrariwise with them that are skilfull, authoritie is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how iust cause there is, why to some mens authoritie so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectuall to perswade euen such men as *Galen* himselfe, then to moue a silly Empirick. So that the very selfe-same argument in this kinde, which doth but induce the vulgar sort to like, may constraîne the wiser to yeeld. And therefore not Orators onely with the people, but euen the verie profoundest Disputers in all faculties haue hereby often with the best learned preuailed most. As for Arguments taken from humane authoritie, and that negatiuely; for example sake, if we should thinke the assembling of the people of God together by the sound of a Bell, the presenting of Infants at the holy Font, by such as commonly we call their Godfathers, or any other the like received custome to bee impious, because some men of whom we thinke very reuerently, haue in their bookes and writings no where mentioned or taught that such things should be in the Church; this reasoning were subiect vnto iust reproofe, it were but feeble, weak, and vsound. Notwithstanding euen negatiuely an argument from humane authoritie may be strong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of England mention no moe then onely six Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, since the time of the last Conquest; therefore it cannot be there
should

1. Cor. 1. 11.

Ioh. 4. 35.

Deut. 19. 15.
Matth. 18. 16.

should be more. So that if the question be of the authority of a mans testimonie, wee cannot simply auouch, eyther that affirmatiuely it doth not any way hold, or that it hath onely force to induce the simpler sort, and not to constraîne men of vnderstanding and ripe iudgement to yeeld assent, or that negatiuely it hath in it no strength at all. For vnto euery of these the contrarie is most plaine. Neither doth that which is alleaged concerning the infirmitie of men, overthrow or disproue this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may escape them, and in many things they may be deceiued; yea, those things which they doe know, they may either forget, or vpon fundrie indirect considerations let passe, and although themselves do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanitie, euen of purpose deceiue others. Howbeit infinite cases there are wherin all these impediments and lets are so manifestly excluded, that there is no shew or colour whereby any such exception may be taken, but that the testimony of man wil stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a Citie of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, and others, haue been Popes of Rome, I suppose we are certainly enough perswaded. The ground of our perswasion, who neuer saw the place nor persons beforenamed, can be nothing but mans testimonie. Will any man here notwithstanding alleage those mentioned humane infirmitie as reasons, why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, vtterly to infringe the force and strength of mans testimonie, were to shake the very Fortresse of Gods truth. For whatsoeuer we belecue concerning saluation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our beliefe; yet the authority of man is, if we marke it, the key which openeth the dore of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach vs the things that are of God, vnlesse we did credit men who haue taught vs that the words of Scripture doe signifie those thingss. Some way therefore, notwithstanding mans infirmity, yet his authority may enforce assent.

T.C. l. 1. p. 10. Although that kinde of argument of authoritie of men is good, neither in humane nor diuine sciences; yet it hath some small force in humane sciences, for as much as naturally and in that he is a man, he may come to some ripenes of iudgement in those sciences, which in diuine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more iudge of them then a blinde man of colours. Yea, so farre is it from drawing credit, if it be barely spoken without reason and testimonie of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspition of vnto truth whatsoeuer proceedeth from him: which the Apostle did well note, when to signifie a thing corruptly spoken and against the truth, he saith, that it is spoken according to man, *Rom. 3.* He saith not as a wicked and lying man, but simply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for so much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is most advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and disordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from speaking of the truth;) no mans authoritie, with the Church especially, and those that are called & perswaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring any assurance vnto the conscience.

Vpon better aduice and deliberation so much is perceiued, and at the length confessed, that Arguments taken from the authoritie of men, may not onely so farre forth as hath bene declared, but further also be of some force in *humane sciences*; which force be it neuer so small, doth shew that they are not vtterly naught. But in *matters diuine* it is still maintayned stiffly, that they haue no manner force at all. Howbeit the very selfesame reason, which causeth to yeeld that they are of some force in the onc, will at the length constraîne also to acknowledge, that they are not in the other altogether vnforcible. For if the naturall strength of mans

wit may by experience and studie attaine vnto such ripenesse in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this respect may presume to build somewhat vpon their iudgement; what reason haue we to thinke but that euen in matters diuine, the like wits furnisht with necessarie helps, exercised in Scripture with like

like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow vnto so much perfection of knowledge, that men shall haue iust cause, when any thing pertinent vnto faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the sentence of so graue, wise and learned in that facultie shall iudge most sound. For the controuersie is of the waight of such mens iudgements. Let it therefore be suspected, let it be taken as grosse, corrupt, repugnant vnto the truth, whatsoeuer concerning things diuine aboue nature shall at any time be spoken as out of the mouthes of meere naturall men, which haue not the eyes wherewith heauenly things are discerned. For this we contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall gifts to aspire vnto knowledge by; whose exercises, labours, and diuine studies he hath so blest, that the world for their great and rare skill that way, hath them in singular admiration; may we reiect euen their iudgement likewise, as being vtterly of no moment? For mine owne part I dare not so lightly esteeme of the Church, and of the principall pillars therein. The truth is, that the minde of man desireth euer more to know the truth according to the most infallible certaintie which the nature of things can yeeld. The greatest assurance generally with all men, is that which we haue by plaine aspect and intuitiue beholding. Where wee cannot attaine vnto this; here what appeareth to be true by strong and inuincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceiued, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to doe otherwise. And in case these both doe faile; then which way greatest probabilitie leadeth, thither the mind doth euer more incline. Scripture with Christian men being receiued as the word of God; that for which we haue probable, yea that which we haue necessarie reason for, yea that which we see with our eyes, is not thought so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; because we hold that his speech reuealeth there what himselfe seeth, and therefore the strongest prooff of all, and the most necessarily assented vnto by vs (which doe thus receiue the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yeeld vnto any thing other assent, then such as doth answer the euidence which is to be had of that wee assent vnto. For which cause euen in matters diuine, concerning somethings wee may lawfully doubt and suspend our iudgement, inclining neyther to one side or other, as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and Angels; of some things we may very well retaine an opinion that they are probable and not vnlkely to be true, as when wee hold that men haue their soules rather by creation then propagation, or that the mother of our Lord liued alwayes in the state of Virginitie as well after his birth as before (for of these two, the one her virginitie before, is a thing which of necessitie we must beleue; the other, her continuance in the same state alwaies, hath more likelihood of truth then the contrary;) finally in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in most agreeable sort vnto God and nature settled, when they are so farre perswaded as those grounds of perswasion which are to be had will beare. Which thing I doe so much the rather set downe, for that I see how a number of soules are, for want of right information in this poynt, oftentimes grieuously vexed. When bare and vnbuilded conclusions are put into their minds, they finding not themselves to haue thereof any great certaintie, imagine that this proceedeth onely from lacke of faith, and that the Spirit of God

doth not worke in them, as it doeth in true belteuers; by this meanes their hearts are much troubled, they fal into anguish & perplexitie: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident fouer wee may bee in words, when it commeth to the point of triall, such as the euidence is which the truth hath cyther in it selfe or through prooffe, such is the hearts assent thereunto, neyther can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that prooffe deriued from the authority of mans iudgement, is not able to worke that assurance which doth grow by a stronger prooffe; and therefore although ten thousand general Councels would set downe one & the same definitiue sentence concerning any poynt of religion whatsoeuer, yet one demonstratiue reason alledged, or one manifest testimony cited from the moued of God himselfe to the contrarie, could not chuse but ouerweigh them all; in as much as for them to haue beene deceyued, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstratiue reason or testimonie diuine should deceiue. Howbeit in defect of prooffe infallible, because the minde doth rather follow probable perswasions, then approve the things that haue in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrin were proposed, and on the one side no kind of prooffe appearing, there should on the other be alledged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest Diuines in the world haue euer thought; although it did not appeare what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that iudgement, yet to their very bare iudgement somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecilities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that especially with the Church, and those that are called and perswaded of the authority of the word of God, mans authoritie with them especially should not preuaile; it must and doth preuaile euen with them, yea with them especially as far

T. C. l. 2. p. 21. Of diuers sentences of the fathers themselues (whereby some haue likened them to brute beasts without reason, which suffer themselves to be led by the iudgement and authoritie of others, some haue preferred the iudgement of one simple rude man alleaging reason, vnto companies of learned men) I wil contēt myselfe at this time with two or three sentences. *Irenaeus* saith, whatsoever is to be shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselues, *lib. 3. cap. 12.* *Ierome* saith, No man be he neuer so holy or eloquent, hath any authority aiter the Apostles, in *Phil. 86.* *Augustine* saith, that he wil belieue none, how godly and learned soeuer he be, vnless he confirm his sentence by the scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them, *F. p. 18.* And in another place, Heare this, the Lord saith; heare not this, *Donatus* saith, *Rogatus* saith, *Vincentius* saith, *Hilarius* saith, *Ambrose* saith, *Augustine* saith, but hearken vnto this, the Lord saith, *F. p. 48.* And again, hauing to doe with an *Arrian*, he affirmeth that neither he ought to bring forth the council of *Nice*, nor the other the council of *Arimine*, thereby to bring preiudice each to other; neither ought the *Arrian* to be holten by the authoritie of the one, nor himselfe by the authority of the other, but by the scriptures which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both; matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason ought to be debated, *Contra Maxim. Arrian. 3. 14. ca.* And in another place against *Peilian* the *Donatist*, he saith, Let not these words be heard betweene vs, I say, you say; let vs heare this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, There let vs seeke the Church, there let vs trie the cause, *De vniua. Eccles. cap. 3.* Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatiuely is nothing worth.

as equitie requireth, and farther we maintaine it not. For men to be tyed and led by authoritie, as it were with a kind of captiuitie of iudgement, & though there be reason to the contrary, not to listen vnto it, but to follow like bestes the first in the heard, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authoritie of men should preuaile with men cyther against or aboue reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men be they neuer so great and reuerend, are to yeeld vnto reason; the waight wherof is no whit preiudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it, but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, must of necessity stoope & giue place. *Irene* writing against *Marcion*, which held one God author of the old Testament, and another of the new; to proue that the Apostles preached the same

mons and speeches vttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for these demonstrations out of Scripture, and doe summarily declare the things which many waies haue bin spoken, be contented quietly to heare, and doe not thinke my speech tedious: Quonia ostensiones quae sunt in Scripturis non possunt ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis; Because demonstrations that are in Scripture, may not otherwise be shewed, then by citing them out of the Scriptures themselues where they are.* Which words make so little vnto the purpose, that they seeme as it were offended at him which hath called them thus solemely forth to say nothing. And concerning the verdict of *Ierome*, If no man be he neuer so well learned, haue after the Apostles any authoritie to publish new doctrine as from Heauen, and to require the Worlds assent as vnto truth receyued by propheticall reuelation; doth this prejudice the credite of learned mens iudgements in opening that truth, which by being conuersant in the Apostles writings, they haue themselues from thence learned? Saint *Augustine* exhorteth not to heare men; but to hearken what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I thinke) that wee should stop our cares against his owne exhortation, and therefore he cannot meane simply that audience should altogether bee denied vnto men; but eyther that if men speake one thing, and God himselfe teach another, then he, not they to bee obeyed; or if they both speake the same thing, yet then also mans speech vnworthie of hearing, not simply, but in comparison of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea but wee doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this case forbidden to heare what men of iudgement thinke it to bee? If not, then this allegation also might very well haue bene spared. In that ancient strife which was betweene the Catholique Fathers and Arrians, Donatists, and others of like peruerse and froward disposition, as long as to Fathers or Councils alleaged on the one side, the like by the contrarie side were imposed, impossible it was that euer the question should by this meane grow vnto any issue or end. The Scripture they both beleued; the Scripture they knew could not giue sentence on both sides, by Scripture the controuersie betweene them was such as might be determined. In this case what madnesse was it with such kindes of proofes to nourish their contention, when there were such effectuall meanes to end all controuersie that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authoritie of man affirmatiuely is in matters diuine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inserted into the mindes of the vulgar sort, what it may grow vnto God knoweth. Thus much wee see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong euen in grosse and palpable errors, that a man whose capacitie will scarce serue him to vtter siue wordes in sensible manner, blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to thinke his own bare Yea as good as the Nay of all the wise, graue and learned iudgements that are in the whole world. Which insolencie must be repress, or it will be the very bane of Christian religion. Our Lords Disciples marking what speech hee vttered vnto them, and at the same time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, betweene which opinion and the wordes of their Maister, it seemed vnto them that there was some contradiction, which they could not

Maib. 17. 10.

themselves answere with full satisfaction of their owne mindes; the doubt they propose to our Sauour, saying, *Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come?* They knew that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many waies euen in matters of their owne profession. They notwithstanding thought the iudgement of the verie Scribes in matters diuine to bee of some value; some probabilitie they thought there was that *Elias* should come, in as much as the Scribes said it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; desirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might stand together; that which they knew could not be false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seeme true, onely because the Scribes had said it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. Wee doe not finde that our Sauour reproofed them of error, for thinking the iudgement of Scribes to be worth the obiecing, for esteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perswaded that the will of God is, we should so farre reiect the authoritie of men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a question, whether they that vrge vs vnto this be themselves so perswaded indeed. Men doe sometimes bewray that by deedes, which to confesse they are hardly drawne. Marke then if this bee not generall with all men for the most part. When the iudgements of learned men are alledged against them; what doe they but either eleuate their credite, or oppose vnto them the iudgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them some force and waight, for which they are loath the cause they maintaine should be so much weakned as their testimonie is auailable. Again what reason is there why alleaging testimonies as proofes, men giue them some title of credite, honour and estimation whom they alledge, vnlesse before hand it be sufficiently knowne who they are; what reason hereof but only a common ingrafted perswasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to counterwaile those exceptions which might bee taken against them, and that such mens authority is not lightly to be shaken off? Shal I adde further, that the force of arguments drawne from the authority of Scripture it selfe, as Scriptures commonly are alledged, shall (being sifted) bee found to depend vpon the strength of this so much despised and debased authoritie of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the prooffe which is taken from thence must needs be of all other most inuincible; yet this strength it hath not, vnlesse it auouch the selfe-same thing for which it is brought. If there be either vndeniable apparance that so it doth, or reason such as cannot deceiue, then Scripture-prooffe (no doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, euen such as are readieft to cite for one thing siue hundred sentences of holy Scripture; what warrant haue they, that any one of them doth meane the thing for which it is alledged? Is not their surest ground most commonly, cyther some probable coniecture of their owne, or the iudgement of others taking those Scriptures as they doe? Which notwithstanding to meane otherwise then they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselves on humane authoritie, euen when they most pretend diuine. Thus it fareth euen cleane throughout the whole controuersie about that discipline

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which is so earnestly urged and labored for. Scriptures are plentifully alleaged to proue that the whole Christian World for euer ought to embrace it. Hereupon men terme it, *The Discipline of God*. Howbeit, examine, sift and resolute their alleaged proofes, till you come to the very roote from whence they spring, the heart wherein their strength lyeth; and it shall cleerely appeare vnto any man of iudgement, that the most which can bee inferred vpon such plentie of Diuine Testimonies is onely this, That *some things* which they maintaine as farre as *some men* can probably coniecture, doe seeme to haue bene out of Scripture *not absurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant sufficient for any mans conscience to build such proceedings vpon, as haue bene and are put in vre for the establishment of that cause? But to conclude, I would gladly vnderstand how it commeth to passe, that they which so peremptorily doe maintaine that Humane authoritie is nothing worth, are in the cause which they fauor so carefull to haue the common sort of men perswaded, that the wisest, the godliest, and the best Learned in all Christendome are that way giuen, seeing they iudge this to make nothing in the World for them? Againe, how commeth it to passe, they cannot abide that Authoritie should be alleaged on the other side, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one side or other? Wherefore labour they to strip their Aduerfaries of such furniture as doth not helpe? Why take they such needlesse paines to furnish also their owne cause with the like? If it be void and to no purpose that the names of men are so frequent in their Bookes; what did moue them to bring them in, or doth to suffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is salued, *They doe it but after the truth made manifest, first, by reason or by Scripture, they doe it not but to controule the enemies of truth, who beare themselves bold vpon Humane Authoritie making not for them but against them rather.* Which answeres are nothing. For in what place or vpon what consideration foecer it bee they doe it, were it in their owne opinion of no force being done, they would vndoubtedly refraine to doe it.

8 But to the end it may more plainly appeare, what wee are to iudge of their sentences, and of the cause it selfe wherein they are alleaged; first, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men indued with the vse of reason, are generally either good or euill. For, although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or euill, vnlesse it be voluntarie; yet this can be no let to our former assertion, that all actions of men indued with the vse of reason are generally either good or euill; because euen those things are done voluntarily by vs, which other creatures doe naturally, in as much as wee might stay our doing of them if wee would. Beasts naturally doe take their food and rest, when it offereth it selfe vnto them. If men did so too, and could not doe otherwise of themselves; there were no place for any such reproofe as that of our Sauiour Christ vnto his Disciples, *Could yee not watch with mee one howre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it bee well done, must needs bee done with deliberate consideration of some reasonable cause, wherefore wee rather should doe it then not. Whereupon it seemeth, that in such actions onely those are said to bee good or euill, which are capable of deliberation: so that many things being hourelly done by men, wherein they neede not vse of themselves any manner of consultation at all, it may perhaps hereby seeme

T. C. L. A. 11. If at any time it happened vnto Augustine (as it did against the Donatists and others) to alleage the authoritie of the Ancient Fathers which had bene before him; yet this was not done before hee had laid a sure foundation of his cause in the Scriptures, and that also being prouoked by the Aduerfaries of the truth, who bare themselves high of some Councell, or of some man of name that had fauoured that part.

A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Mat. 26. 40.

that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our waightier affaires, and to those deedes which are of so great importance that they require aduice. But thus to determine were perillous, and peraduenture vnfound also. I doe rather incline to thinke, that seeing all the vnforced actions of men are voluntarie; and all voluntary actions tending to the end haue choice; and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore wee make it: where the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth it selfe, that it needeth not to bee sought for; in those things though wee doe not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend it selfe, if there were not some apparent Motiue to lead it. Deliberation actuall wee vse, when there is doubt what we should incline our wils vnto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent vnto the thing, but as needlesse in regard of the agent, which seeth already what to resolute vpon. It hath no apparent absurditie therefore in it to thinke, that all actions of men indued with the vse of reason, are generally either good or euill. Whatsoeuer is good; the same is also approued of God: and according vnto the sundry degrees of goodnesse, the kinds of Diuine approbation are in like sort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in so meane a degree of goodnesse, that men are only not disprooued nor disallowed of God for them. No man hateth his owne flesh. If ye doe good vnto them that doe so to you, the very Publicans themselues doe as much. They are worse then Infidels that haue no care to provide for their owne. In actions of this sort, the very light of Nature alone may discouer that which is so farre forth in the sight of God allowable. Some things in such sort are allowed, that they bee also required as necessarie vnto Saluation, by way of direct, immediate and proper necessitie finall; so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course bee saued, nor by any meanes bee excluded from life obseruing them. In actions of this kind, our chiefest direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no sufficient Teacher what wee should doe that may attaine vnto life euerlasting. The vn-sufficiency of the light of Nature, is by the light of Scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light then this hath added, there doth not need vnto that end. Finally, some things although not so required of necessitie, that to leaue them vndone excludeth from saluation, are notwithstanding of so great dignitie and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in Heauen is laid vp for them. Hereof we haue no Commandement either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands: yet those Motiues there are in both, which draw most effectually our mindes vnto them. In this kinde there is not the least action, but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our blisse. For which cause our Sauour doth plainly witnesse, that there should not bee as much as a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatsoeuer difference there is betweene the states of Saints in glory: hither we referre whatsoeuer belongeth vnto the highest perfection of man by way of seruite towards God: hereunto that seruour and first loue of Christians did bend it selfe, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay downe the price at the blessed Apostles feet: hereat *S. Paul* vndoubtedly did ayme, in so farre abridging his owne libertie, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enioyned duty tyed him vnto.

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Ephes. 5. 29.
Mat. 5. 46.
1. Tim. 5. 8.

Mat. 10. 42.

Mat. 23. 31.
1. Thes. 2. 7, 9.

Wherefore seeing that in all these severall kinds of actions, there can be nothing possibly euill which God approoueth; and that he approoueth much more then he doth command; and that his very Commandements in some kind, as namely, his Precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwise knowne then onely by Scripture; and that to doe them, howsoever wee know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight: let them, with whom wee haue hitherto disputed, consider well, how it can stand with reason to make this bare mandate of Sacred Scripture the only Rule of all good and euill in the actions of mortall men. The Testimonies of God are true, the Testimonies of God are perfect, the Testimonies of God are al-sufficient vnto that end for which they were giuen. Therefore accordingly we do receiue them, we do not thinke that in them God hath omitted any thing needfull vnto his purpose, & left his intent to be accomplished by our deuings. What the Scripture purposeth, the same in all points it doth performe. Howbeit, that here wee swerue not in iudgement, one thing especially we must obserue, namely, that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seene by Relation vnto that end whereto it tendeth. And euen hereby it cometh to passe, that first such as imagine the generall and mayne drift of the body of Sacred Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliuer, as in truth he doth, a full instruction in all things vnto Saluation necessary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwise in this life attayne vnto: they are by this very meane induced, either still to looke for new Reuelations from Heauen, or else dangerously to adde to the Word of God vncertaine Tradition, that so the Doctrine of mans Saluation may be complete; which Doctrine wee constantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to be so complete, that wee vtterly refuse as much as once to acquaint our selues with any thing further. Whatsoever to make vp the Doctrine of mans Saluation is added as in supply of the Scriptures vn-sufficiency, we reiect it. Scripture purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Againe, the scope and purpose of God in deliuering the holy Scripture, such as do take more largely then beho-ueth, they on the contrary side racking and stretching it further then by him was meant, are drawne into sundrie as great inconueniences. These pretending the Scriptures perfection, inferre thereupon that in Scripture all things lawful to be done must needs be containd. Wee count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end wherto they were instituted. As therefore God created every part & particle of man exactly perfect, that is to say, in all points sufficient vnto that vse for which he appointed it; so the Scripture, yea every sentence thereof is perfect, and wanteth nothing requisite vnto that purpose for which God deliuered the same. So that if hereupon we conclude, that because the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may euen as wel conclude so of every sentence, as of the whole summe & body thereof, vnlesse we first of all proue that it was the drift, scope and purpose of Almighty God in holy Scripture, to comprise all things which man may practise. But admit this, and marke, I beseech you, what would follow. God in deliuering Scripture to his Church, should cleane haue abrogated amongst them the law of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humane actions

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 6.
Where this doctrine is accused of bringing men to despair, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to despair, against which this Doctrine offereth the remedie; it must needs be that it bringeth comfort and ioy to the conscience of man.

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are comprehended, and conclusions deriued from them; vpon which conclusions groweth in particularitie the choice of good and euill in the daily affaires of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weake Consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despaires? Not that the Scripture it selfe doth cause any such thing, (for it tendeth to the cleane contrary, and the fruit thereof is resolute assurance and certaintie in that it teacheth:) but the necessities of this life vrging men to doe that which the light of Nature, common discretion and iudgement of it selfe directeth them vnto; on the other side, this Doctrine teaching them that so to doe were to sinne against their owne soules, and that they put forth their hands to iniquitie, whatsoever they goe about and haue not first the sacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it choose but bring the simple a thousand times to their wits end; how can it choose but vex and amaze them? For in euery action of common life to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to doe, (seeme we in Scripture neuer so expert) would trouble vs more then we are aware. In weake and tender minds wee little know what miserie this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all mens liues and actions. Make all things sin which we doe by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common discretion without thinking at all vpon Scripture; admit this Position, and Parents shall cause their children to sinne, as oft as they cause them to doe any thing, before they come to yeeres of capacitie and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it shall not be with Masters, as it was with him in the Gospell; but Seruants being commanded to goe, shall stand still, till they haue their errand warranted vnto them by Scripture. Which as it standeth with Christian dutie in some cases, so in common affaires to require it, were most vnfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiency of holy Scripture, each extremely opposite vnto the other, and both repugnant vnto Truth. The Schooles of Rome teach Scripture to be vn sufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not contayne all reuealed and supernaturall Truth, which absolutely is necessary for the Children of Men in this life, to know that they may in the next be saued. Others iustly condemning this opinion, grow likewise vnto a dangerous extremitie, as if Scripture did not only contayne all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort that to doe any thing according to any other Law, were not onely vn necessary, but euen opposite vnto Saluation, vnlawfull and sinfull. Whatsoever is spoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwise then as the Truth is; though it seeme an honour, it is an iniurie. And as incredible prayses giuen vnto men, doe often abate and impair the credit of their deserued commendation; so we must likewise take great heed, lest in attributing vnto Scripture more then it can haue, the incredibilitie of that, doe cause euen those things which indeed it hath most abundantly, to be lesse reuerently esteemed. I therefore leaue it to themselues to consider, whether they haue in this first point or not ouer-shot themselues; which, God doth know, is quickly done, euen when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily perswaded theirs in this case was.

Luke 7. v. 8.



OF THE LAWES OF
ECCLESIASTICALL
POLITIE:

The third Booke.

Concerning their second Assertion, that in Scripture
*there must be of necessity contained a forme of Church-polity, the
Lawes whereof may in no wise be altered.*

The matter contained in this third Booke.

- 1 **W**hat the Church is, and in what respect Lawes of Polity are ther-
unto necessarily required.
- 2 Whether it be necessary that some particular forme of Church-
polity be set downe in Scripture, sith the things that belong
particularly to any such forme are not of necessity to saluation.
- 3 That matters of Church-Polity are different from matters of faith & saluati-
on, & that they themselues so teach which are our reproouers for so teaching.
- 4 That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the
soundnesse of truth may be giuen.
- 5 Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of England,
that nothing ought to be established in the Church more then is commanded
by the Word of God.
- 6 How great injury men by so thinking should offer vnto all the Churches of God.
- 7 A shift notwithstanding to maintaine it, by interpreting Commanded as
though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set downe
in Scripture particularly, & lesser framed by the generall rules of Scripture.
- 8 Another deuice to defend the same, by expounding Commanded as if it did
signifie grounded on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by light
of naturall reason onely.
- 9 How Lawes for the Polity of the Church may be made by the aduice of men, &
how those Lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his
sight.

10 That

- IO *That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to proue that they admit no addition or change.*
- II *Whether Christ must needs intend Lawes vncchangeable altogether, or haue forbidden any where to make any other Law then himselfe did deliuer.*

What the Church is, and in what respect Lawes of Politie are thereunto necessarily required.



Albeit the substance of those Controuersies whereinto wee haue begun to wade, bee rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth: yet because the subiect or matter which this position concerneth, is *A forme of Church-gouernment or Church Politie*; it therefore behooueth vs so farre forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for mens more cleere and plaine vnderstanding, in what respect Lawes of Politie or Gouernment are neces-

sary thereunto. That Church of Christ which wee properly terme his bodie mysticall, can be but one; neither can that one bee sensibly discerned by any man, in as much as the parts thereof are some in Heauen already with Christ, and the rest that are on Earth (albeit their naturall persons bee visible) wee doe not discern under this propertie whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Onely our mindes by intellectuall conceit are able to apprehend, that such a reall bodie there is, a bodie collectiue, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body mysticall, because the mysterie of their coniunction is remooued altogether from sense. What soeuer wee reade in Scripture concerning the endlesse loue and the sauing mercie, which God sheweth towards his Church, the onely proper subiect thereof is this Church. Concerning this flocke it is that our Lord & Sauiour hath promised, *I giue vnto them eternall life, & they shal neuer perish, neither shall any pluck the out of my hands.* They who are of this society, haue such markes and notes of distinction from all others, as are not obiect vnto our sense; onely vnto God, who seeth their hearts and vnderstandeth all their secret cogitations, vnto him they are cleere and manifest. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an Israelite. But our Sauiour piercing deeper, giueth further testimonie of him then men could haue done with such certainty as hee did, *Behold indeed an Israelite in whom their is guile.* If wee professe as *Peter* did, that wee loue the Lord, and professe it in the hearing of men; charity is prone to beleue all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we doe so, as long as they see no prooffe to the contrary. But that our loue is sound and sincere, that it commeth from a *pure heart & a good conscience and a faith vnfaigned*, who can pronounce, sauing onely the searcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? And as those euerlasting promises of Loue, Mercy, & Blessednesse, belong to the mysticall Church; euen so on the other side when wee reade of any duty which the Church of God is bound vnto, the Church whom this doth concerne is a sensible known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the World to the last end.

Which

Iohn 10. 28.

Yohn 1. 47.

Iohn 21. 15.

1. Tim. 1. 5.

Which company being deuided into two moieties; the one before, the other since the coming of Christ that part which since the coming of Christ, partly hath embraced, and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we terme as by a more proper name the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but *one body*. The vnity of which visible body and Church of Christ, consisteth in that vniformity which all feuerall persons thereunto belonging haue, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose Seruants they all professe themselves; that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptisme*, wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Iesus Christ therefore one, in outward professiō of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very Essence of Christianitie, and are necessarily required in euery particular Christian man. *Let all the house of Israel know for certainty, saith Peter, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, euen this Iesus whom ye haue crucified.* Christians therefore they are not, which call not him their Master and Lord. And from hence it came, that first at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole World, all that were of the Church visible were called Christians, euen amongst the Heathen: which name vnto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the World, euen Christ Iesus himselfe was ^b execrable, for whose sake all men were so likewise which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himselfe did foresee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end they might sustaine it without discomfort: *All these things they will doe vnto you for my names sake; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will thinke that hee doth God good seruice. These things I tell you, that when the houre shall come, yee may then call to mind how I told you before hand of them.* But our naming of Iesus Christ the Lord, is not enough to prooue vs Christians, vnlesse we also embrace that faith, which Christ hath published vnto the World. To shew that the Angell of Pergamus continued in Christianitie, behold, how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, *Thou keepest my Name, and thou hast not denied my Faith.* Concerning which Faith, *The rule thereof, saith Tertullian, is one alone, immouable, & no way possible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he sheweth by rehearsing those few Articles of Christian beliefe. And before Tertullian, Ireney; *The Church though scattered through the whole World vnto the vntermost borders of the Earth, hath from the Apostles and their Disciples receiued beliefe.* The parts of which beliefe he also reciteth in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth; *This faith the Church being spread farre and wide preserveth, as if one house did containe them; these things it equally embraceth, as though it had euen one soule, one heart and no more; it publisheth, teacheth and deliuereth these things with vniforme consent, as if God had giuen it but one onely tongue wherewith to speake. He which amongst the Guides of the Church is best able to speake, uttereth no more then this; and lesse then this the most simple doth not utter, when they make possession of their Faith.* Now although wee know the Christian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this respect wee are but entring; entered wee

a Ephes. 2. 16. That he might reconcile both vnto God in one body.

Eph. 3. 16. That the Gentiles should be Inheritors also and of the same bodie. Vide T. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3.

1. or 12. 13. Ephes. 4. 5. Act. 2. 36. Iohn 13. 13. Col. 3. 24. Col. 4. 1.

b 1. Cor. 1. 23. Vide & Tacitum lib. Annal. 15. Ne-roque sitissimis paucis affectu quos per flagitia inuitos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor non nisi eius Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in presens exitiabilis superstitio versus erumpit, non modo per Iudeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrociter aut pudenda consuevit celebranturque.

Iohn 15. 21. Iohn 16. 2, 4.

Apoc. 2. 13. Tertull. de Virg. g. veland.

Iren. aduers. her. lib. 1. cap. 2. & 3.

are not into the visible Church, before our admittance by the dore of Baptisme. Wherefore immediatly vpon the acknowledgement of Christian Faith, the Eunnuch (we see) was baptized by *Philip*; *Paul* by *Ananias*, by *Peter* a huge multitude containing threethousand soules; which being once baptized, were reckoned in the number of soules added to the visible Church. As for those vertues that belong vnto morall righteousnesse and honesty of life, we doe not mention them, because they are not proper vnto Christian men, as they are Christian, but doe concerne them, as they are men. True it is, the want of these vertues excludeth from saluation. So doth much more the absence of inward beliefe of heart; so doth despaire and lack of hope; so emptinesse of Christian Loue and Charity. But we speake now of the visible Church, whose Children are signed with this marke, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*. In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her Children; them onely she holdeth for Aliens and Strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is that Saracens, Iewes, & Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not denie to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessitie eyther Christians or not Christians. If by externall profession they bee Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: And Christians by externall profession they are all, whose marke of Recognizance hath in it those things which wee haue mentioned, yea although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Heretiques, Persons Excommunicable, yea and cast out for notorious improbitie. Such withall we denie not to be the Imps and limmes of Satan, euen as long as they continue such. Is it then possible that the selfe-same men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Iesus Christ? Vnto that Church which is his Mystical Body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but onely true Israelites, true sonnes of *Abraham*, true Seruants & Saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Iesus Christ, those may bee and oftentimes are, in respect of the maine parts of their outward profession; who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea of external cōuersation, yea euen of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hatefull in the sight of God himselfe, and in the eyes of the sounder parts of the visible Church most execrable. Our Sauour therefore compareth the Kingdome of heauen to a Ner, whereunto all which commeth, neither is nor seemeth fish; his Church he compareth vnto a field, where Tares manifestly knowne and seene by all men doe grow intermingled with good Corne, and euen so shall continue till the finall consummation of the World. God hath had euer, and euer shall haue some Church visible vpon the Earth. When the people of God worshipped the Calse in the Wildernesse; when they adored the brasen Serpent; when they serued the Gods of Nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incense and offered Sacrifice vnto Idols; true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their Prophets iustly condemned them, as an adulterous Seed and a wicked Generation of Miscreants, which had forsaken the liuing God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercie wherewith he kindly and louing embraceth his faithfull Children. Howbeit retayning the Law of God, and the holy Scale of his Couenant, the sheepe

Abs 8. 38.
Abs 22. 16.
Abs 1. 41.

Mat. 13. 47.
Mat. 13. 34.

Exod. 32.
Psal. 106. 19. 20.
2 Kings 18. 4.
Ier. 17. 14.
2 Kings 22. 17.
Esay 57. 3.
Esay 1. 4.
Esay 60. 15.

Ier. 17. 11.
1 Kings 19. 18.

of

of his Visible Flocke they continued euen in the depth of their Disobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not onely *amongst* them God alwayes had his Church, because he had thousands which neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whose knees were bowed vnto *Baal*, euen they were also of the Visible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet so complaine, as if that Church had beene quite and cleane extinguished; but he tooke it as though there had not beene remaying in the World any besides himselfe, that carried a true and an vpright heart towards God, with care to serue him according to his Holy Will. For lacke of diligent obseruing the difference, first, betweene the Church of God Myſticall and Visible, then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes lesse; the ouersights are neyther few nor light that haue beene committed. This deceyeth them, and nothing else, who thinke that in the time of the first World, the Family of *Noah* did containe all that were of the Visible Church of God. From hence it grew and from no other cause in the World, that the Affricane Bishops in the Councell of Carthage, knowing how the administration of Baptisme belongeth onely to the Church of Christ, and supposing that Heretikes which were apparantly seuered from the sound beleeuing Church, could not possibly be of the Church of Iesus Christ; thought it vterly against reason, that Baptisme administered by men of corrupt beleeffe, should be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of re-baptization; their arguments are built vpon the fore-alledged ground, *That Heretiques are not at all any part of the Church of Christ. Our Saniour founded his Church on a Rock, and not vpon heresie; power of baptizing he gaue to his Apostles, vnto Heretiques he gaue it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppose themselves against Christ, doe but scatter his Sheepe and Flocke; without the Church baptize they cannot. Againe, Are Heretiques Christians, or are they not? If they be Christians, wherefore remaine they not in Gods Church? If they be no Christians, how make they Christians? Or to what purpose shall those words of the Lord serue, He which is not with me, is against me: and, He which gathereth not with me, scattereth? Wherefore euident it is, that vpon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichrist, without re-baptization the Holy Ghost cannot descend. But none in this case so earnest as CYPRIAN; I know no Baptisme but one, and that in the Church onely; none without the Church, where he that doth cast out the Deuill, bath the Deuill: He doth examine about beleeffe, whose lips and words doe breathe forth a Canker: The faithlesse doth offer the Articles of Faith, a wicked creature forgiueth wickednesse; in the name of Christ, Antichrist signeth; he which is cursed of God, blesseth; a dead carrion promiseth life, a man vnpeacable giueth peace, a Blasphemer calleth vpon the Name of God, a prophane person doth exercise Priesthood, a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar, and in the necke of all these that euill also commeth, the Eucharist a very Bishop of the Deuill doth presume to consecrate. All this was true, but not sufficient to prooue that Heretikes were in no sort any part of the Visible Church of Christ, and consequently their Baptisme no Baptisme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both cōdemned by a better aduised Councell, and also reuoked by the chiefeſt of the Authours thereof themselves. What is it but only the selfe-same Error and Misconceit, wherewith others beeing at this day likewise possit, they aske vs where our Church did lurke, in what Caue of the Earth it slept for so many hundreds of*

1er. 13. 11.

1. King. 19. 18.

Fortumat. in
Concil. Car.
Mat. 7. 24.
Mat. 16. 18.
Mat. 28. 19.

Secundus in
eodem Concil.
Mat. 12. 30.

In Concilio Ni-
ceno. Vide Hie-
ronym. aduers.
Luciferia.

yeeres together before the birth of *Martin Luther*? As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth vnto the end. Of which Church all parts haue not bene alwayes equally sincere and found. In the dayes of *Abia* it plainly appeareth, that *Iuda* was by many degrees more free from pollution then *Israel*, as that solemne Oration sheweth, wherein hee pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise: *O IEROBOAM, and all Israel, heare you me; Haue yee not driuen away the Priests of the Lord, the Sonnes of AARON, and the Leuites, and haue made you Priests like the people of Nations? Whosoever commeth to consecrate with a young Bullocke and seuen Rammes, the same may be a Priest of them that are no Gods. But we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; and the Priests the Sonnes of AARON Minister vnto the Lord euerie morning and euery euening burnt Offerings and sweet Incense, and the Bread is set in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candlesticke of Gold with the Lampes thereof to burne euery euening; for we keepe the watch of the Lord our God, but yee haue forsaken him.* In Saint Pauls time, the integritie of Rome was famous; Corinth many wayes reprobued, they of Galatia much more out of square. In Saint Iohns time, Ephesus and Smyrna in farre better state then Thyatira and Pergamus were. Wee hope therefore, that to reforme our selues, it at any time we haue done amisse, is not to seuer our selues from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference betwene our estate before and now, wee know none but onely such as we see in *Iuda*, which hauing sometime bene Idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly Religious, by renouncing Idolatrie and Superstition. If *EPHRAIM* be ioyned vnto Idols, the counsell of the Prophet is, *Let him alone. If Israel play the Harlot, let not IUDA sinne.* If it seeme euill vnto you, saith *Iosuah*, to serue the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serue, whether the gods whom your Fathers serued beyond the Floud, or the gods of the *Amorites* in whose Land ye dwell: but I and mine house will serue the Lord. The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reforme her selfe, must bee no stay vnto vs from performing our duetic to God; euen as desire of retayning conformitie with them, could be no excuse if wee did not performe that duetic. Notwithstanding so farre as lawfully we may, we haue held, and doe hold fellowship with them. For euen as the Apostle doth say of *Israel*, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloued of God: In like sort with Rome wee dare not communicate concerning sundrie her grosse and grieuous abominations; yet touching those maine parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, wee gladly acknowledge them to bee of the Family of Iesus Christ; and our hearty Prayer vnto God Almighty is, that being conioyned so farre forth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will) so yeeld to frame and reforme themselues, that no distraction remaine in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome vterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grieuous errors in their Doctrines: so we haue them amongst vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our Discipline, doe giue euen as hard a iudgement of the Church of England it selfe. But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, wee must acknowledge euen Heretikes

1. Chron. 13.

Ez. 4. 15. & 17.

Ios. 24. 15.

Rom. 11. 28.

tikes themselves to be though a maimed part, yet a part of the Visible Church. If an Infidel should pursue to death an Heretike professing Christianitie, onely for Christian profession sake: could wee deny vnto him the honour of Martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper vnto the Church. Heretikes therefore are not vterly cut off from the Visible Church of Christ. If the Fathers doe any where, as oftentimes they doe, make the true Visible Church of Christ and Hereticall companies opposite, they are to be construed as separating Heretikes not altogether from the company of Believers, but from the felloshwip of sound Believers. For where profest vnbeliefe is, there can be no Visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound beliefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the Church, deny directly and vterly reiect the very Principles of Christianitie; which Heretickes embrace, and erre onely by misconstruction; whereupon their opinions, although repugnant in deede to the Principles of Christian Faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general Truth of Christ which they openly professe; yet they are by the Fathers euery where spoken of, as men cleane excluded out of the right belieuing Church, by reason of their particular Errours, for which all that are of a sound beliefe must needs condemne them. In this consideration the answer of *Calvin* vnto *Farell*, concerning the Children of Popish Parents doth seeme crazed; *Whereas*, saith he, *you aske our iudgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether Ministers of our order professing the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, may lawfully admit vnto Baptisme an Infant whose Father is a Stranger vnto our Churches, and whose Mother hath fallen from vs vnto the Papacie, so that both the Parents are Popish; thus we haue thought good to answer; nameli; that it is an absurd thing for vs to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And sith Papists children are such, we see not how it should be lawfull to minister Baptisme vnto them.* Sounder a great deale is the answer of the Ecclesiasticall Colledge of Geneva vnto *Knox*, who hauing signified vnto them, that himselfe did not thinke it lawfull to baptize Bastards, or the Children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papists) or of Persons Excommunicate, till eyther the Parents had by repentance submitted themselves vnto the Church, or else their children being growne vnto the yeeres of vnderstanding, should come and sue for their owne Baptisme: For thus thinking, saith he, *I am thought to be ouer seuer, and that not onely by them which are Popish, but euen in their iudgements also who thinke themselves Maintainers of Truth.* Master *Knoxes* ouer-sight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *Wherefoener the profession of Christianitie hath not vterly perished and beene extinct, Infants are beguiled of their Right, if the common Seale be denied them.* Which conclusion in it selfe is sound, although it seemeth the ground is but weake whereupon they build it. For the reason which they yeeld of their Sentence is this; *The promise which God doth make to the Faithfull concerning their Seede, reacheth vnto a thousand Generations; it resteth not onely in the first Degree of Descent. Infants therefore whose great Grandfathers haue beene holy and godly, doe in that respect belong to the bodie of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they descend, haue beene Apostates: Because the renure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeares agoe and more in their Ancient Predecessours;*

Calvin. Epist. 1.9

Epist. 283.

Epist. 285.

cannot with iustice be defeated and broken off by their Parents impietic comming betweene. By which reason of theirs, although it seeme that all the World may be baptized, in as much as no man living is a thousand Descents removed from Adam himselfe; yet wee meane not at this time eyther to vphold or to overthrow it: onely their alledged conclusion wee embrace, so it bee construed in this sort, *That for as much as men remaine in the Visible Church, till they utterly renounce the profession of Christianitie; we may not deny vnto Infants their right, by withholding from them the publique Signe of Holy Baptisme, if they be borne where the outward acknowledgement of Christianitie is not cleane gone and extinguished.* For beeing in such sort borne, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth giue them interest and right in Baptisme. Albeit not euery error and fault, yet Heresies and Crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and cleane from that Saluation, which belongeth vnto the Mysticall Bodie of Christ; yea, they also make a Separation from the Visible sound Church of Christ; altogether from the Visible Church neyther the one nor the other doth seuer. As for the Act of Excommunication, it neither shurreth out from the Mysticall, nor cleane from the Visible, but onely from fellowship with the Visible in Holy Duties. With what congruities then doth the Church of Rome denie, that her Enemies, whom she holdeth alwaies for Heretikes, doe at all appertaine to the Church of Christ; when her owne doe freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they say) cannot teach Heresie nor propound Error, hee may notwithstanding himselfe worship Idols, thinke amisse concerning matters of Faith, yea, giue himselfe vnto Acts Diabolicall, euen beeing Pope? How exclude they vs from being any part of the Church of Christ vnder the colour and pretence of Heresie, when they cannot but grant it possible euen for him to bee as touching his owne personall perswasion Hereticall, who in their opinion not onely is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefe place of authoritie ouer the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which already wee haue set downe, is for our present purpose sufficient. By the Church therefore in this question we vnderstand no other then onely the Visible Church. For preferuation of Christianitie there is not any thing more needfull, then that such as are of the Visible Church, haue mutuall fellowship and societie one with another. In which consideration, as in the main body of the sea being one, yet within diuers Precincts hath diuers names; so the Catholique Church is in like sort diuided into a number of distinct Societies, euery of which is termed a Church within it selfe. In this sense the Church is alwaies a visible societie of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the Church be giuen vnto Christian assemblies, although any multitude of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church; yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are assembled for performance of publike actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolueth it selfe, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was assembled, doth no lesse continue afterwards then before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity also, saith Tertullian, yet there is a Church, that is to say, a Christian assembly.* But a Church, as now we are to vnderstand it, is a Society, that is, a number of men belonging vnto some Christian fellowship, the place and limits whereof are certaine. That wherein they haue

*Tertull. exhort.
ad castit. Vbi
tres, ecclesia est,
licet Laici.*

communion,

communion, is the publique exercise of such duties as those mentioned in the Apostles Acts, *Instruction, Breaking of Bread, and Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the Mystical Body of Christ, haue those inward Graces and Vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the same Body; againe, whosoever appertaine to the Visible Body of the Church, they haue also the notes of externall Profession, whereby the World knoweth what they are: after the same manner, euen the severall Societies of Christian men, vnto euerie of which the name of a Church is giuen, with addition betokening severally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest; must be indued with correspondent generall properties belonging vnto them, as they are publike Christian Societies. And of such properties common vnto all Societies Christian, it may not be denied, that one of the verie chiefest is Ecclesiasticall Politie. Which word I therefore rather vse, because the name of Governement as commonly men vnderstand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprize the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applyed. For when we speake of Governement, what doth the greatest part conceine thereby, but only the exercise of Superioritie peculiar vnto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of Church-Politie will better serue, because it containeth both Governement, and also whatsoeuer besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publike. Neither is any thing in this degree mote necessarie then Church-Politie, which is a forme of ordering the publike spirituall affaires of the Church of God.

2 But wee must note, that hee which affirmeth speech to be necessarie amongst all men throughout the World, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speake one kind of Language. Euen so the necessitie of Politie, and Regiment in all Churches may be held, without holding any one certayne forme to be necessarie in them all. Nor is it possible that any forme of Politie, much lesse of Politie Ecclesiasticall, should be good, vnlesse God himselfe be Authour of it. *Those things that are not of God (saith Tertullian) they can haue no other then Gods Aduersarie for their Authour.* Be it whatsoeuer in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be, either as those things somtimes were, which God supernaturally reuealed, and so deliuered them vnto Moses for Governement of the Common-wealth of Israel; or else as those things which men find out by helpe of that light, which God hath giuen them vnto that end. The verie Law of Nature it selfe, which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, vnlesse that be of God, whereof God is the Authour as well this later way as the former. But for as much as no forme of Church-Politie is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, vnlesse God be so the Author of it, that it be also set downe in Scripture; they should tell vs plainly, whether their meaning be, that it must be there set downe in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one forme of Politie euer was so. Their owne to be so taken out of Scripture they will not affirme; neyther denie they that in part, euen this which they so much oppugne is also from thence taken. Againe, they should tell vs, whether onely that be taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there set downe; or else that also, which the generall Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially containe. The

Whether it be necessarie that some particular forme of Church-Politie bee set downe in Scripture, such the things that belong particularly vnto any such forme, are not of necessitie to Saluation. Tertull. de habitu mul. *Emulis sine necessitate est, quae Dei non sunt.*

Rom. 2. 15. *Latian lib. 6. c. 8*
Ille legis huius inuentor, diceptator, lator, Cic. 3. de Repub.

one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their owne Discipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouthes are stopped, when they would pleade against all other formes besides their owne; seeing the generall Principles are such, as doe not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally bee consonant vnto the generall Axiomes of the Scripture. But to giue them some larger scope, and not to close them vp in these streights: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all, which denie it necessarie that any one complete forme of Church-Politic should bee in Scripture. First therefore, whereas it hath bene told them, that

Two things misliked, the one, that wee distinguish matters of Discipline or Church-gouernement from matters of Faith and necessarie vnto Saluation; the other, that wee are iniurious to the Scripture of God, in abiding the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: You which distinguish betwene these, and say that matters of Faith and necessarie vnto Saluation may not be tolerated in the Church, vlesse they be expressly contained in the Word of God, or manifestly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, Gouernment in the Church, may not bee receuyed against the Word of God, and consequently may be receuyed if there be no word against them, although there bee none for them; you (I say) distinguishing or diuiding after this sort, doe prouue your selfe an euill diuider. As though matters of Discipline and kinde of Gouernement were not matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith. It is no smal iniurie which you doe vnto the Word of God to pinneit in so narrow roome, as that it should be able to direct vs but in the principall points of our Religion, or as though the substance of Religion, or some rude and vnfashioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and those things were left out that should pertaine to the forme and fashio[n] of it, or as if there were in the Scriptures onely to couer the Churches nakednesse, and not also Chaynes, and Bracelets and Rings, and other Iewels to adorne her and set her out: or that to conclude, there were sufficient to quench her thirst and kill her hunger, but not to minister vnto her a more liberally, and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. These things you seeme to say, when you say that matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith, are containyd in Scripture, especially, when you oppose these things to Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, and Gouernement, *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 26.*

longeth vnto the forme and fashio[n] of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more then onely to couer the Churches nakednesse, and not Chaynes, Bracelets, Rings, Iewels to adorne her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberall and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. In which case our Apologie shall not need to be verie long.

*That matters of Disciplines are different from matters of Faith and Saluation, and that they themselves so teach which are our R. prouers.

3 * The mixture of those things by speech, which by nature are diuided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therefore that error which Confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish, is by conceit of minde to seuer things different in Nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because wee distinguish

matters of Faith, and in general, matters necessary vnto Saluation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, order, and the kinde of Church-gouernement; that the one are necessarie to bee expressly containyd in the Word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessarie not to receiue the one, vlesse there bee something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alledged: although there doe not appeare any iust or reasonable cause to reiect or dislike of this, neuer thelesse, as it is not easie to speake to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themselves, but that somewhat there will be always which displeaseth, so herein for two things we are reprooued; the first is *misdistinguishing*, because matters of Discipline and Church-gouernement are (as they say) matters necessarie to Saluation, and of Faith, whereas wee put a difference betwene the one and the other; our second fault is *iniurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained onely the principall poynts of Religion, some rude and vnfashioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which be-

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guish where wee should not, it may not bee denied that wee mis-distinguish. The onely tryall whether we doe so, yea or no, dependeth vpon comparison betweene our conceit and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of CHRIST this wee conceiue, that they are not of one sute. Some things are *meerely* of Faith, which things it doth suffice that wee know and beleue: some things not onely to bee knowne, but done, because they concerne the Actions of men. Articles about the Trinitie are matters of meere Faith, and must be beleued. Precepts concerning the workes of Charitie, are matters of action, which to know, vnlesse they be practised, is not enough. This being so cleere to all mens vnderstanding, I somewhat maruaile that they especially should thinke it absurd to oppose *Church-gouernment*, a plaine matter of action, vnto matters of Faith, who know that themselves diuide the Gospell into *Doctrin* and *Discipline*. For if matters of Discipline bee rightly by them distinguished from matters of Doctrin, why not matters of Government by vs as reasonably set against matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Doctrin comprehend the same which wee intend by matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Discipline comprize the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in vs, which themselves follow, they giue men great cause to doubt that some other thing then Iudgement doth guide their speech. What the Church of God standeth bound to know or doe, the same in part Nature teacheth. And because Nature can teach them but onely in part, neither so fully, as is requisite for mans saluation; nor so easily, as to make the way plaine & expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it and so be saued; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessarie things, that the Schoole of Nature teacheth vnto that end; and revealeth also whatsoeuer we neither could with safetie be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernaturall Reuelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needfull for the Church, and the principall of the other sort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error: we teach that whatsoeuer is vnto saluation termed *necessary* by way of excellencie, whatsoeuer it standeth all men vpon to know or doe that they may be saued, whatsoeuer there is whereof it may truly be said, *This not to beleue is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This euery soule that will liue must duly obserue*, of which sort the Articles of Christian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Christ are; all such things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God should not bee able to measure out the length and breadth of that way wherein for euer shee is to walke; Heretiques and Schismaticques neuer ceasing, some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to peruert and obscure the same. But as for those things that are accessorie heereunto, those things that so belong to the way of Saluation, as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way, then a path is changed by altering onely the vppermost face thereof, which bee it laid with Grauell, or set with Grasse, or paved with Stones, remayueth still the same path; in such things because discretion
may

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 1. We offer to shew the Discipline to be a part of the Gospell. And againe, *pag. 5* I speake of the Discipline as of a part of the Gospell. If the Discipline be one part of the Gospell, what other part can they assigne but Doctrin, to answer in diuision to the Discipline?

may teach the Church what is conuenient, wee hold not the Church further tyed herein vnto Scripture, then that against Scripture nothing bee admitted in the Church, lest that path which ought alwayes to bee kept euen, doe thereby come to be ouer-growne with Brambles and Thornes. If this bee vnfound; wherein doth the point of vnfoundnesse lye? It is not that wee make some things *necessarie*, some things *accessorie* and appendent onely. For our LORD and SAVIOVR himselfe doth make that difference, by terming Iudgement, and Mercy, and Fidelity, with other things of like nature, *The greater & weightier matters of the Law*. Is it then in that wee account *Ceremonies* (wherein wee doe not comprize Sacraments, or any other the like substantiall duties in the exercise of Religion, but onely such externall Rites as are vsually annexed vnto Church actions,) is it an ouer-sight, that wee reckon these things and

Math. 23. 23.

* The Government of the Church of Christ granted by *Fennar* himselfe to bee thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of Religion. Against *Doctor Bridges*, page 121. if it bee *Fennar* which was the Author of that Booke.

* matters of Government in the number of things accessorie, not things necessarie in such sort as hath bene declared? Let them which therefore thinke vs blameable, consider well their owne wordes.

Doe they not plainly compare the one vnto Garments which couer the bodie of the Church, the other vnto Rings, Bracelets, and Jewels that onely adorne it? the one to that Foode which the Church doth liue by, the other to that which maketh her Dyer liberall, daintie, and more delicious? Is daintie fare a thing necessarie to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the bodie rich Attire? If not, how can they vrge the necessitie of that which themselves resemble by things not necessarie? Or by what construction shall any man liuing bee able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction vntrue, which putteth a difference betweene things of externall Regiment in the Church, and things necessarie vnto saluation?

That wee doe not take from Scripture any thing which may bee thereunto giuen with foundnes of truth, *Arist. Pol. lib. 1. cap. 8. & Plato in Menex. Arist. lib. 3. de Anima, cap. 45.*

4 Now as it can be to Nature no iniurie, that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her workes haue obserued, namely, that she prouideth for all liuing creatures nourishment which may suffice, that she bringeth forth no kinde of creature whereto shee is wanting in that which is needfull; although we doe not so farre magnifie her exceeding bountie, as to affirme that shee bringeth into the World the sonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring vp out of the Earth for them: So I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaueth vnto the Churches discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impayre the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the sacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by vs maintayned, then only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary, as hath bene set downe; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to haue left a number of other things free to bee ordered at the discretion of the Church, then for Nature to haue left it vnto the wit of man to deuise his owne attyre, and not to looke for it as the beasts of the field haue theirs: If neither this can import, nor any other prooffe sufficient bee brought forth, that wee either will at any time, or ever did affirme the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more then onely those bare necessities; if wee acknowledge that as well for particular application to speciall occasions,

as also in other manifold respects infinite Treasures of Wisdome are ouer and besides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may haue some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessitie it should of purpose prescribe any one particular forme of Church-Gouernment; yet touching the manner of gouerning in generall, the Precepts that Scripture fet- teth downe are not few, and the Examples many which it propofeth for all Church-Gouernours, euen in particularities to follow; yea, that those things, finally, which are of principall weight in the very particular forme of Church- Politie, (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which wee a- gainst them vphold) are in the selfe-same Scriptures contained: if all this be wil- lingly granted by vs, which are accused to pinne the Word of God in so narrow roome, as that it should be able to direct vs but in principall points of our Reli- gion, or as though the substance of Religion or some rude or vnfashioned mat- ter of building the Church were vttered in them, and those things left out that should pertaine to the forme and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused be referred to the Accusers owne conscience, and let that iudge whether this accu- sation be deserued where it hath bene layd.

5 But so easie it is for euery man living to erre, and so hard to wrest from any mans mouth the plaine acknowledgemet of error, that what hath bene once inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit by whetting it selfe is able to finde out any shift, be it neuer so sleight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction. So that it commeth here- in to passe with men vnaduisedly false into error, as with them whose state hath no ground to vphold it, but onely the helpe which by subtile conueyance they draw out of casuall euents arising from day to day, till at length they bee cleane spent. They which first gaue out, that *Nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this Principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the Law; *Ye shall put nothing vnto the Word which I command you, neither shall ye take ought there-from, that ye may keepe the Commandements of the Lord our God, which I command you.* Where- fore hauing an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of England, as Marrying with a Ring, Crossing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obseruing of Festiuall Dayes more then onely that which is called the *Lords Day*, inioyning Abstinence at certaine times from some kindes of Meate, Churching of Women after Child-birth, Degrees taken by Diuines in Vniuersi- ties, sundry Church-offices, Dignities, and Callings, for which they found no Commandement in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one onely stroke of that Axiome to haue cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle, being sifted was repeld. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense, or by falsification of the words, wittingly to en- deour that any thing may seeme Diuine which is not, or any thing not seeme which is, were plainly to abuse and euen to falsifie Diuine Euidence, which iniurie offered but vnto men is most worthily counted hainous. Which point I wish they did well obserue, with whom nothing is more familiar then to plead in these Causes, *The Law of God, The Word of the Lord*: who notwithstanding

Their mean- ing who first did plead a- gainst the Politie of the Church of England, vr- ging that, *Nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God:* & what Scrip- ture they thought they might ground this Assertion vpon. *Deut. 4. 2. & Deut. 12. 32.* Whatsoever I command you take heed you doe it: thou shalt put no- thing thereto; nor take ought there-from.

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when they come to alleage what Word and what Law they meant, their common ordinarie practice is, to quote by-speeches in some historicall Narration or other, and to vrge them as if they were written in most exact forme of Law. What is to adde to the Law of God, if this bee not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliuer historically, wee conſider without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and ſo vrge it further then we can prouē that it was intended, doe wee not adde to the Lawes of God, and make them in number ſeme more then they are? It ſtandeth vs vpon to be carefull in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heauie againſt them; that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to vſe the Scripture.

The ſame aſſerſion wee cannot hold, without doing wrong vnto all Churches.

John 13.
Cenſorium: de quo Mat. 23. 12. Ibi de Cenſorio nuptiali.

Acts 2.

* A ſhift to maintain that, Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God: Namely, that Commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpeciall Precepts, yet by general Rules in the

6 But let that which they doe hereby intend bee granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to adde to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make any Law more then is alreadie ſet downe in Scripture: who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce vs to giue againſt all Churches in the World, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did neuer command, yet for vs to conderne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of GOD euen in the time of our SAVIOUR CHRIST ſerue for example vnto all the reſt. In their Domeſticall Celebration of the Paſſeouer, which Supper they diided (as it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did giue Commandement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, hee that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his Garments, and keeping on his Feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them neuer to liſt vp their hands vnwaſht in Prayer vnto God, which cuſtome *Ariſteus* (be the credit of the Author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiously obſerue? What Scripture did command the Jewes euery feſtiuall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Iosephus* in the Historie of his owne life, and by the words of *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip vp all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtles obſerued though not commanded any where in Scripture.

7 * Well, yet a Gloſſe there is to colour that paradox and notwithstanding all this, ſtill to make it appeare in ſhew not to be altogether vnreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandements of God being either generall or ſpeciall, although there be no expreſſe word for euery thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall Commandements for all things, to the end that euen ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with caution that nothing bee done againſt the Word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet downe in Scripture foure generall Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to bee receiued in the Church, as doe beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may bee appointed, not onely not againſt, but by and according to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſiue vnto any, eſpecially vnto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemelneſſe; *All vnto edification*; finally,

Word. 1. Cor. 10. 32. 1. Cor. 14. 40.

All to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were necessary to take so much paines? Which Rules they that vrge, minding thereby to prooue that nothing may bee done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, must needs hold that they tye the Church of Christ no otherwise, then onely because wee finde them there set downe by the finger of the Holy Ghost. So that vnlesse the Apostle by writing had deliuered those Rules to the Church, we should by obseruing them have sinned, as now by not obseruing them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not granted, that the appointment of the houre for daily Sacrifices; the building of Synagogues throughout the Land to heare the Word of God & to pray in, when they came not vp to Ierusalem; the erecting of Pulpits & Chaires to teach in; the order of Buriall, the Rites of Marriage, with such like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where prescribed in the Law, but were by the Churches discretion instituted? What then shall we thinke? Did they hereby adde to the Law, & so displease God by that which they did? None so hardly perswaded of them. Doth their Law deliuer vnto them the selfe-same generall rules of the Apostles, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that respect cleere themselues from doing amisse? Saint Paul would then of likelihood haue cited them out of the Law, which we see he doth not. The truth is, they are Rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for euer no lesse then now stood bound to obserue them, whether the Apostle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore those Canons doe binde as they are Edicts of Nature, which the Iewes obseruing as yet vnwritten, and thereby framing such Church-orders as in their Law were not prescribed, are notwithstanding in that respect vnculpable; it followeth, that sundry things may bee lawfully done in the Church, so as they bee not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture doe command them, but the Church onely following the Light of Reason, iudge them to be in discretion meete. Secondly, vnto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the Commandements of God in Scripture be generall or speciall, it skilleth not. For if being particularly applyed, they haue in regard of such particulars a force constraining vs to take some one certaine thing of many, and to leaue the rest, whereby it would come to passe, that any other particular but that one being established, the generall Rules themselues in that case would be broken; then is it vterly impossible that God should leaue any thing great or small free for the Church to establish or not. Thirdly, if so be they shall grant, as they cannot otherwise do, that these rules are no such Lawes as require any one particular thing to be done, but serue rather to direct the Church in all things which she doth; so that free & lawfull it is to deuise any Ceremony, to receiue any Order, & to authorize any kind of Regiment, no speciall Commandemen being therby violated; & the same being thought such by them to whom the iudgement thereof appertaineth, as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending vnto edification, & setting forth the glory of God, that is to say, agreeable vnto the generall Rules of the Scripture; this doth them no good in the World for the furtherance of their purpose. That which should make for them, must proue that men ought not to make Lawes for Church Regiment, but onely keepe those Lawes which in Scripture they find made. The plaine intent of

1. Cor. 14. 26.
Rom. 14. 6, 7.

T. C. J. 1. p. 35.

of the Booke of Ecclesiasticall Discipline is to shew, that men may not deuise Lawes of Church-Gouernment; but are bound for cuer to vse and execute only those, which God himselfe hath alreadie deuised and deliuered in the Scripture. The selfe-same drift the Admonitioners also had, in viring that nothing ought to be done in the Church according vnto any Law of mans deuising, but all according to that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture generall Rules to be followed in making Lawes; and so in effect they plainly grant, that wee our selues may lawfully make Lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture onely to take Lawes alreadie made, as they meant who first alledged that Principle whereof we speake. One particular forme it is which they respected, and which they laboured thereby to force vpon all Churches; whereas these general rules do not let, but that there may well enough bee fundry. It is the particular order established in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas vnto those generall Rules they know, we do not defend that we may hold any thing vnconformable. Obscure it is not what meaning they had, who first gaue out that grand Axiome: and accordingly vnto that meaning, it doth preuaile farre and wide with the Fauourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conforme not themselues vnto the order of our Church? and in euery particular their answer for the most part is, *We find no such thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require some speciall Commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to haue matters of the Church examined by generall Rules and Canons. As therefore in Controuersies betweene vs and the Church of Rome, that which they practise, is many times euen according to the very grosseesse of that which the vulgar sort conceiueth; when that which they teach to maintaine it, is so nice and subtile, that hold can very hardly bee taken thereupon; in which cases wee should doe the Church of God small benefit, by disputing with them according vnto the finest points of their darke conueyances, and suffering that sense of their Doctrine to goe vncontrolled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily receiued and practised: So considering what disturbance hath growne in the Church among our selues, & how the Authors thereof doe commonly build altogether on this as a sure foundatiō, *Nothing ought not to be established in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded;* were it reason that we should suffer the same to passe without controlment, in that currant meaning whereby euery where it preuaileth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly haue thought on, but being driuen thereunto for a shift?

Another answer in defence of the former assertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this sort. All Church-orders must be commanded in the Word, that is to say, grounded vpon the World, and made according at the least-wise vnto the generall Rules of holy Scripture. As for such things as are found out by any Starre or light of Reason, and are in that respect receiued, so they be not against the Word of God, all such things it holdeth vnlawfully receiued.

or Learning, or other helpe,

they may bee receiued, so they bee not against the Word of God; but according at least-wise vnto the generall Rules of Scripture

8 The last refuge in maintayning this Position, is thus to conster it; *Nothing ought to be established in the Church, but that which is commanded in the Word of God;* that is to say, All Church-orders must be grounded vpon the Word of God, in such sort grounded vpon the Word, not that being found out by some *Starre or light of Reason,* they may bee receiued, so they bee not against the

ture they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, *Wee know not what to say well in defence of this position: and therefore leif wee should say it is false, there is no remedie but to say that in some sence or other it may be true, if wee could tell how.* First that *Scholie* had need of a very fauourable Reader, and a tractable, that should thinke it plaine construction, when to bee *commanded in the word*, and *grounded vpon the word* are made all one. If when a man may liue in the state of Matrimonie, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth, he make rather choyce of a contrary life in regard of *S^c. Pauls* iudgement; that which hee doth is manifestly *grounded vpon the Word of God*, yet *not commanded* in his Word, because without breach of any commandement he might doe otherwise. Secondly, whereas no man in iustice and reason can be reproved, for those actions which are framed according vnto that knowne will of God, whereby they are to be iudged; and the will of God which we are to iudge our actions by, no sound Diuine in the world euer denied to be in part made manifest euen by light of nature, and not by Scripture alone; if the Church beeing directed by the former of these two, (which God hath giuen who gaue the other, that man might in different sort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I say, doe approue and establish that which thereby it iudgeth meete, and findeth not repugnant to any word or sillable of holy Scripture, who shall warrant our presumptuous boldnesse, controlling herein the Church of Christ? But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hatefull with men; *the Starre of reason and learning*, and all other such like helpes, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, then if it were an vnluckie Comet, or as if God had so accursed it, that it should neuer shine or giue light in things concerning our duetic any way towards him, but bee esteemed as that *Starre* in the Reuelation called *Wormewood*, which beeing fallen from Heauen, maketh Riuers and Waters in which it falleth, so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authoritie of the Word of God, if in things diuine they should attribute any force to mans reason. For which cause they neuer vse reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their vsuall and common discourses are vnto this effect: First, *The naturall man perceyueth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishnesse vnto him, neyther can he know them, because they are spiritu- ally discerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that *S. Paul* giueth charge to be- ware of *Philosophy*, that is to say, such knowledge as men by naturall reason attain vnto. Thirdly, Consider them that haue from time to time opposed themselves against the Gospel of Christ, and most troubled the Church with Heresie. Haue they not alwaies beene great admirers of humane reason? Hath their deepe and profound skill in secular learning, made them more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, They that feare God will remember how heauie his sentences are in this case; *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the vnderstanding 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 foolishnesse? Seeing the World by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to saue Beleeuers.* Fifthly, the Word of God in it selfe is absolute,

exact, and perfect. The Worde of God is a two-edged Sword: as for the weapons of naturall reason, they are as the armour of *Saul*, rather cumbersome about the souldier of Christ then needefull. They are not of force to do that, which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the holy Ghost, *My preaching*, therefore saith *Paul*, *hath not bene in the enticing speech of mans wisdom, but in plaine evidence of the spirit of power; that your faith might not bee in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.* Sixtly, if I beleue the Gospel, there needeth no reasoning about it to perswade mee: If I doe not beleue, it must bee the Spirit of God, and not the reason of man that shall conuert my heart vnto him. By these and the like disputes an opinion hath spread it selfe verie farre in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith, were to be raw in wit and iudgement; as if reason were an enemy vnto Religion, childish simplicitie the mother of ghostly and diuine wisdom. The cause why such declamations preuaile so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselues in two respects to be deluded, one is, that the wisdom of men being debased, eyther in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing, exceeding the reach and compasse thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned: another, that learning, knowledge, or wisdom falsly so termed, vsurping a name whereof they are not worthie, and being vnder that name controlled, their reproofe is by so much the more easily misapplied, & through equiuocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names doe properly and of right belong. This duely obserued, doth to the former allegations it selfe make sufficient answer. Howbeit for all mens plainer and fuller satisfaction, first concerning the inability of reason to search out and to iudge of things diuine; if they be such as those properties of God, and those ducties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentiu consideration of heauen and earth: wee know that of meere naturall men, the Apostle testifieth, how they *knew both God, and the Law of God.* Other things of God there bee, which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed, can euer be approoued without the speciall operation of Gods good grace & spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle *S. Paul*, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witness of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and *Moses* had fore-shewed. *Felix* a meere naturall man, an Infidel, a Romane, one whose cares were vnacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach vnto that whereof he spake; the suffering and the rising of Christ from the dead, he reiecteth as idle superstitious phancies, not worth the hearing. The Apostle that knew them by the spirit, & spake of them with power of the Holy Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifest what elsewhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely that nature hath need of grace, whereunto I hope we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath vse of nature. Secondly, Philosophy we are warned to take heed of: not that Philosophy, which is true & sound knowledge attained by naturall discourse of reason; but that Philosophy which to bolster heresie or error, casteth a fraudulent shew of reason vpon things which are indeed vnreasonable, & by that meane as by a stratageme spoyleth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. *Take heed lest any spoil you through Philosophy & vaine deceit.* He that exhorteth

teth to beware of an enemies policie, doth not giue counsell to be impolitique; but rather to vse all prudent foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicitie be over-reacht by cunning sleights. The way not to be inuicigled by them that are so guilefull through skill, is thoroughly to bee instructed in that which maketh skilfull against guile, and to bee armed with that true and sincere Philosophy, which doth teach against that deceitfull and vaine, which spoyleth. Thirdly, But many great Philosophers haue beene very vnfound in beliefe. And many found in beliefe haue beene also great Philosophers. Could secular knowledge, bring the one sort vnto the loue of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith the other sort out of loue with secular knowledge. The harme that heretiques did, they did it vnto such as were vnable to discern betweene sound and deceitfull reasoning; and the remedy against it, was euer the skill which the ancient Fathers had to discerie and discouer such deceit. In so much that *Cresconius* the heretique complained greatly of *S. Augustine*, as being too full of logicall subtilties. Heresie preuaileth onely by a counterfeit shew of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becommeth inuincible, vnlesse it be couicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance, clearly true, and vnable to be withstood. When therefore the Apostle requireth habilitie to conuict Heretiques, can we thinke he iudgeth it a thing vnlawfull, and not rather needfull to vse the principall instrument of their conuiction, the light of reason? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers writings there are sundry sharpe inuectiues against Heretiques, euen for their very Philosophicall reasonings. The cause whereof *Tertullian* confesseth, not to haue been any dislike conceiued against the kinde of such reasonings, but the end. *We may* (saith he) euen in matters of God, be made wiser by reasons drawne from the publique persuasions which are grafted in mens mindes, so they be vsed to further the truth, not to bolster error; so they make with, not against that which God hath determined. For there are some things euen knowne by nature, as the immortalitie of the soule vnto many, our God vnto all. I will therefore my selfe also vse the sentence of some such as *Plato*, pronouncing euery soule immortall. I my selfe too will vse the secret acknowledgement of the communitie, bearing record of the GOD of Gods. But when I heare men alledge, That which is dead is dead: and, While thou art aliue, be aliue: and, After death an end of all, euen of death it selfe: then will I call to mind both that the heart of the people with God is accounted dust, and that the very wisdom of the world is pronounced folly. If then an Heretique flie also vnto such vicious, popular and secular conceits, my answer vnto him shall be; Thou Heretique auoid the heathen, although in this ye be one, that ye both bely God: yet thou that dost this vnder the name of Christ, differest from the heathen, in that thou seemest to thy selfe a Christian. Leau him therefore his conceits, seeing that neither will he learne thine. Why dost thou, hauing sight, trust to a blinde guide, thou which hast put on Christ, take rayment of him that is naked? If the Apostle haue armed thee, why dost thou borrow a strangers shield? Let him rather learne of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the resurrection of the flesh. In a word, the Catholique Fathers did good vnto all by that knowledge, whereby Heretiques kindering the truth in many, might haue furthered therewith themselues, but that obstinately following their owne ambitious or otherwise corrupted affections, in stead of framing their wills to maintaine that which reason taught, they bent their wits to finde how reason might seeme to teach that which their

3.

Tit. 1.9. 11.

Tertul. de Resur. carnis.

Tit. 3. 1.

wils were set to maintaine. For which cause the Apostle saith of them iustly, that they are for the most part *ἀνύμωτοι*, men condemned euen in and of themselves. For though they bee not all perswaded that it is truth which they withstand; yet that to be errour which they vphold, they might vndoubtedly the sooner a great deale attaine to know, but that their studie is more to defend what once they have stood in, then to finde out sincerely and simply what truth they ought to persist in for euer. Fourthly, there is in the world no kinde of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seene, but we iustly account it precious; yea that principall truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receiue from it some kinde of light. Whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom Mathematically, wherewith *Moses* and *Daniel* were furnished; or that naturall, morall, and ciuill wisdom, wherewith *Salomon* excelled all men; or that rationally and oratorially wisdom of the Græcians, which the Apostle *S. Paul* brought from *Tarsus*; or that Iudaicall, which he learned in *Ierusalem*, sitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*: to detract from the dignitie thereof, were to iniury euen God himselfe, who being that light which none can approach vnto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, euen as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountaine from which they rise. But there are that beare the title of wise men, and Scribes, and great disputers of the World, and are nothing indeed lesse then what in shew they most appeare. These being wholly addicted vnto their owne wils, vse their wit, their learning, and all the wisdom they haue, to maintaine that which their obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming in the freneticke error of their mindes, the greatest madnesse in the world to be wisdom; and the highest wisdom foolishnesse. Such were both *Jewes* and *Græcians*, which professed the one sort legall, and the other secular skill, neither induring to be taught the mysterie of Christ: vnto the glory of whose most blessed name, who so studie to vse both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath indued them with; let them neuer doubt but that the same God, who is to destroy and confound vtterly that wisdom falsly so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of heauen, Scribes against that kingdom hardned in a vaine opinion of wisdom which in the end being proued folly, must needs perish; true vnderstanding, knowledge, iudgement and reason, continuing for euermore. Fifthly, vnto the Word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute in it selfe, we do not adde reason as a supplement of any mayme or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which wee could not reape by the Scriptures perfection, that fruit and benefit which it yeeldeth. The word of God is a two-edged sword, but in the hands of reasonable men; and reason as the weapon that slew *Goliath*, if they be as *Dauid* was that vse it. Touching the apostles, he which gaue them strength about such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, indued them also with wisdom from about to teach that which they so did confirme. Our Sauior made choyce of 12. simple and vnlearned men, that the greater their lacke of naturall wisdom was, the more admirable that might appeare, which God supernaturally indued them with from heauen. Such therefore as knew the poore & silly estate wherein they had liued, could not but wonder to heare the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more

attentive

4.

Act. 7. 22.

Dan. 1. 17.

1. King. 4. 29, 30

Act. 22. 3.

Mat. 13. 51.

5.

Hebr. 4. 12.

more attentive vnto their teaching. They studied for no tounge they spake with all; of themselves they were rude, & knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gaue them speech and eloquent vterance. But because with S. Paul it was otherwise then with the rest, in as much as he neuer conuersed with Christ vpon earth as they did; and his education had bin scholasticall altogether, which theirs was not: hereby occasion was taken by certain Malignants, secretly to vndermine his great authority in the Church of Christ, as though the Gospell had bin taught him by others then by Christ himselfe, & as if the cause of the Gentiles conuersion, and beliefe through his means, had bin the learning and skill which he had by being conuersant in their Bookes, which thing made them so willing to heare him, and him so able to perswade them; whereas the rest of the Apostles preuailed because God was with them, and by miracle from Heauen confirmed his Word in their mouthes. They were mightie in *deeds*: As for him, being absent, his writings had some force, in presence his power not like vnto theirs. In summe, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was *ἄλογος κενὸς λόγος* *2. Cor. 10. 10.* *vniv*, *Adde speech, empty talk.* His writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operatiōs, his presence not like the rest of the Apostles. Hereupon it ariseth that S. Paul was so often driven to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariseth, that what foucer time hee had spent in the study of humane learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of Corinth, that the Gospell which he had preached amongst them, did not by other means preuaile with them, then with others the same Gospel taught by the rest of the apostles of Christ. *My preaching 1. Cor. 2. 4.* *saith he, hath not bin in the perswasive speeches of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit & power, that your faith may not be in the wisdom of me, but in the power of God.* What is it which the Apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst thē had bin *perswasive*? No, for of him the sacred History plainly *Act 13. v. 4. 11.* testifieth, that for the space of a yeare & a halfe he spake in the Synagogue every Sabbath, and *perswaded* both Iewes & Grecians. How then is the speech of men made *perswasive*? Surely there can be but two wayes to bring this to passe, the one humane, the other diuine. Either S. Paul did *only* by art and natural industry cause his own speecch to be credited; or else God by miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speecch of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two the former he vtterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the rest had bin effectually by miracle, his *only* by force of his owne learning; so great inequality betweene him and the other Apostles in this thing, had been enough to subuert their Faith. For might they not with reason haue thought, that if he were sent of God as well as they, God would haue furnished them and not him, with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them beeing simple haply haue feared, lest their assent had bin cunningly gotten vnto his Doctrine, rather through the weaknesse of their owne wits, then the certainty of that truth which he had taught thē? How vnequall had it bin, that all belieuers through the preaching of other Apostles, should haue their faith strongly built vpon the euidence of Gods owne miraculous approbation, & they whom he had conuerted, should haue their perswasion built onely vpon his skill and wisdome who perswaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize vs to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apostles did: so although the wisdom of man had not bin sufficiēt to inable him such a Teacher as the rest of the Apo-

files were, vnlesse Gods miracles had strengthened both the one and the others Doctrines; yet vnto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but meere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdome of man may adde. Sixtly, yea, whatsoeuer our hearts be to God and to his truth, beleeu we, or be we as yet faithlesse, for our conuersion or confirmation the force of naturall reason is great. The force whercof vnto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serue, honor and obey God, whosoever beleueth in him; that man would no more doe this then innocents and infants doe, but for the light of naturall reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discouered, are effectuell to perswade reasonable minds & none other, that honor, obedience & credit belong aright vnto God. No man commeth vnto God to offer him Sacrifice, to powre out Supplications and Prayers before him, or to doe him any seruice, which doth not first beleue him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seeke vnto him. Let men be taught this eyther by reuelation from Heauen, or by instruction vpon Earth, by labour, studie and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoeuer the meane be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of naturall reason, why should none be found capable thereof but onely men, nor men till such time as they come vnto ripe & full ability to worke by reasonable vnderstanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach *Theology*? *Theology* what is it, but the science of things diuine? What Science can be attained vnto without the helpe of naturall discourse and reason? *Iudge you of that which I speake*, saith the Apostle. In vaine it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason men are able somewhat to iudge of that they heare, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things aboue nature, things which our reason by it selfe could not reach vnto. Yet those things also wee beleue, knowing by reason that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the presence of *Festus* a Romane, and of *King Agrippa* a Iew, *S. Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Jewes Religion, nor the Bookes whereby they were taught it, speakes vnto the other of things foreshewed by *Moses* and the Prophets, & performed in *Iesus Christ*; intending thereby to proue himselfe so vniustly accused, that vnlesse his Iudges did condemne both *Moses* & the Prophets, him they could not chuse but acquite, who taught onely that fulfilled, which they so long since had forerold. His cause was easie to be discerned; what was done, their eies were witnesses: what *Moses* & the Prophets did speake, their Bookes could quickly shew, it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, & beleued the other; *King Agrippa*, beleuest thou the Prophets? I know thou dost. The questiō is, how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of *king Agrippa*. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with vs doth cause the rest of the Scripture of God to bee of credit. Because wee maintaine, that in Scripture wee are taught all things necessaric vnto Saluation, hereupon verie childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach vs the Sacred Authoritie of the Scripture, vpon the knowledge whercof our whole Faith and Saluation dependeth. As though there were any kind of Science in the World, which leadeth men vnto knowledge, without presupposing a number of things already knowne. No Science doth

6.

Heb. 11. 6.

1. Cor. 10. 15.

Act. 26. 22.

doth make knowne the first Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are alwayes either taken as plaine and manifest in themselves, or as prooued and granted already, some former knowledge hauing made them euident. Scripture teacheth all supernaturally revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof Salvation cannot bee attained. The maine Principle whereupon our beliefe of all things therein contained dependeth, is, That the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himselfe. This in it selfe we cannot say is euident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in heart, as they doe when they heare that *euery whole is more then any part of that whole*, because this in it selfe is euident. The other wee know that all doe not acknowledge when they heare it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed, which doth herein assure the hearts of all Beleeuers. Scripture teacheth vs that sauing Truth which God hath discovered vnto the World by Reuelation: and it presumeth vs taught otherwise that it selfe is Diuine and Sacred. The question then beeing by what meanes wee are taught this: some answer, that to learne it wee haue no other way then onely Tradition: as namely, that so we beleeue, because both we from our Predecessors, and they from theirs haue so receiued. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward Motiue leading men so to esteeme of the Scripture, is the authoritie of Gods Church. For when wee know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, wee iudge it euen at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought vp in the Church, to be of a contrarie minde without cause. Afterwards the more wee bestow our labour in reading or hearing the Mysteries thereof, the more wee finde that the thing it selfe doth answer our receiued opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement preuailing somewhat with vs before, doth now much more preuaile, when the very thing hath ministred farther Reason. If Infidels or Atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giueth vs occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimonie of the Church concerning Scripture, and our owne perswasion which Scripture it selfe hath confirmed, may bee proued a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to relye vpon the Scriptures, endeouered still to maintaine the authoritie of the Bookes of God, by arguments such as vnbeleeuers themselves must needs thinke reasonable, if they iudged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible or greatly hard, euen by such kind of proofes so to manifest and cleere that point, that no man liuing shall bee able to deny it, without denying some apparant Principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I beleeue the Gospell, yet is reason of singular vse, for that it confirmeth me in this my beliefe the more. If I doe not as yet beleeue, neuertheless to bring mee into the number of Beleeuers, except reason did somewhat helpe, & were an instrument which God doth vse vnto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with Infidels, or godlesse persons for their cōuersion & perswasion in that point? Neither can I thinke that when graue & learned men do sometime hold, that of this Principle there is no proofe but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude vterly all force which any kind of reason may haue in that behalfe: but I rather
incline

incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set downe, that other motives and inducements, be they neuer so strong and consonant vnto reason, are notwithstanding effectuall of themselves to work faith concerning this Principle, if the speciall grace of the holy Ghost concurre not to the enlightning of our mindes. For other wise, I doubt not but men of wisdome and iudgement wil grant, that the Church in this point especially is furnished with reason, to stop the mouthes of her impious Aduersaries: and that as it were altogether bootlesse to alleage against them, what the Spirit hath taught vs; so likewise that euen to our owne selues it needeth caution & explication, how the testimonie of the Spirit may be discerned, by what meanes it may be knowne, lest men thinke that the Spirit of God doth testifie those things which the Spirit of Error suggesteth. The operations of the Spirit, especially these ordinary which be comon vnto all true Christian men, are, as we know, things secret & vndiscernable euen to the very soule where they are, because their nature is of another & an higher kind then that they can be by vs perceiued in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit leade vs into all truth, and direct vs in all goodnesse; yet because these workings of the Spirit in vs are so priuy & secret, we therefore stand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reason from the qualitie of things beleueed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed vs in both; then if we fertle our selues to beleuee, or to do any certain particular thing, as being moued therto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture to the sense & meaning thereof, because the Sentences which are by the Apostles recited out of the *Psalmes*, to proue the Resurrection of Iesus Christ, did not proue it, if so be the Prophet *Dauid* meant the of himselfe; this Exposition therefore they plainly disproue, and shew by manifest reason, that of *Dauid* the words of *Dauid* could not possibly be meant. Exclude the vse of naturall reasoning about the sense of holy Scripture concerning the Articles of our Faith, & then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our Faith, who can assure vs? That which by right exposition buildeth vp Christian Faith, being misconstrued breederth Error: betweene true and false construction, the difference, reason must shew. Can Christian men performe that which *Peter* requireth at their hands? is it possible they should both beleuee, & be able without the vse of reason, to render a reason of their beleefe, a reason sound & sufficient to answere them that demand it, be they of the same faith with vs, or enemies thereunto? May we cause our faith without reason to appeare reasonable in the eyes of men? This being required euen of Learners in the Schoole of Christ, the dutie of their Teachers in bringing them vnto such ripenesse, must needs bee somewhat more, then only to reade the Sentences of Scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholy them, to vary them with sundry formes of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend it selfe vnto the World by that easinesse & facility which is in it: but a Law or a patterne it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Christ. Our Lord and Sauour himselfe did hope by disputation to doe some good, yea, by disputation not only of, but against the truth, albeit with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the sonne of *Dauid*, was truth, yet against this truth our Lord in the Gospell obiecteth, If Christ be the sonne of *Dauid*, how doth *Dauid* call him Lord? There is as yet no

way

Acts 13. 36. &
cap. 2. 34.

1. Pet. 3. 15.

Mat. 22. 43.

way knowne how to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the vse of naturall reason. If we please to adde vnto Christ their example, who followed him as neere in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas* set downe in the *Acts*, where the people would haue offered vnto them Sacrifice: in that Sermon what is there but onely naturall reason to disproue their act? *O men why doye these things? We are men euen subiect to the self-same passions with you: we preach vnto you to leaue these vanities, & to turne to the liuing God, the God that hath not left himselfe without witnesse, in that he hath done good to the World, giuing raine and fruitfull seasons, filling our heart with ioy and gladnes.* Neither did they onely vse reason in winning such vnto a Christian Beliefe as were yet thereto vnconuerted, but with belceuers these lues they followed the self-same course. In that great and solemne Assembly of belceuing Iewes, how doth *Peter* proue that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawne from those effects, which were apparantly knowne amongst them? *God which knowes the hearts hath borne them witnesse in giuing vnto them the Holy Ghost as vnto you.* The light therefore which the Starre of naturall Reason and Wisdome casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two, vttered to diminish that opinion which iustly hath bene receiued concerning the force and vertue thereof, euen in matters that touch most neerely the principall duties of men, and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath bene spoken touching the force and vse of mans reason in things Diuine, I must craue that I be not so vnderstood or construed, as if any such thing by vertue thereof could be done without the ayde and assistance of Gods most blessed Spirit. The thing we haue handled according to the question moued about it: which question is, whether the light of Reason be so pernicious, that in deuising Lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to search what may bee fit and conuenient. For this cause therefore wee haue endeouored what make it appeare, how in the nature of reason it selfe there is no impediment, but that the self-same Spirit, which reuealeth the things that God hath set downe in his Law, may also be thought to aide and direct men in finding out by the light of reason, what Lawes are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, ouer and besides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with those men, by whom humane Lawes are defined to be Ordinances which such as haue lawfull authority giuen them for that purpose, doe probably draw from the Lawes of Nature and God, by discourse of reason, ayded with the influence of diuine Grace. And for that cause it is not said amisse touching Ecclesiasticall Canons, that by *instinct of the Holy Ghost they haue bene made, and consecrated by their reuerend acceptation of the World.*

9 Lawes for the Church are not made as they should be, vnles the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherein that Scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serueth nothing at all to direct, but may be let passe as needles to be consulted with, we iudge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to thinke. For although it were in vaine to make Lawes which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to doe, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet because

ing therein the light of reason, & how those Lawes being not repugnant to the word of God are approved

both

*c. Violatores. 25.
261.*
How lawes for the regiment of the Church may bee made by the aduice of men, following in his sight.

both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to prouide, that the loosenesse and slacknes of men may not cause the Commandements of God to be vnexecuted; & a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not prouided by any law, but left them vnto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed, to make that prouision by Lawes which is most conuenient & fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture, and partly reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending Examples and Lawes, Lawes some naturall and some positiu; examples neither are there for all cases which require Lawes to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as precedents onely. Naturall Lawes direct in such sort, that in all things we must for euer doe according vnto them; positiu so, that against them in no case we may doe any thing, as long as the will of God is that they should remaine in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yeeld vs presidents, how farre forth they are to be followed; when it giueth naturall Lawes, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positiu, which way to make Lawes vnrepugnant vnto them; yea, though all these should want, yet what kind of Ordinances would be most for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this must be by reason found out. And therefore

Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modo stultum est, sed & impium. Aug. 4. de Trim. c. 6.

Tb. Aqu. 1. 2. q. 91. art. 3. Ex preceptis Legis naturalis, quasi ex quibusdam principijs communibus & indemonstrabilibus, necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda. Et iste particularis dispositio adinuenit secundum rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanae, obseruatis alijs conditionibus que pertinent ad rationem legis.

To refuse the conduct of the light of Nature, saith S. Augustine, is not folly alone, but accompanied with Impiety. The greatest amongst the Schoole Diuine studying how to set downe by exact definition the nature of an humane Law, (of which nature all the Churches Constitutions are) found not which way better to

doe it then in these words: *Out of the Precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common & vndemonstrable Principles, mans reason doth necessarily proceed vnto certaine more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according vnto the reason of man, they haue the names*

*of humane lawes, so that such other conditions be therein kept as the making of lawes doth require, that is, if they whose authority is thereunto required do establish & publish them as Lawes. And the truth is, that all our Controuersie in this cause concerning the Orders of the Church, is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out, is the force of mans reason. That which doth guide and direct his reason, is the first generall Law of nature, which law of nature, and the morall Law of Scripture are in the substance of Law all one. But because there are also in Scripture a number of Lawes particular and positiu, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated: we are in making lawes to haue therunto an especiall eye. As for example, it might perhaps seeme reasonable vnto the Church of God, following the generall laws concerning the nature of Marriage, to ordaine in particular that Cosen Germans shal not marry. Which Law notwithstanding ought not to be receiued in the Church, if there should be in the Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding vtterly the bonds of Marriage to be so far forth abridged. The same Thomas therefore whose definition of human lawes we mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *Humanet lawes are measures in respect of men whose actions they must direct; howbeit such measures**

1. 2. q. 95. art. 3.

ures

sures they are, as haue also their higher Rules to be measured by, *which rules are*^{re}
two, the Law of God & the Law of Nature. So that lawes human must be made a^c
 cording to the generall lawes of nature, and without contradiction vnto any po-
 sitiuie Law in Scripture. Otherwise they are ill made. Vnto Lawes thus made and
 receiued by a whole Church, they which liue within the bosome of that Church
 must not thinke it a matter indifferent either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience.
 Is it a small offence to despise the Church of God? *My Son keepe thy fathers com-*
mandement, saith Salomon, and forget not thy mothers instruction, bind them both
alwayes about thine heart. It doth not stand with the duty which wee owe to our
 heauenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church wee should
 shew our selues disobedient. Let vs not say wee keepe the Commandements of
 the one, when we breake the Law of the other: for vlesse we obserue both, we
 obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obserue both, when they are
 not the one to the other in any sort repugnant? For of such Lawes only we speak,
 as being made in forme and manner already declared, can haue in them no con-
 tradiction vnto the Lawes of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the Lawes
 thus made God himselve doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them, is to
 despise in them him. It is a loose and licentious opinion which the Anabaptists
 haue embraced, holding that a Christian mans liberty is lost, and the soule which
 Christ hath redeemed vnto himselve, iniuriously drawn into seruitude vnder the
 yoke of humane power, if any Law be now imposed besides the Gospell of Iesus
 Christ: in obedience wherevnto the Spirit of God, & not the constraint of men
 is to leade vs, according to that of the blessed Apostle, *Such as are led by the spirit*
of God are the Sons of God, & not such as liue in thraldome vnto men. Their iudg-
 ment is therefore that the Church of Christ should admit no Law-makers but the
 Euangelists. The Author of that which causeth another thing to be, is Author of
 that thing also which thereby is caused. The light of naturall vnderstanding, wit
 and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man en-
 tring into the World. If there proceed from vs any thing afterwards corrupt
 and naught, the mother thereof is our own darknes, neither doth it proceed from
 any such cause whereof God is the Author. He is the Author of all that we think
 or do by vertue of that light which himselve hath giuen. And therefore the Lawes
 which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, so farre forth as
 they proceeded from the light of Nature, God himselve doth acknowledge to
 haue proceeded euen from himselve, and that he was the Writer of them in the
 Tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the Author of those Lawes
 which haue bene made by his Saints, endued further with the heauenly grace
 of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instruction as his sa-
 cred Word doth yeeld? Surely if we haue vnto those Lawes that dutifull regard
 which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need, that we should be ex-
 horted to liue in obedience vnto them. If they haue God himselve for their Au-
 thor, contempt which is offered vnto them cannot choose but redound vnto
 him. The safest, and vnto God the most acceptable way of framing our liues
 therefore is, with all Humility, Lowlinesse and Singlencesse of heart to studie,
 which way our willing obedience both vnto God and man may bee yeelded e-
 uen to the vtmost of that which is due.

1. Cor. 11. 22.
Pro. 6. 20.

Rom. 8. 14.

Iohn 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19. &
2. 15.

That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to proue that they are vncchangeable.

Deut. 22. 10.
Deut. 22. 11.

10 Touching the mutability of Lawes that concerne the Regiment and Politie of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of Lawes, concerneth onely such Lawes as are positive, and doe make that now good or euill by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of it selfe were not simply the one or the other. Vnto such laws it is expressly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where exprest, then haue we no light to direct our iudgments concerning the changeablenesse or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and qualitie of such Lawes. The nature of euery Law must bee iudged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptnesse of things therein prescribed vnto the same end. It may so fall out, that the reason why some Lawes of God were giuen, is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by wit of man. As why God should forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* euer to haue certainly vnderstood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point *Sathan* tooke aduantage, vrging the more securely a false cause, because the true was vnto *Adam* vnknowne. Why the *Iewes* were forbidden to plow their ground with an Oxe and an Ass, why to clothe themselues with mingled attyre of Wool and Linnen, both it was vnto them, and to vs it remaineth obscure. Such Lawes perhaps cannot be abrogated, sauing onely by whom they were made: because the intent of them being knowne vnto none but the Author, he alone can iudge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being knowne doe appeare manifestly to be of perpetuall necessity; then are those things also perpetuall, vnlesse they cease to be effectuall vnto that purpose for which they were at first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to bee auailable vnto the end which gaue it being, the continuance of it must then of necessitie appeare superfluous. And of this we cannot bee ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to bee eyther very hurtfull, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a Law prouideth be perpetuall necessary, & the way whereby it prouideth perpetuall also most apt, no doubt but that euery such Law ought for euer to remain vncchangeable. Whether God be the Author of Lawes, by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by deliuering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoeuer; not withstanding the authority of their maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them also changeable. The Law of Ceremonies came from God. *Moses* had commandement to commit it vnto the sacred Records of Scripture, where it continueth euen vnto this very day and houre; in force still as the *Iew* surmisseth, because God himselfe was Author of it, and for vs to abolish what hee hath established were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate heats are not able to discerne) sith the end for which that Law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? *That which necessity of some speciall time doth cause to be inioyned, bindeth no longer then during that time, but doth afterward become free.* Which thing is also plain, euen by that Law
which

Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter quod vrget.
bat. 1. q. 10.

which the Apostles assembled at the councell of Ierusalem did from thence deliuer vnto the Church of Christ; the preface whereof to authorize it, was, *To the Holy Ghost and to vs it hath seemed good*: which stile they did not vse as matching themselves in power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying the Holy Ghost to be the authour, and themselves but onely vtterers of that decree. This law therefore to haue proceeded from God as the authour thereof, no faithfull man will denie. It was of God, not only because God gaue them the power whereby they might make lawes, but for that it proceeded euen from the holy motion and suggestion of that secret diuine Spirit, whose sentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithstanding as the law of ceremonies deliuered vnto the Iewes, so this very lawe which the Gentiles received from the mouth of the holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decess of the end for which it was giuen. But such as doe not lticke at this point, such as grant that what hath beene instituted vpon any speciall cause, needeth not to be obserued that cause ceasing, doe notwithstanding herein faile; they iudge the lawes of God onely by the author and maine end for which they were made, so that for vs to change that which he hath established, they hold it execrable pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for which God by that meane prouideth be permanent. And vpon this they ground those ample disputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the government of his Church, if it be necessary alwayes that the Church of Christ be gouerned, then doth the end for which God prouided remaine still; and therefore in those meanes which he by law did establish as being fittest vnto that end, for vs to alter any thing, is to lift vp our selues against God, and as it were to countermaund him. Wherein they marke not that lawes are instruments to rule by, and that instruments are not onely to bee framed according vnto the generall end for which they are prouided, but euen according vnto that very particular which riseth out of the matter whereon they haue to worke. The end wherefore lawes were made may be permanent, and those lawes neuerthelessse require some alteration, if there be any vnfitnesse in the meanes which they prescribe ascending vnto that end and purpose. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth punish theeeues with a quadruple restitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world it selfe continueth. Theft will be alwayes, and will alwayes need to be bridled. But that the meane which this law prouideth for that end, namely, the punishment of quadruple restitution, that this will be alwayes sufficient to bridle and restraine that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Insufficiency of lawes doth sometimes come by want of iudgement in the makers. Which cause cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately diuine, as it may and doth into humane lawes often. But that which hath beene once most sufficient, may waxe otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath bin sometimes forcible to bridle sinne, may grow after wards too weake and feeble. In a word, we plainly perceiue by the difference of those three lawes which the Iewes received at the hands of God, the morall, ceremoniall, and iudiciall, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his lawes, continue alwayes one and the same, his lawes also doe the like for which cause the morall law cannot be altered: secondly,

*Quod pro necessit.
Act. 15.*

Courtesy, p. 8.

ly, that whether the matter wheron lawes are made, continue or continue not, if their end haue once ceased, they cease also to be of force, as in the law ceremoni- all it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient Iudicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all respects the same subiect or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, euen this is sufficient cause of change. And therefore lawes, though both ordained of God himselfe, and the end for which they were ordeined continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found vn sufficient to attaine vnto that end. In which respect why may we not presume, that God doth euen call for such change or alteration, as the very condition of things themselues doth make necessary? They which doe therefore pleade the authority of the Law-maker, as an argument wherefore it should not be lawfull to change that which he hath instituted, and will haue this the cause why all the ordinances of our Sauour are immutable; they which vrge the wisdome of God as a prooffe, that whatsoever lawes he hath made, they ought to stand, vnlesse himselfe from heauen proclaime them disanuld, because it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that wee are farre from presuming to thinke that men can better any thing which God hath done, euen as we are from thinking that men should presume to vndoe some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God neuer ordained any thing that could bee bettered. Yet many things hee hath, that hath bene changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had bene worse, when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this, to choosethat, neither would now reiect that, to choosethis, were it not for some new-growne occasion, making that which hath bene better worse. In this case therefore men doe not presume to change Gods ordinance, but they yeeld thereunto, requiring it selfe to be changed. Against this it is obiected, that to abrogate or innouate the Gospell of Christ, if men or Angels should attempt, it were most baynous and cursed sacriledge. And the Gospell, as they say, containeth not onely doctrine instructing men how they should beleue, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. ^a Discipline therefore is a part of the Gospel; and God being the author of the whole Gospell, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them haue a common cause. So that as we are to beleue for euer the articles of Euangelicall doctrine, so the precepts of discipline, we are in like sort bound for euer to obserue. Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Vnity of God, the Trinity of persons, Saluation by Christ, the Resurrection of the body, Life cuerlasting, the Iudgement to come, & such like, they haue bin since the first houre that there was a Church in the world, and till the last they must be beleued. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine, no man thinketh it lawfull, new lawes of gouernment, what Common-wealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of faith, saith Tertullian, is but one, & that alone immouable, and impossible to bee framed or cast anew.* The law of outward order and Polity not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore

^a We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the Gospell, and therefore to haue a common cause: so that in the repulse of the discipline, the Gospell receiues a check. And againe, I speake of the discipline as of a part of the Gospell, and therefore neither vnder nor about the Gospell, but the Gospell. T. C. l. 2. p. 1. 4. Tertul. de uelanda. Virg. Mart. in 1. Sam. 14.

wherefore wee should esteeme it as necessarie alwaies to doe, as alwaies to beleeue the same things; seeing euery man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging vnto Church-Politie. Neither can I find that men of soundest iudgement haue any otherwise taught, then that articles of belief, and things which all men must necessarily doe to the end they may be saued, are either expressly set downe in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward politie, the Church hath authority to make Canons, lawes, and decrees, euen as we reade that in the Apostles times it did. Which kind of lawes (for as much as they are not in themselves necessary to saluation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea it is not denied I am sure by themselves, that certaine things in discipline are of that nature, as they may bee varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God; or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the Church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the Church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded, & yet may suffer change; how can this later stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serue. For be they great things, or be they small, if God haue commanded them in the Gospell, and his commanding them in the Gospell doe make them vnchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one then we may the other. If the authoritie of the maker doe proue vnchangeablenesse in the Lawes which God hath made; then must all lawes which he hath made be necessarily for euer permanent, though they be but of circumstance onely and not of substance. I therefore conclude, that neyther Gods being authour of lawes for gouernement of his Church, nor his committing them vnto Scripture, is any reason sufficient, wherefore all Churches should for euer be bound to keepe them without change. But of one thing we are here to giue them warning by the way. For whereas in this discourse we haue oftentimes profest, that many parts of discipline or Church-Politie are deliuered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driuen to confesse their discipline to be deliuered in Scripture, and that hauing no other meanes to auoid it, we are faine to argue for the changeablenesse of lawes ordained euen by God himselfe, as if otherwise theirs of necessitie should take place, and that vnder which we liue be abandoned: There is no remedy therefore but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they doe but a little flatter their owne cause. As for vs, wee thinke in no respect so highly of it. Our perswasion is, that no age euer had knowledge of it but onely ours; that they which defend it, deuised it; that neither Christ nor his Apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did seeke to maintaine that which most aduantageth our own cause, the very best way for vs, and the strongest against them, were to hold euen as they doe, that in Scripture there must needs bee found some particular forme of Church-Politie, which God hath instituted, and which^a for that very cause belongeth to

Act. 15.

a *Disciplina est Christiane Ecclesie politia, à Deo eius rectè administranda causa constituta, ac propterea ex eius verbo petenda, & ob eandem causam omnium Ecclesiarum communis & omnium temporum l. 2. de Eccles. Disciplin. in Anal.*

βεβαιασιν εν οι
 αληθειαι των
 λογων υμων
 προς το ειθε-
 ναι χρησιμω-
 τατοι ειναι,
 αλλα κηραβι
 τον βιον. Συνο-
 δος γαρ ορτες
 ερσοις, πιστευου-
 ται. Αριστο.

Eth. 10. cap. 1.
 Whether
 Christ haue
 forbidden all
 change of
 those Lawes
 which are set
 downe in
 Scripture.

all Churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect our selues and by cunning to make those things seeme the truest which are the fittest to serue our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor meane to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutabilitie of laws, the same we haue plainly deliuered; as being perswaded of nothing more then we are of this, ^b that whether it be in matter of speculation or of practise, no vntruth can possibly auaille the patron and defender long, and that things most truly are likewise most behoouefully spoken.

II This wee hold and grant for truth, that those verie Lawes which of their owne nature are changeable, bee notwithstanding vncapable of change, if hee which gaue them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law maker. Albeit therefore we doe not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable forme set downe in holy Scripture; neuertheless, if indeed there haue beene at any time a Church Politic so set downe, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those lawes which God for perpetuity hath established, were presumption most intollerable. To prooue therefore that the will of Christ was to establish lawes so permanent and immutable that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reason. First, if *Moses* being but a seruant in the house of God, did therein establish

Heb. 3. 6. Eytber that commendation of the Sonne before the seruant is a false testimonie, or the Sonne ordained a permanent gouernment in the Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then doe they that hold it may be changed at the Magistrates pleasure, but aduise the Magistrate by his positive Lawes to proclaim that it is his will, that if there shall be a Church within his Dominions, he will maime and deforme the same? M. M. Pag. 16. Hee that was as faithfull as *Moses*, lest as cleare instruction for the gouernement of the Church. But Christ was as faithfull as *Moses*. Ergo. *Demonst. of Disc. cap. 1.*

1ohn 17.

lawes of gouernment for perpetuity, lawes which they that were of the household might not alter: shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Sonne of God hath in prouiding for this his household declared himselfe lesse faithfull then *Moses*? *Moses* deliuering vnto the Iewes such lawes as were durable, if those bee changeable which Christ hath deliuered vnto vs, we are not able to auoyde it, but (that which to thinke were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confesse, euen the Sonne of God himselfe to haue beene lesse

faithfull then *Moses*. Which argument shall neede no Touch-stone to trie it by, but some other of the like making. *Moses* erected in the wilderneffe a Tabernacle, which was moueable from place to place; *Salomon* a sumptuous and stately Temple, which was not moueable: Therefore *Salomon* was faithfuller then *Moses*; which no man indued with reason will thinke. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow. He that will see how faithfull the one or the other was, must compare the things which they both did, vnto the charge which God gaue each of them. The Apostle in making comparision betweene our Sauiour and *Moses*, attributeth faithfulness vnto both, and maketh this difference betweene them; *Moses* in, but Christ ouer the house of God; *Moses* in that house which was his by charge and commission, though to gouerne it, yet to gouerne it as a seruant; but Christ ouer this house, as being his owne intire possession. Our Lord and Sauiour doth make protestation, *I haue giuen vnto them the words which thou gauest me.* Faithfull therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of lawes concerning Church-Politic? They answer, yea. For else God should lesse fauor

faour vs then the Iewes. God would not haue their Churches guided by any lawes but his owne. And seeing this did so continue euen till Christ; now to ease God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage, what reason haue we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient loue which God hath borne to his Church. An Heathen Philosopher there is, who considering how many things beasts haue which men haue not, how naked in comparison of them, how impotent, and how much lesse able wee are to shift for our selues a long time after we enter into this world, repiningly cōcluded hereupon, that Nature being a carefull mother for them, is towards vs a hard hearted Stepdame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious God towards his by such differences. For euen herein shineth his wisdom, that though the wayes of his providence bee many, yet the end which hee bringeth all at the length vnto, is one and the selfe-same. But if such kind of reasoning were good, might we not euen as directly conclude the very same concerning lawes of secular regiment? Their owne words are these. *In the ancient Church of the Iews, God did command, and Moses commit vnto writing, all things pertinent as well to the ciuill as to the Ecclesiasticall state.* God gaue them lawes of ciuill regiment, and would not permit their common-weale to be gouerned by any other laws then his owne. Doth God lesse regard our temporall estate in this world, or prouide for it worse then for theirs? To vs notwithstanding he hath not as to them deliuered any particular forme of temporall regiment, vnlesse perhaps we thinke, as some doe, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Israel, doth import that we ought to be subiect vnto the rites and lawes of their whole Politic. We see then how weake such disputes are, and how smally they make to this purpose. That Christ did not meane to set downe particular positue lawes for all things in such sort as *Moses* did, the very different maner of deliuering the lawes of *Moses* and the laws of Christ doth plainly shew. *Moses* had commandement to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them downe according vnto their severall kinds, for each publique dutie and office the lawes that belong thereto, as appeareth in the bookes themselues written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise the lawes of Christ we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the Apottles, then any solemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legall sort. Againe, the positue lawes which *Moses* gaue, they were given for the greatest part with restraint to the land of Iury; Behold, saith *Moses*, *I haue taught you ordinances and lawes as the Lord my God commanded me, that yee should doe euen so within the land whither ye goe to possesse it.* Which lawes and ordinances positue he plainly distinguisheth after ward from the lawes of the two Tables which were morall; *The Lord spake vnto you out of the midst of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, onely a voice. Then he declared vnto you his Couenant which he commanded you to doe, the ten Commandements, and wrote them vpon two Tables of stone. And the Lord commanded me that same time, that I should teach you ordinances and lawes which ye should obserue in the land whither ye goe to possesse it.* The same difference is againe set downe in the next Chapter following; *For heare shall being made of the ten Commandements, it followeth immediately; These words the Lord spake vnto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midst of the fire, the cloude*

Either God hath left a pre-script forme of Gouernement now, or else he is lesse carefull vnder the new Testament then vnder the old, *Demonst. of Discap. 1.*

Ecclesiast. Disc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 17. Ep. 2. 12. 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verse 12.

13.

14.

Deut. 5. 22.

cloud and the darknesse, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them vpon two Tables of stone, and deliuered them vnto mee. But concerning other lawes, the people giue their consent to receiue them at the hands of Moses; Goe thou neerer, and heare all that the Lord our God saith, and declare thou vnto vs all that the Lord our God saith vnto thee, and we will heare it and doe it. The peoples alacritie herein God highly commendeth with most effectuall and heartie speech; I haue heard the voice of the words of this people, they haue spoken well. O that there were such an heart in them to feare me, and to keepe all my Commandements alwaies, that it might goe well with them, and with their Children for euer! Goe, say vnto them, Returne you to your Tents; But stand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commandements and the ordinances and the Lawes which thou shalt teach them, that they may doe them in the Land which I haue giuen them to possess. From this later kind the former are plainly distinguished in many things. They were not both at one time deliuered, neither both after one sort, nor to one end. The former vttered by the voyce of God himselfe in the hearing of sixe hundred thousand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Couenant; the former giuen to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other side, the later giuen after, and neyther written by God himselfe, nor giuen vnto the whole multitude immediately from God, but vnto Moses, and from him to them both by word and writing; the later termed Ceremonies, Iudgements, Ordinances, but no where Couenants; finally, the obseruation of the later restrayned vnto the Land where God would establish them to inhabite. The Lawes politiuie are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their Lawes, had an eye vnto the nature of that people, and to the Countrey where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and proper considerations were respected in the making of their Lawes, and must bee also regarded in the Politiuie Lawes of all other Nations besides; then seeing that Nations are not all alike, surely the giuing of one kinde of Positiue Lawes vnto one onely people, without any libertie to alter them, is but a slender prooffe, and therefore one kind should in like sort be giuen to serue euerlastingly for all. But that which most of all maketh for the clearing of this point is, that the Iewes who had Lawes so particularly determining and so fully instructing them in all affaires what to doe, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their lawes had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted vs then we aske, namely that for one thing which we haue left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were vndecided by the expresse word of God; and that as their ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied aboue ours, euen so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any expresse word. So that if we may deuise one Law, they by this reason might deuise twentie: and if their deuising so many were not forbidden, shall their example prooue vs forbidden to deuise as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? Wee might not deuise no not one, if their example did prooue that our Saviour hath vterly forbidden all alteration of his lawes, in as much as there can be no law deuised

I. C. L. I. pag. 35.
Whereas you say that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and wee haue many things vndetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you shall bring that we haue left to the order of the Church, to shew you that they had twenty which were vndecided of by the expresse word of God.

denied, but needs it must either take away from his, or adde thereunto more or lesse, and so make some kinde of alteration. But of this so large a grant wee are content not to take aduantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberall, then they would be if they had leisure to take aduice. And therefore so bountifull words of course and franke speeches wee are contented to let passe, without turning them to aduantage with too much rigour. It may bee they had rather be listened vnto, when they commend the Kings of Israel which attempted nothing in the government of the Church without the expresse Word of God; and when they vrge that God left nothing in his Word vndescribed, whether it concerned the Worship of God or outward Politie, nothing vnferdowne, and therefore charged them strictly to keepe themselues vnto that, without any alteration. Howbeit seeing it cannot be denyed, but that many things there did belong vnto the course of their publike affaires, wherein they had no expresse word at all to shew precisely what they should doe; the difference betweene their condition and ours in these cases, will bring some light vnto the truth of this present controuersie. Before the fact of the sonne of *Shelomith*, there was no Law which did appoint any certaine punishment for Blasphemers. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that Impiety, was held in Ward, till the minde of the Lord were knowne concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned vpon occasion of a breach of the Sabbath Day. They find a poore silly creature gathering stickes in the Wildernesse, they bring him vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* and all the Congregation, they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said vnto *Moses*, *This man shall dye the death.* The Law required to keepe the Sabbath day; but for the breach of the Sabbath what punishment should be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occasions as these are rare. And for such things as doe fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such as beeing not already determined by Law, were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come into question, it gaue occasion of adding Lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted, and of the Daughters of *Zelophad*; whose causes *Moses* hauing brought before the Lord, receiued Lawes to serue for the like in time to come. The Iewes to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: And by such meanes God himselfe instructed them from Heauen what to doe, in all things that did greatly concerne their state, and were not already set downe in the Law. Shall wee then hereupon argue euen against our owne experience and knowledge? Shall we seeke to persuade men, that of necessity it is with vs as it was with them, that because God is ours in all respects as much as theirs, therefore either no such way of direction hath beene at any time, or if it haue beene, it doth still continue in the Church, or if the same doe not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by some such meane as pleaseth vs to account of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for vs were, to admire the Wisedome of God, which shineth in the beautifull varietie of all things; but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those wayes, whereby his Church vpon Earth is guided from Age to Age throughout all Generations of men. The Iewes were necessarily to continue till the Comming

T.C. In the table to his second Booke. T.C. 2. p. 446. If he wil needs separate the Worship of God from the externall Politie; yet as the Lord set forth the one, so hee left nothing vndescribed in the other. *Leuit. 24. 21.*

Num. 15. 34.

Num. 9.
Num. 27.

Gen. 12. 1.
of

Gen. 48. 10.

of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of Nations vnto him. So much the promise made vnto *Abraham* did import. So much the Prophecie of *Iacob* at the houre of his death did fore-shew. Vpon the safetie therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole World, and the saluation of all did depend. Vnto their so long safety for two things it was necessary to prouide, namely, the preferuation of their state against forreine resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselues. Touching the one, as they receiued the promise of God to be the rocke of their defence, against which who so did violently rush, should but bruse and batter themselues; so likewise they had his Commandement in all their affaires that way, to seeke direction and counsell from him. Mens consultations are alwayes perillous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation, those things are by their wit euen resolved on, which by tryall are found most opposite to publike safetie. It is no impossible thing for States, be they neuer so well established, yet by ouer-sight in some one act or treatie betweene them and their potent opposites, vtterly to cast away themselues for ever. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them, vpon whom so much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into Warre, nor conclude any league of Peace, nor to wade through any act of moment betweene them and forreine States, vnlesse the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And lest domesticall disturbance should wastethem within themselues, because there was nothing vnto this purpose more effectuall, then if the authoritie of their Lawes & Governours were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience vnto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any sparke of the feare of God; therefore hee gaue them euen their positiuie Lawes from Heauen, and as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort Rulers also to leade & gouerne them. Notwithstanding some desperatly impious there were which aduentured to try what harme it could bring vpon them, if they did attempt to be Authours of confusion, and to resist both Governours and Lawes. Against such Monsters God maintained his owne by fearefull execution of extraordinary iudgement vpon them. By which meanes it came to passe, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the World, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathfull and impatient of rest and quietnesse, yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to worke the ruine and subuersion of their State, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus wee see that there was no cause of dissimilitude in these things, betweene that one only people before Christ, & the Kingdomes of the world since. And whereas it is further alleaged, that albeit in *Ciuill matters and things pertayning to this present life, God hath vsed a greater particularitie with them then amongst vs, framing Lawes according to the qualitie of that people and Countrey; yet the leauing of vs at greater libertie in things Ciuill, is so farre from proning the like libertie in things pertayning to the Kingdome of Heauen, that it rather proues a straighter bond. For euen as when the Lord would haue his fauour more appeare by temporall blessings of this life towards the people vnder the Law then towards vs, he gaue also politick Lawes most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into, and most stedfastly remayne in possession of those earthly benefits.*

T.C.1.2.p.440.

fits : euen so at this time, wherein he would not haue his fauour so much esteemed by those outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in prescribing Lawes for that purpose hath somewhat fallen, in leauing them to mens consultations which may be deceiued ; so his care for conduct and government of the life to come, should (if it were possible) rise, in leauing lesse to the order of men then in times past. These are but weake and feeble Disputes for the inference of that conclusion which is intended. For sauing only in such consideration as hath beene shewed, there is no cause wherefore we should thinke God more desirous to manifest his fauour by temporall blessings towards them, then towards vs. Godlinesse had vnto them, and it hath also vnto vs, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly ; that more is left vnto mens consultations in the one, and therefore lesse must be granted in the other ; that God hauing vsed a greater particularity with them then with vs for matters pertayning vnto this life, is to make amends by the more exact deliuey of Lawes for government of the life to come ; these are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confesse that which truth is, we know it not. God which spake vnto them by his Prophets hath vnto vs by his onely begotten Sonne ; those Mysteries of grace and saluation which were but darkly disclosed vnto them, haue vnto vs more cleerely shined. Such differences betweene them and vs the Apostles of Christ haue well acquainted vs withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or government of the Church ; seeing that euen in sense it is manifest, that our Lord and Sauionur hath not by positiuē Lawes descended so farre into particularities with vs, as *Moses* with them ; neither doth by extraordinary means, Oracles, and Prophets, direct vs, as them he did, in those things which rising daily by new occasions, are of necessitie to be provided for ; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to vs there should be freedome and libertie granted to make Lawes ? Yea, but the Apostle *Saint Paul* doth fearefully charge *Timothy*, euen *In the sight of God who quickeneth all, and of Christ Iesus who witnessed that famous Confession before Pontius Pilate, to keepe what was commanded him, safe and sound till the appearance of our Lord Iesus Christ*. This doth exclude all libertie of changing the Lawes of Christ, whether by abrogation or addition, or howsoeuer. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Christ receiuech charge concerning her dutie. And that charge is to keepe the Apostles Commandement : And his Commandement did contayne the Lawes that concerned Church government : And those Lawes he straightly requireth to be obserued without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Iesus Christ. In Scripture we grant euery one mans lesson, to be the common instruction of all men, so farre forth as their cases are like, and that religiously to keepe the Apostles Commandements in whatsoeuer they may concerne vs, wee all stand bound. But touching that Commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, we swarue vndoubtedly from the Apostles precise meaning, if we extend it so largely, that the armes thereof shall reach vnto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselues doe restrayne themselves vnto some one speciall Commandement among many. And therefore it is not said, *Keep the Ordinances, Lawes and Constitutions which thou hast received,* but *Keep that great Commandement, which doth principally concerne thee and thy*

1. Tim. 6. 14.

Iohn 13. 37.

Iohn 2.1.15.

Acts 20.28.

2.Tim.4.1.

1.Tim.6.20.

Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

ἡ ἀληθεύς.

1.Tim.4.24.

2.Tim.4.7.

thy calling; that Commandement which Christ did so often inculcate vnto *Peter*; that Commandement vnto the carefull discharge whereof they of *Ephesus* are exhorted, *Attend to your selues, and to all the stocke, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his owne blood*; finally, that Commandement which vnto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle euen in the same forme and manner afterwards againe vrged, *I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Iesus Christ, which will iudge the quicke and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdome, Preach the Word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted in that Office, then was the credit and trust of this dutie committed vnto his faithfull care. The Doctrine of the Gospell was then giuen him, as the precious talent or treasure of *Iesus Christ*; then received he for performance of this dutie, the speciall gift of the Holy Ghost. To keepe this Commandement immaculate and blamelesse, was to teach the Gospell of Christ without mixture of corrupt and vnfound Doctrine, such as a number euen in those times intermingle with the Mysteries of Christian Beliefe. Till the appearance of Christ to keepe it so, doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the finall reward for keeping it was referued: according to that of *Saint Paul* concerning himselfe, *I haue kept the faith; for the residue thereof is layd vp for me a Crowne of Righteousnesse, which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall in that Day render vnto me.* If they that labour in this Haruck should respect but the present fruite of their painefull trauell, a poore encouragement it were vnto them to continue therein all the dayes of their life. But their reward is great in Heauen; the Crowne of Righteousnesse which shall bee giuen them in that Day is honourable. The fruite of their industry then shall they reape with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnesse of their reward is abundantly sufficient, to counteruaile the tediousnesse of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keepe that which is committed vnto thy charge, that great Commandement which thou hast receiued, keepe, till the appearance of our Lord *Iesus Christ*. In which sense although wee iudge the Apostles wordes to haue bene vttered; yet hereunto wee doe not require them to yeeld, that thinke any other construction more sound. If therefore it bee reiected, and theirs esteemed more probable, which hold that the last words doe import perpetuall obseruation of the Apostles Commandement imposed necessarily for euer vpon the militant Church of Christ; let them withall consider, that then his Commandement cannot so largely bee taken, to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command *Timothy*. For themselves doe not all binde the Church vnto some things whereof *Timothy* receiued charge, as namely vnto that Precept concerning the choice of Widdowes. So as they cannot hereby maintayne, that all things positiuely commanded concerning the affaires of the Church, were commanded for perpetuities. And we doe not deny that certaine things were commanded to bee, though positiuely, yet perpetuall in the Church. They should not therefore vrge against vs places that seeme to forbid change, but rather such as set downe some measure of alteration; which measure if we haue exceeded, then might they therewith charge vs iustly: whereas now they themselves both granting, and also vsing liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ deliuered no incon-

uenient

uenient or vnmeetelawes. Sundry of ours they hold inconuenient. Therefore such lawes they cannot possibly hold to be Christs. Being not his, they must of necessity grant them added vnto his. Yet certaine of those very lawes so added, they themselues do not iudge vnlawfull; as they plainly confesse, both in matter of prescript attire, and of rites appertaining to buriall. Their owne protestations are, that they plead against the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulness of Popish apparell; and against the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulness of Ceremonies in Buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not vnlawfull to adde to the Lawes of Iesus Christ; and so consequently they yeeld, that no Law of Christ forbid-
 T.C.L. 2. p. 241. My reasons do neuer conclude the vnlawfulness of these ceremonies of Buriall, but the inconuenience and in-
 T.C.L. 1. p. 32. Upon the indefinite speaking of M. Caluins, saying, ceremonies and externall discipline, without
 T.C. 1. 3. p. 171. The Doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the waightiest things, ought especially to be looked vnto, but the Ceremonies also, as Mint and Comin, ought not to be neglected.

ded addition vnto Church laws. The iudgement of *Caluin* being alleaged against them, to whom of all men they attribute most, whereas his words be plaine, that for Ceremonies and external discipline, the Church hath power to make lawes; the answer which hereunto they make is, that indefinitely the speech is true, and that so it was meant by him, namely, that some things belonging vnto external discipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Againe, Excommunication is a part of externall discipline; which might also be cast away, if all externall discipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church. By which their answer it doth appeare, that touching the names of Ceremony and externall discipline, they gladly would haue vs so vnderstood, as if we did herein containe a great deale more then we doe. The fault which we find with them is, that they ouermuch abridge the Church of her power in these things. Whereupon they recharge vs, as if in these things we gaue the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline conteineth, were at the Churches free choice, so that we might either haue Church-gouernours and gouernement, or want them, either retaine or reiect Church censures as we list. They wonder at vs, as at men which thinke it so indifferent what the Church doth in matter of Ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we iudge the very Sacraments themselues to be held at the Churches pleasure. No, the name of Ceremonies we doe not vse in so large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compasse and reach therof; although things belonging vnto the outward forme and seemely administration of them, are contained in that name, even as wee vse it. For the name of Ceremonies we vse as they themselues doe, when they speake after this sort: *The Doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the waightiest things, ought especially to be looked vnto, but the Ceremonies also, as Mint and Comin, ought not to be neglected.* Besides, in the matter of externall discipline or regiment

it selfe, we doe not denie but there are some things whereto the Church is bound till the worlds end. So as the question is onely how farre the bounds of the Churches libertie doe reach. We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make lawes and orders for it selfe, doth extend vnto sundry things of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and such other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authoritie and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing against vs about this point, they take their compasse a great deale wider then the truth of things can afford, producing reasons and arguments by way of generalitic, to proue that Christ hath set downe all things belonging any way vnto the forme of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or small (for so their manner of disputing is :) we are constrained to make our defence, by shewing that Christ hath not depriued his Church so farre of all liberty in making orders and lawes for it selfe, and that they themselues doe not thinke hee hath so done. For are they able to shew that all particular customes, rites and orders of reformed Churches, haue bene appointed by Christ himselfe? No, they grant that in matter of circumstance they alter that which they haue receiued; but in things of substance they keepe the lawes of Christ without change. If we say the same in our owne behalfe, (which surely wee may doe with a great deale more truth) then must they cancell all that hath bene before alleaged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retaine the lawes that Christ hath deliuered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant perswasion in this point is as theirs, that we haue no where altered the lawes of Christ, further then in such particularities onely, as haue the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to bee made, Sacraments to bee ministred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning euery of these, somewhat Christ hath commanded which must bee kept till the worlds end. On the contrary side, in euery of them somewhat theremay be added, as the Church shall iudge it expedient. So that if they will speake to purpose, all which hitherto hath bene disputed of they must giue ouer, and stand vpon such particulars onely, as they can shew wee haue either added or abrogated other wise then we ought, in the matter of Church-Politic. Whatsoeuer Christ hath commanded for euer to be kept in his Church, the same wee take not vpon vs to abrogate; and whatsoeuer our lawes haue thereunto added besides, of such qualitie wee hope it is, as no law of Christ doth any where condemne. Wherefore that all

1. may belayd together, and gathered into a narrow roome: 1. First, so farre forth as the Church is the mysticall body of Christ and his inuisible Spouse, it needeth no externall Politic. That very part of the law diuine which teacheth faith and works of righteousnesse, is it selfe alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible societie and body politique,
2. lawes of Politic it cannot want. 2. Whereas therefore it commeth in the second place to be inquired, what lawes are fittest and best for the Church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriueth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for her selfe, inclined (as it should seeme) thereunto, for that they imagined all things, which the Church doth without commandment

T. C. l. i. p. 27.
We denie not but certayne things are left to the order of the Church; because they are of the nature of those which are varied by times, places, persons and other circumstances, and so could not at once be set downe and established for euer.

E. s. 29. 14.
Col. 2. 22.

mandement of holy Scripture, subiect to that reproofe which the Scripture it selfe vseth in certaine cases, when diuine authoritie ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a deuice of the braine of man: away with it therefore out of the Church.* S. *Augustine* was of another minde, Aug. Epist. 86. who speaking of fasts on the Sunday, saith, *That he which would chuse out that day to fast on, should gine thereby no small offence to the Church of God, which had receiued a contrarie custome. For in these things whereof the Scripture appointeth no certaintie, the vse of the people of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, must serue for a Law. In which case if we dispute, and condemne one sort by anothers custome, it will be but matter of endlesse contention; where, for as much as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into mens heads any certaine or necessary truth, surely it standeth vs vpon to take heed, lest with the tempest of strife, the brightnesse of charity and loue be darkned.* If all things must bee commanded of God which may be practised of his Church, I would know what commandement the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is spoken of in the Booke of *Ioshua*. Did not 1of. 22. congruities of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandement the women of *Israel* had yerely to mourn and lament in the memorie of *Iephtaes* Daughter; what commaundement the *Jewes* had to celebrate their feast of *Dedication* neuer spoken of in the Law, yet Iud. 11. 40. solemnized euen by our *Sauour* himselfe; what commaundement finally they had for the Ceremonie of *Odours* vsed about the bodies of the dead, after which custome not withstanding (sith it was their custome) our Lord was contented Iohn 10. 22. that his owne most precious bodie should be intombed. Wherefore to reiect all orders of the Church which men haue established, is to thinke worse of the Lawes of men in this respect, then either the iudgement of wise men alloweth, or the Law of God it selfe will beare. Howbeit they which had once taken vpon them to condemne all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, saw it was necessary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needes there must bee in Scripture set downe a complete particular forme of Church-Politie, a forme prescribing how all the affaires of the Church must be ordered, a forme in no respect lawfull to be altered by mortall men. For reformation of which ouersight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Christian loue and charity to instruct them better, and to open vnto them the difference between matters of perpetual necessity to all mens saluation, and matters of Ecclesiasticall Politie: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not necessary to be in such sort there prescribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the Authors of the former opinion were presently seconded by other wittier and better learned, who beeing loth that the forme of Church-Politie which they sought to bring in, should bee otherwise then in the highest degree accounted of, tooke first an exception against the difference betweene Church-Politie and matters of necessitie to saluation; Secondly, against the restraint of Scripture, which they say receiueth iniurie at our hands, when wee teach that it teacheth not as well matters of Politie as of Faith and Saluation. 3. Constrained hereby we haue beene therefore, both to maintain that distinction, as a thing not only true in it selfe, but by them like- 3.

4. wise so acknowledged, though vnawares; 4. And to make manifest that from Scripture wee offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto doth claime, in as much as by vs it is willingly confest, that the Scripture of God is a Store-house abounding with inestimable Treasures of wisdom and knowledge in many kindes, ouer and aboue things in this one kinde barely necessarie; yea, euen that matters of Ecclesiasticall Politie are not therein omitted, but taught also, albeit not so taught as those other things before mentioned. For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing euer can neede to bee added, nothing euer cease to bee necessary: these on the contrarie side, as beeing of a farre other nature and qualitie, not so strictly nor euerlastingly commaunded in Scripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church-Politie much may bee requisite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught, become vnrequisite, sometime because wee need not vse it, sometimes also because wee cannot. In which respect, for mine owne part, although I see that certaine Reformed Churches, the Scottissh especially and French, haue not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture, I meane the gouernement that is by Bishops, in as much as both those Churches are false vnder a different kinde of regiment, which to remedie it is for the one altogether too late, and to soone for the other during their present affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case then exagitate, considering that men oftentimes without any fault of their owne, may bee driuen to want that kinde of Politie or Regiment which is best; and to content themselues with that, which eyther the irremediable error of former times, or the necessitie of the present hath cast vpon them; 5. Now, because that Position first mentioned, which holdeth it necessarie that all things which the Church may lawfully doe in her owne Regiment be commaunded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter Defensors thereof beene greatly qualified; who, though perceiuing it to be over-extreme, are notwithstanding loth to acknowledge any ouer-sight therein, and therefore labor what they may to salue it by construction; we haue for the more perspicuitie delineated what was thereby meant at the first; 6. How iniurious a thing it were vnto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning; 7. And how vnperfect their interpretations are who so much labour to helpe it, either by diuiding Commandements of Scripture into two kindes, and so defending that all things must be commaunded, if not in speciall, yet in generall Precepts; 8. Or by taking it as meant that in case the Church doe deuise any new Order, she ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any star-light of mans reason; 9. Both which euasions being cut off, we haue in the next place declared after what sort the Church may lawfully frame to her selfe Lawes of Politie, and in what reckoning such Positiue Lawes both are with God, and should bee with men; 10. Furthermore, because to abridge the libertie of the Church in this behalfe, it hath beene made a thing very odious, that when God himselfe hath deuised some certaine Lawes, & committed them to Sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, should presume to alter and change them; it was of necessity to be examined, whether the authoritic of God in making, or his care in committing those his Lawes vnto Scripture, be sufficient arguments to proue that God doth in no case allow they should suffer any such

such kind of change. 11. The last refuge for prooffe that Diuine Lawes of Christian Church-Politie may not bee altered, by extinguishment of any olde, or addition of new in that kind, is partly a maruellous strange Discourse, that Christ (vnlesse hee would shew himselfe not so faithfull as *Moses*, or not so wise as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) must needs haue set downe in holy Scripture some certaine complete and vnchangeable forme of Politie; and partly a coloured shew of some euidence, where change of that sort of Lawes may seeme expressly forbidden, although in truth nothing lesse be done. I might haue added hereunto their more familiar and popular disputes, as The Church is a Citie, yea the Citie of the great King, and the life of a Citie is Politie: The Church is the house of the liuing God: and what house can there bee, without some order for the gouernment of it? In the royal house of a Prince there must be Officers for gouernment, such as not any seruant in the house but the Prince, whose the house is, shall iudge conuenient: So the house of God must haue orders for the gouernment of it, such as not any of the Household, but God himselfe hath appointed. It cannot stand with the loue and wisdome of God, to leaue such order vtaken as is necessary for the due gouernment of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Salomons* seruants did shew his wisdome: therefore hee which is greater then *Salomon*, hath not failed to leaue in his house such orders for gouernment thereof, as may serue to bee as a looking Glasse for his prouidence, care, and wisdome to be seene in. That little sparke of the light of nature which remaineth in vs, may serue vs for the affaires of this life: But as in all other matters concerning the Kingdome of Heauen, so principally in this which concerneth the very gouernment of that Kingdome, needfull it is wee should be taught of God. As long as men are perswaded of any order that it is only of men, they presume of their owne vnderstanding, and they thinke to deuise another not onely as good, but better then that which they haue receiued. By seueritie of punishment, this presumption and curiositie may be restrained. But that cannot worke such cheerful obedience as is yeilded, where the Conscience hath respect to God as the Author of Lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the Lawes of *Moses*, made concerning outward Politie for the administration of holy things. The like some Law-giuers of the Heathens did pretend, but falsly; yet wisely discerning the vse of this perswasion. For the better obedience sake therefore it was expedient, that God should be Author of the Politie of his Church. But to what issue doth all this come? A man would thinke that they which hold out with such discourses, were of nothing more fully perswaded then of this, that the Scripture hath set downe a complete forme of Church-Politie, vniuersall, perpetuall, altogether vnchangeable. For so it would follow, if the premises were found and strong to such effect as is pretended. Notwithstanding, they which haue thus formally maintained argumēt in defence of the first ouersight, are by the very euidence of truth themselves constrained to make this in effect their conclusion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-polity; that of those many, some are of greater waight, some of lesse; that what hath bin vrged as touching immutabilitie of Lawes, it extendeth in truth no further then onely to Lawes wherein things of greater moment are prescribed. Now those things of greater moment, what are they? Forsooth, *Dofors*, *Pa-*

11.
*a Nisi Reip. sue
 statum omnem
 constituerit, ma-
 gistratus ordina-
 rit, singulorum
 munera potesta-
 temq; descripserit,
 que iudicio-
 rum foriq; ratio
 habenda, quo-
 modo ciuium
 finiende lites:
 non solum mi-
 nus Ecclesie
 Christiane prou-
 di quam Moses
 olim Indicie, sed
 quam à Lycurgo,
 Solone, Numa,
 ciuitatib. suis
 prospectum sit.
 Lib. de Eccle-
 siast. Disc.*

The defence
of godly Mi-
nist. against
D. Bridges. 133.

stors, Lay Elders, Elderships compounded of these three; Synods consisting of many Elder-ships; Deacons, Women-church-servants or Widows, free consent of the people vnto actions of greatest moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly resolved. All *this forme* of Politic (if yet we may terme that a forme of building, when men haue laid a few rafters together, & those not all of the soundest neither) but howsoever, all *this forme* they conclude is prescribed in such sort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance, (for so I thinke they meane) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is vnlawfull. In which resolution if they will firmly & constantly persist, I see not but that concerning the points which hitherto haue bene disputed of, they must agree that they haue molested the Church with needlesse opposition; and henceforward, as we said before, betake themselves wholly vnto the tryall of particulars, whether euery of those things which they esteeme as principall, be cyther so esteemed of, or at all established for perpetuic in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-Politic be received other then the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in smaller. The matters wherein Church-Politic is conuictant, are the publike religious duties of the Church, as the administration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, spiritual censures & the like. To these the Church standeth alwaies bound. Lawes of Politic, are Lawes which appoint in what manner these duties shall be performed. In performance whereof, because al that are of the Church cannot ioyntly and equally worke, the first thing in Politic required, is a difference of persons in the Church, without which difference those functions cannot in orderly sort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that Gods Clergie are a state which hath bin and will be, as long as there is a Church vpon Earth, necessary by the plaine Word of God himselfe; a state wherunto the rest of Gods people must be subiect as touching things that appertaine to their soules health. For where Politic is, it cannot but appoint some to be Leaders of others, and some to be led by others. *If the blind lead the blind, they both perish.* It is with the Clergie, if their persons be respected, euen as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that, which the dignitie of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of Politic, they being the *lights of the World*, others (though better and wiser) must that way be subiect vnto them. Againe, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be distinguished; wee hold, there haue euer bene, and euer ought to bee in such case, at leastwise two sorts of Ecclesiasticall persons, the one subordinate vnto the other; as to the Apostles in the beginning, and to the Bishops alwayes since, wee find plainly both in Scripture and in all Ecclesiasticall Records, other Ministers of the Word and Sacraments haue bin. Moreouer it cannot enter into any mans conceit to thinke it lawfull, that euery man which listeth, should take vpon him charge in the Church; and therefore a solemn admittance is of such necessitie, that without it there can be no Church-Politic. A nūber of particularities there are, which make for the more conuenient being of these principal and perpetuall parts in Ecclesiasticall Politic, but yet are not of such constant vse and necessitie in Gods Church. Of this kind are times and places appointed for the exercise of Religion; specialties belonging to the publike solēnity of the Word, the Sacraments and Praier; the enlargement or abridgement of Functions ministeriall de-

pending

Luke. 6. 39.

Matth. 5. 14.

pending vpon those two principall before mentioned; to conclude, euen whatsoever doth by way of formalitie and circumstance concerne any publike action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kinde be for euer permanent; yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God shall alwayes neede which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the forme of Politie by them set downe for perpetuitie, is three wayes faultie. Faultie in omitting some things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Pastors, when they grow to any great multitude; faultie in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widdowes, and such like; as things of perpetuall necessitie by the Law of God, which in truth are nothing lesse; faultie also in vrging some things by Scripture immutable, as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing cyther we can as yet find, or they haue hitherto been able to prooue. But hereof more in the Bookes that follow. As for those marvellous discourses, whereby they aduenture to argue, that God must needs haue done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I must confesse, I haue often wondred at their exceeding boldnesse herein. When the question is, whether God haue deliuered in Scripture (as they affirme hee hath) a complete particular immutable forme of Church-Politie; why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour, to prooue he should haue done it; there being no way in this case to prooue the deed of God, sauing only by producing that euidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent vpon record, they doe as if one should demand a Legacy by force and vertue of some written Testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth that there it must needes bee, and bringeth arguments from the loue or good wil, which alwayes the Testator bore him; imagining that these or the like proofes will conuict a Testament to haue that in it, which other men can no where by reading finde. In matters, which concerne the actions of God, the most dutifull way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekenesse to admire that, rather then to dispute what he in congruities of reason ought to doe. The wayes which hee hath whereby to doe all things for the greatest good of his Church, are more in number then we can search, other in nature then that we should presume to determine which of many should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to bee the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. When wee doe otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds, who and where we are we forget; and therefore needfull it is that our pride in such cases be controlld, and our disputes beaten backe with those demands of the blessed

Apostle, *How vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes past finding out? Who hath knowne the mind of the Lord, or who was his Counsellor?*

Rom. 11. 33.





OF THE LAWES OF
ECCLESIASTICALL
POLITIE:

The fourth Booke.

Concerning their third Assertion, that our Forme of Church-politie is corrupted with Popish Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, banished out of certaine Reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought to haue followed.

The matter contained in this fourth Booke.

- 1 **H**ow great vse Ceremonies haue in the Church.
- 2 **T**he first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies, is, that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicity, but a greater pompe and statelinessse.
- 3 **T**he second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome vseth; and the Reasons which they bring to proue them for that cause blame-worthy.
- 4 **H**ow when they goe about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they meane, they contradict their owne Arguments against Popish Ceremonies.
- 5 **A**n Answere to the Argument whereby they would prooue, that sith we allow the Customes of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such Customes as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.
- 6 **T**o their Allegation, that the course of Gods owne Wisdome doth make against our Conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.
- 7 **T**o the Example of the eldest Church which they bring for the same purpose.
- 8 **T**hat it is not our best Polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion, to haue in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vn-sound.
- 9 **T**hat neither the Papiests vpbraiding vs as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceiue, doth make any more against our Ceremonies then the former Allegations haue done.
- 10 **T**he grieffe which, they say, godly Brethren conceiue, at such Ceremonies as we haue common with the Church of Rome.

- 11 *The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies is, for that as we haue them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Iewes.*
- 12 *The fourth, for that sundry of them haue bin (they say) abused vnto Idolatry, and are by that meane become scandalous.*
- 13 *The fifth, for that we retaine them still, notwithstanding the Example of certaine Churches reformed before vs, which haue cast them out.*
- 14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for the establishment of things as they are.*

How great vic
Ceremonies
haue in the
Church.



Mat. 23. ver. 23.
The Doctrine
and Discipline
of the Church,
as the weight-
tiest things,
ought especial-
ly to be looked
vnto: but the
Ceremonies
also, as *Mint
and comin,*
ought not to
be neglected.
T. C. l. 3. p. 171.

WH was the ancient simplicitie and softnesse of Spirit, which sometimes preuailed in the World, that they whose words were euen as Oracles amongst men, seemed euer more loath to giue sentence against any thing publicly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderfull apparently euill; for that they did not so much incline to that feueritie, which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amisse; as to that Charity, which is vnwilling to behold any thing, that dutie bindeth to reprove. The state of this present Age, wherein Zeale hath drowned Charitie, and Skill Meekenesse, will not now suffer any man to maruell, whatsoeuer he shall heare reposed, by whomsoeuer. Those Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the selfe-same now, that they were, when holy and vertuous men maintained them against prophane and deriding Aduersaries, her owne children haue at this day in derision. Whether iustly or no, it shall then appeare, when all things are heard, which they haue to allege against the outward received Orders of this Church. Which in as much as themselues doe compare vnto *Mint and Comin,* granting them to be no part of those things, which in the matter of Politic are weightier, wee hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long. The lifting of that, which is objected against the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong vnto this place. Heere wee are to discusse onely those generall exceptions, which haue beene taken at any time against them. First therefore, to the end that their nature and vse, wherevnto they serue, may plainly appeare, and so afterwards their qualitie the better bee discerned; wee are to note, that in euery grand or maine publike dutie, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, besides that matter and forme where- in the essence thereof consisteth, a certaine outward fashion, whereby the same is in decent sort administred. The substance of all religious actions is deliuered from God himselfe in few words. For Example sake in the Sacraments, *Vnto the Element let the Word be added, and they do both make a Sacrament;* saith Saint *Augustine.* Baptisme is giuen by the Element of Water, and that prescript forme of words, which the Church of Christ doth vse; the Sacrament of the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is administred in the Elements of Bread and Wine, if those mysticall words be added thereunto. But the due and decent forme of administring those holy Sacraments, doth require a great deale more. The end
which

which is aimed at in setting downe the outward forme of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when eyther their vnderstanding is taught somewhat whercof in such actions it behooueth all men to consider; or when their hearts are moued with any affection suteable thereunto, when their minds are in any sort stirred vp vnto that reuerence, deuotion, attention, and due regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore vnto this purpose not onely speech, but sundry sensible meanes besides haue alwayes bene thought necessary, and especially those meanes which being obiect to the eye, the liueliest and the most apprehensiu sense of all other, haue in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deepe and strong impression; from hence haue risen not onely a number of Prayers, Readings, Questionings, Exhortings, but euen of visible signes also; which being vsed in performance of holy actions, are vndoubtedly most effectuall to open such matter, as men when they know, & remember carefully, must needs be a great deale the better informed to what effect such duties serue. Wee must not thinke but that there is some ground of reason euen in nature, whereby it commeth to passe, that no Nation vnder Heauen either doth or euer did suffer publike actions which are of waight, whether they be ciuill and temporall, or else spirituall and sacred, to passe without some visible solemnitie; the very strangenesse whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to obserue and to marke the same. Words, both because they are common, and doe not so strongly moue the phantasie of man, are for the most part but sleightly heard: and therefore with singular wisdome it hath bene provided, that the deedes of men which are made in the presence of Witnesse, should passe not onely with wordes, but also with certaine sensible actions, the memory whereof is farre more easie and durable then the memory of speech can be. The things which so long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not vs presume to condemne as follies and toyes, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorne whatsoeuer it doth not conceiue, might aske wherfore Abraham should say to his seruant, *Put thy hand vnder my thigh & sweare*: was it not sufficient for his seruant to shew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heauen and Earth, vnlesse that strange Ceremonie were added? In Cōtracts, Bargaines & Conueiances, a mans word is a token sufficient to expresse his wil. *Yet this was the ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming & exchanging to establish all things; A man did plucke off his Shoo, and gaue it to his Neighbour; & this was a sure Witnesse in Israel.* Amongst the Romans in their making of a Bond man free, was it not wondred wherfore so great adoe should be made? The Master to present his Slaue in some Court, to take him by the hand, & not only to say in the hearing of the publike Magistrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after these solempne words vttered, to strike him on the cheeke, to turne him round, the haire of his head to bee shaued off, the Magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap & a white garment to be giuen him? To what purpose al this circumstance? Amongst the Hebrewes how strange & in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was minded to make himselfe a perpetual seruant, should not onely testifie so much in the presence of the Iudge, but for a visible token thereof haue also his care bored thorow with a nawle? It were

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth. 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so farre as they might be exemplified both in ciuill and religious actions. For in both they haue their necessary vse and force. *These sensible things which Religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually vnderstood, wherunto they serue as a hand to leade, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to adde to religious duties such rites & ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new Sacraments: sure I am they will not say, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordaine a sacrament; a significant Ceremonie he did ordaine, in commanding the Priests *b* to execute the worke of their diuine seruice with their hands, as farre as to the fingers couered; therby signifying that fidelitie must be defended, and that mens right hands are the sacred seate thereof. Againe, we are also to put them in minde, that themselves doe not hold all significant ceremonies for Sacraments; in as much as imposition of hands they denie to be a Sacrament, & yet they giue therunto a forcible significatiō. For concerning it their words are these: *The partie ordained by this Ceremonie, was put in mind of his separation to the worke of the Lord, that remembering himself to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himselfe now his owne, nor to doe what himselfe listeth; but to consider that God hath set him about a worke, which if he wil discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himselfe of reward, and if otherwise, of reuenge.* Touching significant Ceremonies, some of them are Sacraments, some as Sacraments onely. Sacraments are those, which are signes and tokens of some generall promised grace, which alwaies really descendeth from God vnto the soule that duly receiueth them: other significant tokens are onely as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments. Which is not our distinction but theirs. For concerning the Apostles imposition of hands, these are their own words; *Manuum signum hoc est quasi Sacramentum usurparunt;* They vsed this signe, as it were a Sacrament.

2. Concerning rites and ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number & multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things wee haue departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ & his Apostles, we haue embraced more outward statelinesse, we haue those orders in the exercise of Religion, which they who best pleased God & serued him most deuotely, neuer had. For it is out of doubt, that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian Religion, faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best vnderstood by all men, all parts of godlinesse did then most abound: and therefore it must needs follow, that customes, lawes, and ordinances deuised since, are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is to cut off later inuentions, and to reduce things vnto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either vncertaine, or at leastwise vnsufficient, if not both. For in case it be certayne, hard it cannot be for them to shew vs, where we shall find it so exactly set downe, that we may say without all controuersie, *These were the orders of the Apostles times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more then these.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded vnto, yea, many things declared, & many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in vse, should be contained in their books? Surely, no. For if the tenor of their writings be well obserued, it shall vnto any man easily

appear,

a Dionys. p. 121.
τα δειν εἰς δι-
τῶς ἐσπὸς τῶν
von τῶν ἀσιστο-
νίμαζα ἔστ'
ἀυτῶν ἔσπαζω-
για ἔσδδς.

b Liu. l. r. Ma-
nu ad digitos vs-
q. inuoluta rem
diuinam facere;
significantes fidem
tutandam,
sedonq. eius eti-
am in dextris
sacratam esse.

c Eccles. disci.
fol. 51.

Feb. 25.

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies is, that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicity, but a greater pompe and statelines. Lib. Eccles. disci. ⑤ T. C. 3. p. 181

appeare, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be spoken of sometimes by one occasion, and sometime by another. Will they allow then of any other Records besides? Well assured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apostolicall, which is not found in the Apostles writings, in what other Records soeuer it be found. And therefore whereas S. *Augustine* affirmeth, that those things which the whole Church of Christ doth hold, may well be thought to be Apostolicall, although they be not found written; this his iudgement they vtterly condemne. I wil not here stand in defence of S. *Augustines* opiniõ, which is, that such things are indeed Apostolicall; but yet with this exception, valesse the Decree of some generall Council haue haply caused them to be received: for of Positiue Laws and orders receiued throughout the whole Christian world, S. *Augustine* could imagine no other fountaine saue these two. But to let passe S. *Augustin*, they who condemne him herein, must needs confesse it a very vncertaine thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apostles times, seeing the Scriptures doe not mention them all, and other Records thereof besides they vtterly reiect. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apostles times, they tie it to a maruelous vncertaine rule; vnlesse they require the obseruation of no orders but onely those which are knowne to be Apostolicall by the Apostles owne Writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should vse it as a touchstone to try the orders of the Church by for euer. Our end ought alwayes to bee the same; our wayes and meanes thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apostles aymed at, and therefore ought to be the marke whereat wee also leuell. But seeing those rites and orders may bee at one time more, which at another are lesse auailable vnto that purpose: what reason is there in these things to vrge the state of our onely age, as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right sure, their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serue God in close and secret meetings; or that common Brookes or Riuers should be vsed for places of Baptisme; or that the Eucharist should be ministred after meat; or that the Custome of Church-feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing prouision for the Ministerie should bee vtterly taken away, and their estate made againe dependent vpon the voluntary deuotion of men. In these things they easily perceiue how vnfit that were for the present, which was for the first Age conuenient enough. The faith, zeale, and godlinesse of former times is worthily had in honour: but doth this proue that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfe-same with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since haue ceased? They who recall the Church vnto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds & limits vnto their speeches. If any thing haue beene receiued repugnant vnto that which was first deliuered, the first things in this case must stand, the last giue place vnto them. But where difference is without repugnancie, that which hath beene can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the state of the people of God when they were in the house of bondage, and their manner of seruing God in a strange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Ierusalem did afford, and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt, it may be, they were right glad to take some

Tom. 7. de bapt. contra Donatist. lib. 5. cap. 23. T. C. 4. 1 p. 21.
 If this iudgement, of Saint *Augustine* bee a good iudgement; & found; then there be some things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therefore there is no sufficient Doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be saved. For all the Commandments of God and of the Apostles, are needefull for our saluation. *Vid. Epist. 118.*

corner of a poore Cottage, and there to serue God vpon their knees, peraduenture covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the lesse accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliuerance, did testifie that they serued him not in vaine. Notwithstanding in the very Desert they are no sooner possessors of some little thing of their owne, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and hauing *Dauid* to be their King, when the Lord had giuen him rest from all his enemies, it grieued his religious minde to consider the growth of his owne estate and dignity, the affaires of Religion continuing still in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in an house of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remaineth still within curtaines.* What hee did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that *Salomon* his sonne should performe, and performe it in manner sutable vnto their present, not their ancient estate and condition. For which cause *Salomon* writeth vnto the King of Tyrus: *The house which I build is great and wonderfull; for great is our God above all Gods.* Whereby it cleerely appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable vnto him, as well being framed sutable to the greatnesse and dignitie of later, as when they keep the reuerend simplicitie of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore betweene vs and the Apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

2. Sam. 7. 2.

2. Chron. 2. 5.

Our Orders
and Ceremo-
nies blamed,
in that so ma-
ny of them are
the same which
the Church of
Rome vseth.
Eccles. Discipl.
fol. 12. T. C. lib. 1.
pag. 131.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 20.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 25.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 131.

3. Yea, but wee haue framed our selues to the customes of the Church of Rome, our Orders and Ceremonies are Popisticall. It is espied that our Church-founders were not so carefull as in this matter they should haue bene, but contented themselues with such discipline as they took from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reforme by abolishing all Popish orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with Papists, *neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Government.* It is not enough that we are diuided from the Church of Rome by the single wall of Doctrine, retaying as we doe part of their Ceremonies, and almost their whole Governement: but Governement or Ceremonies or whatsoeuer it be which is Popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in vs, the vtter relinquishment of all things Popish. Wherein to the end we may answer them according vnto their plaine direct meaning, and not take aduantage of doubtfull speech, whereby controuersies grow alwaies endlesse; their maine Position being this, that *nothing should be placed in the Church but what God in his Word hath commanded,* they must of necessity hold all for Popish, which the Church of Rome hath ouer and besides this. By Popish orders, Ceremonies and Governement they must therefore meane in euery of these so much, as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandement of Gods Word: so that whatsoeuer such thing we haue, if the Church of Rome haue it also, it goeth vnder the name of those things that are Popish, yea, although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the Word of God. For so they plainly affirme, saying: *Although the formes & ceremonies which they (the Church of Rome) vsed were not unlawful, & that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God; yet notwithstanding neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches both Iewish and Christian, do permit vs to vse the same form & ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not, as good as they*
and

and rather better be established. The question therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in those orders, rites and ceremonies, wherein we doe not thinke them blameable, or else ought to deuise others, and to haue no conformitie with them, no not as much as in these things? In this sense and construction therefore as they affirme, so we denie, that whatsoeuer is Popish we ought to abrogate. Their arguments to proue that generally all Popish orders and ceremonies ought to be cleane abolished, are in summe these: *First, whereas we allow the iudgement of St. Augustine, that touching those things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obserue the custome of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers; how can we retaine the customes and constitutions of the Papists in such things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers? Secondly, although the formes and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not vnlawfull, neither did containe any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldest Churches of God, nor reason do permit vs to vse the same, they being Hereitikes, and so necere about vs, and their orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet such but that as good or rather better may be established. It is against the word of God, to haue conformity with the Church of Rome in such things, as appeareth, in that the wisdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his people from infection of Idolatry and superstition, by seuering them from Idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to doe things which are in themselves very lawfull to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was careful to seuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so careful to seuer them from any, as from the Egyptians amongst whom they lined, & from those nations which were next neighbours vnto the, because from them was the greatest feare of infection. So that following the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, it were more safe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, then to the Papists which are so necere. Touching the example of the eldest Churches of God, in one Council it was decreed, that Christians should not deck their houses with Bay leaues & green boughs, because the Pagans did vse so to do, & that they should not rest from their labors these dayes that the Pagans did, that they should not keepe the first day of euery moneth as they did. Another Council decreed, that Christians should not celebrate feasts on the birth days of the Martyrs, because it was the maner of the Heathen. O, saith Tertulian, better is the Religio of the Heathen: for they vse no solemnitie of the Christiās, neither the Lords day, neither the Pentecost, and if they knew them, they would haue nothing to doe with them: for they would be afraid lest they should seeme Christians: but we are not afraid to be called Heathen. The same Tertul. would not haue Christians to sit after they had praied, because the Idolaters did so. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of Councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed had bin takē, that the Christiās should not be like th' Idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be vsed or not vsed. The same conformity is not lesse opposit vnto reason, first in as much as contraries must be cured by their contraries, & therefore Popery being Antichristianity, is not healed but by establishment of orders therunto opposit. The way to bring a drunken mā to sobriety, is to carry him as far from excess of drinke as may be. To rectifie a crooked sticke, we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the first on that side from whence we draw it: and so it commeth in the end to a middle betweene both, which is perfect straightnesse.*

T.C. l. 1. p. 30.

T.C. l. 1. p. 131.

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

Tom. 2. Braca. 73

Con. Africa.
cap. 27.

Lib. de Idolatria.
He seemeth to mean the feast of Easter day, celebrated in the memory of our Sauours resurrection, and for that cause termed the Lords day.
Lib. de Anima.

Vtter inconformitie thereof with the Church of Rome in these things, is the best and surest policy which the Church can vse. While we vse their Ceremonies, they take occasion to blaspheme, saying that our Religion cannot stand by it selfe, vnlesse it leane vpon the staffe of their Ceremonies. They hereby conceiue great hope of hauing the rest of their Popery in the end; which hope causeth them to bee more frozen in their wickednesse. Neither is it without cause that they haue this hope, considering that which Master BVCER noteth vpon the eighteenth of Saint MATTHEW, that where these things haue bene left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part in places which haue bene cleansed of these things, it hath not yet bene seene that it hath had any entrance. None make such clamors for these Ceremonies, as the Papiests, and those whom they suborne; a manifest token how much they triumph and ioy in these things. They breed grieue of minde in a number that are godly minded, and haue Antichristianity in such detestation, that their minds are martyred with the very sight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieue with vnprofitable Ceremonies, y^e a Ceremonies wherein there is not onely no profit, but also danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popish Ceremonies are meanes to breed. This in effect is the summe and substance of that which they bring by way of opposition against those orders which we haue common with the Church of Rome, these are the reasons wherewith they would prooue our Ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

That whereas they who blame vs in this behalfe, when reason euiceth that all such Ceremonies are not to bee abolished, make answer that when they condemn Popish Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies vnprofitable, or Ceremonies, in stead wherof as good or better may bee deuised: they cannot hereby get out of the bryers, but contradict and gainsay themselves; in as much as their viuell manner is to prooue, that Ceremonies vncommanded in the Church of God, and yet vsed in the Church of Rome, are for *this very cause* vnprofitable to vs, and not so good as others in their place would be.

4 Before wee answer vnto these things, wee are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom these obiections proceed, doe oftentimes flye for defence and succour, when the force and strength of their Arguments is elided. For the Ceremonies in vse amongst vs, being in no other respect retayned, sauing onely for that to retayne them is to our seeming, good and profitable, yea so profitable and so good, that if wee had either simply taken them cleane away, or else removed them so as to place in their stead others, we had done worse: the plaine and direct way against vs herein had bene only to prooue, that all such Ceremonies as they require to be abolished, are retayned by vs with the hurt of the Church, or with lesse benefit then the abolishment of them would bring. But for as much as they saw how hardly they should bee able to performe this; they tooke a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church vnder the name of being Popish. The cause why this way seemed better vnto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious then very Paganisme amongst diuers of the more simple sort; so whatsoeuer they heare named Popish, they presently conceiue deepe hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contayned in that name, but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The eares of the people they haue therefore filled with strong clamour; *The Church of England is fraught with Popish Ceremonies: They that fauour the cause of reformation, maintaine nothing but the sinceritie of the Gospell of IESVS CHRIST: All such as withstand them, fight for the Lawes of his sworne enemy, uphold the filthy reliques of Antichrist; and are defenders of that which is Popish.* These are the notes wherewith are drawne from the hearts of the multitude so many sighes; with these tunes their mindes are exasperated

against

against the lawfull Guides and Gouvernours of their soules; these are the voyces that fill them with general discontentment, as though the bosome of that famous Church wherein they live, were more noysome then any dungeon. But when the Authours of so scandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how they can iustifie such their dealings; when they are vrged directly to answer, whether it bee lawfull for vs to vse any such Ceremonies as the Church of Rome vseth, although the same be not commanded in the Word of God; being driuen to see that the vse of some such Ceremonies must of necessitie be granted lawfull, they goe about to make vs beleue that they are iust of the same opinion, and that they onely thinke such Ceremonies are not to be vsed when they are vnprofitable, or when as good or better may be established. Which answer is both idle in regard of vs, and also repugnant to themselues. It is, in regard of vs, very vaine to make this answer, because they know that what Ceremonies we retayne common vnto the Church of Rome, wee therefore retayne them, for that wee iudge them to be profitable, and to be such that others in stead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish Ceremonies as are vnprofitable, or else might haue other more profitable in their stead; they trifle and they beat the aire about nothing which toucheth vs, vnlesse they meane that wee ought to abrogate all Romish Ceremonies, which in their iudgement haue either no vse, or lesse vse then some other might haue. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as Iudges, and we required to take their iudgement for good in this case. Otherwise, their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *Mee thinketh*, vnto the Orders of the Church of England: as in the question about Surplices one of them doth; *If we looke to the colour, blacke me thinketh is more decent; if to the forme, a garment down to the foot hath a great deale more comeliness in it.* If they thinke that we ought to proue the Ceremonies commodious which wee haue retayned, they doe in this point very greatly deceiue themselues. For in all right and equitie, that which the Church hath receiued and held so long for good, that which publique approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and conuenient. They which haue stood vp as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must proue their challenge. If we being Defendants do answer, that the Ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childish and vnorderly to say, that we demand the thing in question, and shew the pouertie of our cause, the goodnesse whereof we are fayne to begge that our Aduersaries would grant. For on our part this must bee the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of prouing doth rest on them. In them it is frivoulos to say, we ought not to vse bad Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselues to dislike, vnlesse wee can perswade them the contrarie. Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselues. For what one thing is so common with them, as to vse the custome of the Church of Rome for an argument to proue, that such and such Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for vs, in as much as that Church vseth them? Which vsuall kind of disputing, sheweth that they doe not disallow onely those Romish ceremonies which are vnprofitable, but count all vnprofitable which are Romish; that is to say, which haue been deuised by the Church of Rome, or which are vsed

T. C. lib. 3, p. 171.
 What an open vntruth is it, that this is one of our principles not to be lawfull to vse the same ceremonies which the Papists doe: when as I haue both before declared the contrary, and euen here haue expressly added, that they are not to be vsed when as good or better may be established.

Eccles. discipl. fol. 100.

T. C. lib. 3, p. 176.
 As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, and decent: it is your old wont of demanding the thing in question, and an vndoubted argument of your extreme pouerty.

T. C. lib. 3, p. 174.

in that Church, and not prescribed in the Word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can vse suitable vnto their other Positions. And therefore the cause which they yeeld, why they hold it lawfull to retayne in *Doctrine* & in *Discipline* some things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is, for that those good things are perpetuall commandements, in whose place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their iudgement in truth is, that whatsoeuer by the word of God is not changeable in the Church of Rome, that Churches vsing is a cause, why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to thinke it good or profitable. And lest wee seeme to father any thing vpon them more then is properly their owne, let them reade euen their owne words, where they complaine, that *we are thus constrained to be like vnto the Papists in any their Ceremonies*; yea they vrge that this cause, although it were alone, ought to

T.C.1.3.p.177. And that this complaint of ours is iust, in that we are thus constrained to bee like vnto the Papists in any their ceremonies; and that this cause only ought to moue them to whom that belongeth, to doe theirs away, for as much as they are their ceremonies: the Reader may, further see in the B. of Salisbury, who brings diuers proofes thereof.

moue them to whom that belongeth, to doe them away, for as much as they are their ceremonies, and that the B. of Salisbury doth iustifie this their complaint. The clause is vntrue which they adde concerning the B. of Salisbury; but the sentence doth shew, that we doe them no wrong in setting

downe the state of the question betweene vs thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the Church of England all such orders, rites, and ceremonies, as are established in the Church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the Word of God. For the affirmatiue whereof we are now to answere such proofes of theirs as haue bene before alleged.

That our allowing the customes of our fathers to be followed, is no proofe that we may not allow some customes which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

5. Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for Catholiques, or hold them for Heretiques, it is not a thing either one way or another in this present question greatly materiall. Our conformitie with them in such things as haue bin proposed, is not proued as yet vnlawful by all this. *S. Augustine* hath said, yea, and we haue allowed his saying, *That the custome of the people of God, & the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture had neither one way nor other giuen vs any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good if so be it were granted, that only the custome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be obserued. But then should no other kind of later laws in the Church be good, which were a grosse absurdity to thinke. *S. Augustines* speech therefore doth import, that where wee haue no diuine precept, if yet we haue the custome of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and must bee kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obserue the positieue constitutions of our owne Churches, although the same were but yesterday made by our selues alone. Nor is there any thing in this to proue, that the Church of England might not by law receiue orders, rites, or customes from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much lesse when we haue receiued from them nothing but that which they did themselues receiue from such, as we cannot denie to haue bin the people of God, yea such as either we must acknowledge for our owne forefathers, or else disdain the race of Christ?

we must acknowledge for our owne forefathers, or else disdain the race of Christ?

6 The Rites and Ordes wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kinde then such as the Church of Geneva it selfe doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in moe things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controuersie is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites onely, wherein they and wee doe follow the Church of Rome. The vse of Wafer-cakes, the custome of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptisme, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which haue bin of old, and are retained in the Church of Rome, euen at this very houre. Is conformitie with Rome in such things a blemish vnto the Church of England, and vnto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reuerence they owe vnto this Church, in the bowels whereof they haue received I trust that precious and blessed vigor, which shall quicken them to eternall life; yet at the leastwise for the singular affection which they doe beare towards others, take heede how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For vndoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, when they pleade that euen such Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as containe in them nothing which is not of it selfe agreeable to the Word of God, ought neuerthelesse to bee abolished, and that neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches, doe permit the Church of Rome to bee therein followed. Heretikes they are, and they are our Neighbours. By vs and amongst vs they leade their liues. But what then? Therefore no Ceremony of theirs lawfull for vs to vse? We must yeeld and will, that none are lawfull, if God himselfe be a precedent against the vse of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby, they say, it doth appeare, in that *God seuered his people from the Heathens, but specially from the Egyptians, and such Nations as were nearest Neighbours vnto them, by forbidding them to doe those things, which were in themselves very lawfull to be done, yea very profitable some and incommodious to be forborne; such things it pleased God to forbid them, onely because those Heathens did them, with whom conformitie in the same things might haue bred infection. Thus in shaving, cutting, apparell wearing, yea in sundry kinds of meates also, Swines flesh, Cories, and such like, they were forbidden to doe so, and so, because the Gentiles did so. And the end why God forbid them such things was, to seuer them, for feare of infection, by a great and an high wall from other Nations, as Saint PAUL teacheth.* The cause of more carefull separation from the nearest Nations, was the greatnesse of danger to be especially by them infected. Now, Papists are to vs as those Nations were vnto Israel. Therefore if the wisdome of God bee our guide, we cannot allow conformitie with them, no not in any such indifferent Ceremony. Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleaged we may still doubt, whether the Lord in such indifferent Ceremonies as those whereof we dispute, did frame his people of set purpose vnto any vtter dissimilitude, either with Egyptians, or with any other Nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformitie with the Church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproued, although Papists were vnto vs as those Heathens were vnto Israel. *After the doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, yee shall not doe, saith the Lord; and after the manner of the Land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, shall yee not doe, neither walke in their Ordinances: Doe after my iudgements;*

That the course which the wisdome of God doth teach, maketh not against our conformitie with the Church of Rome in such things.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 89. & 1. 1.

Leuit. 18. 3.

Leuit. 19. 27.

Leuit. 19. 17.

Deut. 22. 11.

Deut. 1. 4. 7. &

Leuit. 11. 1.

Ephes. 2. 14.

Leuit. 18. 3.

ments, & keepe my ordinances to walke therein: I am the Lord your God. The speech is indefinite, yee shall not be like them: It is not generall, yee shall not be like them in any thing, or like vnto them in any thing indifferent, or like vnto them in any indifferent Ceremonie of theirs. Seeing therefore it is not set downe how farre the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure vs, that it extendeth farther then to those things only, wherein the Nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the Law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seeme a thing very probable, that God doth purposely adde, *Doe after my iudgements*, as giuing thereby to vnderstand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things as were repugnant vnto the Ordinances, Lawes, and Statutes, which he had giuen? Egyptians and Cananites are for example sake named vnto them, because the customes of the one they had bin, and of the other they should be best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like vnto either of them, was such per-adventure as had bin no whit lesse vnlawfull, although those Nations had neuer bin. So that there is no necessitie to thinke that God for feare of infection by reason of necrenesse, forbad them to bee like to the Cananites or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had bin lawfull enough. For I would know what one thing was in those Nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent it selfe, yet forbidden only because they vsed it. In the Lawes of Israel we find it written, *Ye shall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou teare the tufts of thy beard.* These things were vsual amongst those Nations, and in themselves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being vsed as signes of immoderate and hopelesse lamentation for the dead? In this sense it is that the Law forbiddeth them. For which cause the very next words following are, *Ye shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a marke vpon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leuiticus*, where speech is of mourning for the dead, *They shall not make bald parts vpon their head, nor shaue off the lockes of their beard, nor make any cutting in their flesh.* Again, in *Deut.* *Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye shall not cut your selues, nor make you baldnesse betweene your eyes for the dead.* What is this but in effect the same which the Apostle doth more plainly expresse, saying, *Sorrow not as they doe which haue no hope?* The very light of Nature it selfe was able to see herein a fault; that which those Nations did vse, hauing beene also in vse with others, the ancient Roman Lawes doe forbid. That shauing therefore and cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in it selfe indifferent, and forbidden only because it was in vse amongst such Idolaters as were Neighbours to the people of God; but to vse it had beene a crime, though no other people or Nation vnder heauen should haue done it sauing only themselves. As for those Lawes concerning attire, *There shall no garment of linnen and woollen come vpon thee*, as also those touching foode and diet, wherein *Swines flesh* together with sundry other meates are forbidden; the vse of these things had bin indeede of it selfe harmelesse and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appeare, how the Law of God forbad in some speciall consideration, such things as were lawfull enough in themselves. But yet euen here they likewise faile of that they intend. For it doth not appeare that the consideration in regard wherof the Law forbiddeth these things, was because those Nations did vse them. Likely enough it is that the Cananites vsed to feed as well on Sheeps as on Swines flesh; and therefore if the for-

bidding

Leuit. 19. 17.

Leuit. 21. 5.

Deut. 14. 1.

1. Thess. 4. 13.

Leuit. 19. 19.

Deut. 22. 11.

Deut. 14. 7.

Leuit. 11.

bidding of the later had no other reason then dissimilitude with that people, they which of their owne heads alleage this for reason, can shew I thinke some reason more then we are able to finde, why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not bee some other mystery in this prohibition then they thinke of? Yes, some other mysterie there was in it by all likelyhood. For what reason is there which should but induce, and therefore much lesse enforce vs to thinke, that care of dissimilitude betweene the people of God and the Heathen Nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stoffe, then of charging them withall not to sow their fields with Mesline, or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eate Swines flesh, then of charging them withall not to eate the flesh of Eagles, Hawkes, and the like? Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to vs, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wisdome of God without respect doth teach vs to erect betweene vs and them a partition wall of difference, in such things indifferent as haue bene hitherto disputed of.

7 Neither is the example of the eldest Churches a whit more auailable to this purpose. Notwithstanding some fault vndoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of Idolaters. Were it not some kinde of blemish to bee like vnto Infidels and Heathens, it would not so vsually bee objected, men would not thinke it any aduantage in the causes of Religion, to bee able therewith iustly to charge their Aduersaries as they doe. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appeare, what force this hath, and how farre the same extendeth: wee are to note how all men are naturally desirous, that they may seeme neither to iudge, nor to doe amisse, because euery error and offence is a staine to the beautie of nature, for which cause it blusheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrarie. From whence it riseth, that they which disgrace or depresse the credit of others, doe it either in both or in one of these. To haue bene in either directed by a weake and vnperfect Rule, argueth imbecillitie and imperfection. Men being either led by reason, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their persons be odious whose example we choose to follow, as namely, if wee frame our opinions to that which condemned Heretiques thinke, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lyes as an heavy preiudice against vs, vnlesse somewhat mightier then their bare example, did moue vs to thinke or doe the same things with them. Christian men therefore hauing besides the common light of all men so great help of heavenly direction from aboue, together with the Lamps of so bright examples as the Church of God doth yeeld, it cannot but worthily seeme reprochfull for vs, to leaue both the one and the other, to become Disciples vnto the most hatefull sort that liue, to doe as they doe, onely because we see their example before vs, and haue a delight to follow it. Thus wee may therefore safely conclude, that it is not euill simply to concurre with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either wee follow them in that they thinke and doe amisse, or follow them generally in that they doe, without other reason then only the liking we haue to the paterne of their example: which liking doth intimate a more vniuersall approbation of them then is allowable. *Faustus* the Manichey therefore objecting against the Iewes, that they

Leuit. 19. 19.

Deut. 14.
Leuit. 11.Ep^l of. 2. 14.

That the example of the eldest Churches is not herein against vs.
T. C. I. p. 132.
The Ccuncels although they did not obserue themselves always in making of decrees this Rule; yet haue kept this consideration continually in making of their laws, that they would haue the Christians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

for-

forsooke the Idols of the Gentiles, but their Temples, & Oblations, & Altars, and Priesthoods, and all kinde of ministerie of holy things, they exercised euen as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deale; against the Catholike Christians likewise, that betweene them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference, *From them* (saith *Favstus*) *ye haue learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their sacrifices yee haue turned into feasts of Charitie, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honor with the like religious offices vnto theirs, the Ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates, the festinall dayes of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye haue vnterly changed nothing.* S. *Austines* defence in behalfe of both is, that touching the matters of action, Iewes and Catholike Christians were free from the Gentiles faultinesse, euen in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles: and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentils, because Gentils had so taught, but because heauen and earth had so witnessed the same to be Truth, that neither the one sort could erre in being fully perswaded thereof, nor the other but erre in case they should not consent with them. In things of their owne nature indifferent, if either Councils or particular men haue at any time with sound iudgement misliked conformitie betweene the Church of God and Infidels, the cause thereof hath beene somewhat else then onely affe-

Tom. 6. cont.
Faust. M. with.
lib. 20. cap. 7.

T. C. l. i. p. 132. Also it was decreed in another Council, that they should not decke their houses with Bay leaues and greene Boughs, because the Pagans did vse so; and that they should not rest from their labour those daies that the Pagans did, that they should not keepe the first day of euery moneth as they did.

T. C. l. i. p. 132. *Tertul.* saith, O faith be, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they vse no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lords day, neither, &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathen.

T. C. l. i. p. 133. But hauing shewed this in generall to be the Politie of God first, and of his people afterward, to put as much difference as can be commodiously betweene the people of God and others which are not, I shall not, &c.

ctation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessaric so to doe, in respect of some speciall accident, which the Church being not alwayes subiect vnto, hath not still cause to doe the like. For example, in the dangerous dayes of triall, wherein there was no way for the Truth of Iesus Christ to triumph ouer Infidelitie, but through the constancy of his Saints, whom yet a naturall desire to saue themselues from the flame, might peraduenture cause to ioyne with Pagans in externall customes, too farre vsing the same as a cloke to conceale themselues in, and a mist to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedie hereof those Lawes it might be were provided, which forbad that Christians should decke their houses with Boughes, as the Pagans did vse to doe, or rest those Festiuall dayes whereon the Pagans rested, or celebrate such Feasts as were, though not Heathenish, yet such that the simpler sort of Heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for *Tertullians* iudgement, concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church; no man, hauing iudgement, can be ignorant how iust exceptions may be taken against it. His opinion touching the Catholike Church was as vndifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that fauour this pretended reformation is. Hee iudged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded, he iudged them still ouer-abiectly to fawne vpon the *Heathens*, and to curry fauour with *Infidels*. Which as the Catholike Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so *Tertullian* ouer-often through discontentment carpeeth iniuriously at them, as though they did it euen when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so, that either the iudgement of those Councils before alleaged, or of *Tertullian* himselfe against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be vnderstood as we haue mentioned; if it were so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, onely for vsing the Ceremonies of a Religion contrary vnto their owne, and

and that *this cause* is such as ought to preuaile no lesse with vs then with them ; shall it not follow, that seeing there is still betweene our Religion and Paganisme the selfe-same *contrariety*, therefore wee are itill no lesse rebukeable, if we now decke our houses with Boughes, or send New-yeares-gifts vnto our friends, or feast on those dayes which the Gentiles then did, or sit after prayer as they were accustom'd ? For so they inferre vpon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may bee, there should bee in all outward Ceremonies betweene the people of God, and them which are not his people. Againe, they teach, as hath bene declared, that there is not as great a difference as may bee betweene them, except the one doe auoid whatsoever Rites and Ceremonies vncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of Spirituall condition it selfe betweene the seruants of Christ and others, requireth such difference in Ceremonies betweene them, although the one bee neuer so farre distoynd in time or place from the other. But in case the people of God and *Belial* doe chance to bee neighbours ; then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference, they say, is thereby made more necessary. In this respect as the Iewes were seuered from the Heathen, so most especially from the Heathen nearest them. And in the same respect wee, which ought to differ howsoever from the Church of Rome, are now, they say, by reason of our neareness more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies then from *Turkes*. A strange kinde of speech vnto Christian eares, and such, as I hope, they themselues doe acknowledge vnadvisedly vttered. *We are not so much to feare infection from Turkes as from Papiests*. What of that ? wee must remember that by conforming rather our selues in that respect to *Turks*, wee should bee spreaders of a worse infection into others, then any wee are likely to draw from Papiests by our conformitie with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate as *Turks* doe, the Christian ; or as Canaanites of old did the Iewish Religion euen in grosse, the circumstance of locall neareness in them vnto vs, might haply enforce in vs a dutie of greater separation from them, then from those other mentioned. But for as much as Papiests are so much in Christ nearer vnto vs then *Turks*, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will iudge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Christian Religion should be Popish then Turkish, or Heathenish ? Especially considering that wee were not brought to dwell amongst them (as Israel in Canaan) hauing not bene of th. m. For euen a very part of them wee were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, first, to reforme our selues, (whence grew our separation) and then by all good meanes to seeke also their reformation ; had wee not onely cut off their corruptions, but also estranged our selues from them in things indifferent ; who seeth not how greatly preiudiciall this might haue bene to so good a cause, and what occasion it had giuen them to thinke (to their greater obduration in euill) that through a froward or wanton desire of innoation, wee did vnconstrainedly those things, for which conscience was pretended ? Howsoever the case doth stand, as Iuda had bene rather to chioose conformitie in things indifferent with Israel, when they were nearest opposites, then with the farthest removed Pagans : So wee in like case, much rather with Papiests then with *Turks*. I might adde further for more full and complete answer, so much concerning the large oddes be-

tweene

twene the case of the eldest Churches in regard of those Heathens, and ours in respect of the Church of Rome, that very caullation it selfe should bee satisfied, and haue no shift to flie vnto.

8. But that no one thing may detayne vs ouer-long, I returne to their reasons against our conformitie with that Church. That extreme dissimilitude which they vrge vpon vs, is now commended as our best and safest policie for establishment of sound Religion. The ground of which politique Polition is, that *Euils must be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the Church, infected with the poyson of Antichristianitie, must bee done by that which is therunto as contrarie as may be. A medled estate of the orders of the Gospell, and the ceremonies of Popery, is not the best way to banish Popery. We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recouer a sicke, and restore a diseased body vnto health, must not endeavour so much to bring it to a state of simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety vnto those euils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat, by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall vndoubtedly remoue the disease, but together with it the diseased too. The first thing therefore in skilfull cures, is the know ledge of the part affected; the next is of the euill which doth affect it; the last is not only of the kind, but also of the measure of contrary things whereby to remoue it. They which measure Religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, thinke every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seeme more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arrians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the Canker to haue eaten so farre into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Ronte, as if it had not so much as a sound beliete, no not concerning God himselfe, but that the very beliete of the Trinitie were a part of Antichristian corruption; and that the wonderfull prouidence of God did bring to passe, that the Bishop of the Sea of Rome should bee famous for his triple crowne; a sensible marke whereby the world might know him to bee that mysticall beast spoken of in the Reuelation, to be that great and notorious Antichrist in no one respect so much, as in this that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinitiy. Wisdom therefore and skill is requisite to know, what parts are found in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparant which complaine of vsound parts, with what kind of vsoundnes euery such part is possessed. They can say, that in *Doctrine*, in *Discipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath in deede) very foule and grosse corruptions: the nature whereof notwithstanding because they haue not for the most part exact skill and knowledge to discern, they thinke that amisse many times which is not, and the salue of reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the sores are which neede it, as they wote full little, so they thinke it not greatly materiall to search. Such mens contentment must bee wrought by stratageme: the vsuall methode of art is not for them. But with those that professe more then ordinary and common knowledge of good from euill, with them that are able to put a difference betweene things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controuersie about the manner of remouing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, vnlesse that also which is indifferent bee cut off with it, so farre till no rite or ceremony remaine which the

That it is not our best policy for the establishment of sound Religion, to haue in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vsound.

T. C. L. p. 132. Common reason also doth teach, that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Christianity and Antichristianity, the Gospell and Popery, be contraries, and therefore Antichristianity must be cured, not by it selfe, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary vnto it.

the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we thinke

this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great excesse, it is not amisse though wee vse them vnto somewhat lesse then is competent; and that a crooked stick is not straightned, vnlesse it be bent as farre on the cleane contrary side, that so it may settle it selfe at the length in a middle estate of euennesse betweene both. But

T.C.I. p. 132. If a man would bring a drunken man to sobrietic, the best and neereft way is to carry him as far from his excesse in drinke as may be: & if a man could not keep a meane, it were better to fault in prescribing lesse then he should drinke, then to fault in giuing him more then he ought. As wee see to bring a stick which is crooked to be straight, we doe not only bow it so farre vntill it come to be straight, but we bend it so farre vntill we make it to be so crooked of the other side, as it was before of the first side, to this end that at the last it may stand straight, and as it were in the mid-way betweene both the crookes.

How can these comparifons stand them in any stead? When they vrge vs to extreme opposition against the Church of Rome, doe they meane wee should be drawne vnto it onely for a time, and afterwards returne to a mediocritie? or was it the purpose of those reformed Churches, which vtterly abolished all Popish Ceremonies, to come in the end backe againe to the middle point of euennesse and moderation? Then haue we conceiued amisse of their meaning. For we haue alwaies thought their opinion to be, that vtter inconformitie with the Church of Rome was not an extremitie whereunto we should be drawne for a time, but the very mediocritie it selfe wherein they meant we should euer continue. Now by these comparifons it seemeth cleane contrarie, that howsoeuer they haue bent themselues at first to an extreme contrarietie against the Romish Church, yet therein they will continue no longer, then onely till such time as some more moderate course for establishment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the first their intent, yet surely now there is great cause to leade them vnto it. They haue seene that experience of the former policy, which may cause the authors of it to hang downe their heads. When Germanie had striken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but seemed neuerthelesse in Discipline still to retayne therewith very great conformitie: *France*, by that Rule of policy, which hath bene before mentioned, tooke away the Popish orders which *Germanie* did retayne. But proesse of time hath brought more light into the World; whereby men perceiuing that they of the Religion in *France* haue also retayned some Orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath arisen a sect in *England*, which following still the very selfe same Rule of policy, seeketh to reforme euen the French reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of Poperie. These haue not taken as yet such roote that they are able to establish any thing. But if they had, what would spring out of their stocke, and how farre the vnquiet wit of man might be carryed with rules of such policy, God doth know. The tryall which we haue liued to see, may somewhat teach vs what posteritie is to feare. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, auert whatsoever euill our swarings on the one hand or on the other may threaten vnto the state of his Church.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occasion to blaspheme, and to say our religion is not able to stand of it selfe, vnlesse it leane vpon the staffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of so great moment, that it did need to be ob-

cause Papists vpbraide vs as hauing taken from them, or for that they are said hereby to conceiue, I know not what, great hopes. *T.C.I. p. 178.* By vsing of these Ceremonies, the Papists take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our Religion cannot stand by it selfe, vnlesse it leane vpon the staffe of their Ceremonies.

That wee are not to abolish our Ceremonies, either be-

iected,

iection, or doth deserue to receiue answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoo of *Hercules* on a child's foot. If the Church of Rome do vse any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such vgly thing to the eare, that wee should thinke the honor and credit of our religion to receiue thereby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter, do seeme to imagin, that we haue erected of late a frame of some new Religion; the furniture whereof we should not haue borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieuing vs, might afterwards laugh and gibe at our pouerty: whereas in truth the ceremonies which we haue taken from such as were before vs, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customes of the Church of Christ; whereof our selues being a part, we haue the selfe-same interest in them which our Fathers before vs had, from whom the same are descended vnto vs. Againe, in case we had bene so much beholding privately vnto them, doth the reputation of one Church stand by saying vnto another, *I need thee not?* If some should be so vaine and impotent, as to marre a benefite with reproachfull vpbraiding, where at the least they suppose themselues to haue bestowed some good turne; yet surely a wise bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, Were it not for me thou wouldest freeze, and not be able to heate thy selfe. As for that other argument deriued from the secret affection of Papists, with whom our conformity in certaine Ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will haue re-entrance; and therefore none are so clamorous amongst vs for the obseruation of these ceremonies, as Papists, and such as Papists suborne to speake for them: whereby it clearely appeareth how much they reioyce, how much they triumph in these things; our answer hereunto is still the same, that the benefite wee haue by such ceremonies overweigheth euen this also. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well denie, but that there is most iust cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to deliberate for our selues, the freer our mindes are from all dis tempered affections, the sounder and better is our iudgement. When we are in a fretting moode at the Church of Rome, and with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our Church; taking particular suruey of them, we are sure to haue alwayes one eye fixed vpon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heauy aspect therof, our other eye sheweth some other sutable token eyther of dislike or approbation towards our owne orders. For the rule of our iudgement in such case being onely that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enemies would haue*; what they seeme contented with, euen for that very cause we reiect; and there is nothing but it pleaseth vs much the better, if we spy that it gauleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that Church, the waighty affaires whereof should be ordered by those deliberations, wherein such an humour as this were predominant. We haue most heartily to thanke God therefore, that they amongst vs, to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another marke, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his Church, tooke that which they iudged there-
unto

T. C. l. 3. p. 179.
To proue the
Papists tri-
umph and ioy
in these things,
I alleaged fur-
ther that there
are none
which make
such clamors
for these cere-
monies, as the
Papists and
those which
they suborne.

ἡ κερ' ἡνδ' ἡσας
Πριαμος. l. a.

vnto necessaric, not reiecting any good or conuenient thing, onely because the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If wee haue that which is meeete and right, although they be glad, wee are not to eniue them this their solace; wee doe not thinke it a dutie of ours, to bee in euery such thing their Tormentors.

And whereas it is said, that Poperie for want of this vtter extirpation hath in some places taken roote and flourished againe, but hath not bene able to reestabliſh it selfe in any place, after prouision made against it by vtter euacuation of all Romish Ceremonies; and therefore as long as we hold any thing like vnto them, wee put them in some more hope, then if all were taken away; as wee denie not but this may bee true, so being

T. c. l. 3. p. 179. Thus they conceiuing hope of hauing the rest of their Poperie in the end, it causeth them to be more frozen in their wickednesse, &c. For not the cause but the occasion also ought to bee taken away, &c. Although let the Reader iudge, whether they haue cause giuen to hope, that the taile of Popery yet remaining, they shall the easlier hale in the whole body after: considering also that Master *Bucer* noteth, that where these things haue bene left, there Poperie hath returned: but on the other part, in places which haue bene cleared of these dregs, it hath not bene seene that it hath had any entrance.

of two euils to chuse the lesse, we hold it better that the friends and fauourers of the Church of Rome, should be in some kind of hope to haue a corrupt Religion restored, then both wee and they conceiue iust feare, lest vnder colour of rooting out Poperie, the most effectual means to beare vp the state of Religion, be remoued, and so a way made either for Paganisme, or for extreme Barbaritie to enter. If desire of weakning the hope of others should turne vs away from the course wee haue taken; how much more the care of preventing our owne feare, with-hold vs from that wee are vrged vnto? Especially seeing that our owne feare wee know, but wee are not so certayne what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church haue bred in the hearts of others. For it is no sufficient Argument therefore to say, that in maintayning and vrging these Ceremonies, none are so clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborne; this speech being more hard to iustifie then the former, and so their prooffe more doubtfull then the thing it selfe, which they proue. He that were certayne that this is true, must haue marked who they be that speake for Ceremonies; he must haue noted, who amongst them doth speake oftencit, or is most earnest; he must haue bene both acquainted thorowly with the Religion of such, and also priuy what conferences or compacts are passed in secret betwene them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would haue it taken as a thing that needeth no prooffe, a thing which all men know and see. And if so be it were granted them as true, what gayne they by it? Sundrie of them that be Popish, are rager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a sinister intent and purpose, whose forwardnesse is not therefore a bridle to such as fauour the same cause with a better and sincerer meaning? They that seeke, as they say, the remouing of all Popish Orders out of the Church, and reckon the state of Bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute, is holy. Notwithstanding it is their owne ingenuous acknowledgement, that euen this very cause which they terme so often by an excellency, *The Lords cause is, gratissima, most acceptable vnto some which* *Eccles. dif. 94.*
hope for prey and spoile by it, and that our Age hath store of such, and that such are the very Sectaries of DIONYSIVS the famous Atheist. Now if hereupon we should vpbraid them with irreligious, as they doe vs with superstitious fauourers; if we

should follow them in their owne kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheists, or else Proctors suborned by Atheists; the answer which herein they would make vnto vs, let them apply vnto themselves, and there an end. For they must not forbid vs to presume our cause in defence of our Church-orders; to bee as good as theirs against them, till the contrarie be made manifest to the World.

The griefe which, they say, godly Brethren conceiue, in regard of such Ceremonies, as wee haue common with the Church of Rome. *T.C. l. 3. p. 180.* There bee numbers which haue Antichristianitie in such detestation, that they cannot without griefe of mind behold them. And afterwards, Such godly Brethren are not easly to be grieued, which they seeme to bee, when they are thus martyred in their minds, for Ceremonies, which (to speake the best of them) are vnprofitable.

IO In the meane while sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should bee grieued with that which is done. But to remedie their griefe, lyeth not so much in vs as in themselves. They doe not wish to bee made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remouee all out of the Church, whereat they shew themselves to be

sorrowfull, would be, as we are perswaded, hurtfull, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perswade the contrarie, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good meane to cheere vp themselves. Amongst which meanes the example of *Geneua* may serue for one. Haue not they the old Popish custome of vsing God-fathers & God-mothers in Baptisme; the old Popish custom of administering the blessed Sacrament of the holy Eucharist with wafercakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to doe the like, both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further meane peraduenture it might be to asswage their griefe, if so be they did consider the reuenge they take on them, which haue been, as they interpret it, the Workers of their continuance in so great griefe so long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corrosiue to such as oppugne them; vndoubtedly to such as maintayne them, it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reuerence, is oppugned. And therefore they that iudge themselves Martyrs, when they are grieued, should thinke withall what they are when they grieue. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided, who haue stood for truth, and who for error. So that till then the most effectuall medicine, and withall the most sound, to ease their griefe, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieued, but the altering of that perswasion, which they haue concerning the same. For this we therefore both pray & labour; the more because we are also perswaded, that it is but conceit in them to thinke, that those Romish Ceremonies, whereof we haue hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious vnto the Church, or like soft and gentle poysons, the venome whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is neuer felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it onely, and the World hath not as yet had so great experience of their arte, in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authoritie of their word should perswade in a cause so waightie; they may not thinke much if it be required at their hands to shew, First, by what meanes so deadly infection can grow from similitude betweene vs and the Church of Rome, in these things indifferent: Secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church should prouide against euery such euill as may come to passe, it is not sufficient that they

T. C. l. 3. p. 171.
Although the
corruptions in
them strike not
straight to the
heart, yet as
gentle poysons
they consume
by little and
little.

they shew possibilitie of dangerous euent, vnlesse there appeare some likelihood also of the same to follow in vs, except we preuent it. Nor is this enough, vnlesse it be moreouer made plaine, that there is no good and sufficient way of prevention, but by euacuating cleane, and by emptying the Church of euerie such Rite and Ceremonie, as is presently called in question. Till this bee done, their good affection towards the safetic of the Church is acceptable, but the way they prescribe vs to preserue it by, must rest in suspense. And lest hereafter they take occasion to turne vpon vs the speech of the Prophet *Ieremie* vsed against Babylon, *Behold we haue done our endeavour to cure the diseases of Babylon*, but she through her wilfulnes doth rest vn-cured: let them consider into what streights the Church might driue it selfe, in being guided by this their counsell. Their axiome is, that the sound beleeuing Church of Iesus Christ, may not bee like Hereticall Churches in any of those indifferent things, which men make choice of, and doe not take by prescript appointment of the Word of God. In the Word of God, the vse of Bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of Bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it selfe, wee are by this axiome of theirs to auoid the vse of vneleuened Bread in their Sacrament, because such Bread the Church of Rome being Hereticall vseth. But doth not the selfe-same axiome barre vs euen from leuened Bread also, which the Church of the Grecians vseth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same, for which we condemne the Church of Rome; and in some things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be sound; as namely in the Article of the holy Ghosts proceeding? And lest here they should say that because the Greeke Church is farther off, and the Church of Rome nearer, wee are in that respect rather to vse that which the Church of Rome vseth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the Citie of Venice, where a Greeke Church and a Popish both are. And when both these are equally neare, let them consider what the third shall doe. Without either leuened or vneleuened Bread, it can haue no Sacrament: the Word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this constraineth them, as it must, to grant that their axiome is not to take any place, saue in those things onely where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth that they search out some stronger reason then they haue as yet alleaged; otherwise they constraineth not vs to thinke that the Church is tyed vnto any such rule or axiome, no not then when she hath the widest field to walke in, and the greatest store of choice.

II Against such Ceremonies generally as are the same in the Church of England and of Rome, wee see what hath beene hitherto alleaged. Albeit therefore we doe not finde the one Churches hauing of such things, to bee sufficient cause why the other should not haue them: neuerthelesse in case it may bee prooued, that amongst the number of Rites and Orders common vnto both, there are particulars, the vse whereof is vtterly vnlawfull, in regard of some speciall bad and noysome qualitie; there is no doubt but wee ought to relinquish such Rites and Orders, what freedom fouer we haue to retayne the other still. As therefore wee haue heard their generall exception against all those things, which being not commanded in the Word of God, were first receiued in the Church of Rome, and from thence haue beene deriued into ours, so it followeth that now wee proceed

Their exception against such Ceremonies as wee haue receiued from the Church of Rome, that Church hauing taken them from the Iewes.

vnto certaine kindes of them, as being excepted against not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are besides either Iewish or abused vnto Idolatrie, and so growne scandalous. The Church of Rome they say, being ashamed of the simplicitie of the Gospell, did almost out of all Religions take whatsoeuer had any faire and gorgeous shew, borrowing in that respect from the Iewes sundrie of their abolished Ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their Massing Furniture almost they tooke from the Law, lest hauing an Altar and a Priest, they should want Vestments for their Stage; so that whatsoeuer we haue in common with the Church of Rome, if the same be of this kind we ought to remooue it. *Constantine the Emperour speaking of the keeping of the Feast of Easter, sayth, That it is an unworthy thing to haue any thing common with that most spitefull company of the Iewes. And a little after he sayth, That it is most absurde and against reason, that the Iewes should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keepe those things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is said after this sort; It is conuenient so to order the matter, that wee haue nothing common with that Nation. The Councill of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the sixt generall Councill, decreed that the Christians should not take vnleauened Bread of the Iewes, or communicate with their Impietie.* For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must bee considered, namely the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Iewish Ceremonies; and how farre it ought so to doe. One cause is, that the Iewes were the deadliest and spitefullest Enemies of Christianitie that were in the World, and in this respect their Orders so farre forth to be shunned, as wee haue alreadye set downe in handling the matter of Heathenish Ceremonies. For no Enemies being so venemous against Christ as Iewes, they were of all other most odious, and by that meane least to bee vsed as fit Church patternes for imitation. Another cause is the solempne abrogation of the Iewes Ordinances; which Ordinances for vs to resume, were to checke our Lord himselfe which hath disanulled them. But how farre this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed vpon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame it selfe to the Iewes example, in respect of their persons which are most hatefull; yet God himselfe hauing bin the Author of their Lawes, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to bee honoured, and to bee followed aboue others, as much as the state of things will beare. Iewish Ordinances had some things naturall, and of the perpetuie of those things no man doubteth. That which was positieue, wee likewise know to haue bene by the comming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to bee kept or not. Of the former kind Circumcision and Sacrifice were. For this point *Stephen* was accused; and the Evidence which his accusers brought against him in iudgement was, *This man ceaseth not to speake blasphemous words against this holy place & the Law, for we haue heard him say that this Iesus of Nazaret shall destroy this place, & shall change the Ordinances that Moses gaue vs.* True it is that this Doctrine was then taught, which vnbeleeuers condemning for Blasphemie, did therein commit that which they did condemne. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom *Stephen* had receiued it, did not so teach the abrogation, no not of those things which

Eclesi. disci. fol 98. And T. C. l. 3 p. 181. Many of these Popish Ceremonies fault by reason of the pompe in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicitie of the Gospell of Christ crucified. T. C. l. 1. p. 132. Euseb. li. 2. c. 17. Socra. 1. lib. c. 9. To. 1. Concil. Laod. c. n. 38.

Act. 6. 13, 14.

were necessarily to cease, but that euen the Iewes being Christians, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Ierusalem the first Christian Bishop not circumcised was *Marke*, & he not Bishop till the dayes of *Adrian* the Emperour, after the ouerthrow of Ierusalem, there hauing benee fifteene Bishops before him which were all of the circumcision. The Christian Iewes did think at the first not only themselves, but the Christian Gentiles also bound, and that necessarily, to obserue the whole Law. There went forth certain of the Sect of Pharises which did beleue, & they comming vnto Antioch, taught that it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised, and to keep the Law of *Moses*. Whereupon there grew dissention, *Paul* & *Barnabas* disputing against them, The determination of the Councell held at Ierusalem concerning this matter, was finally this, *Touching the Gentiles which beleuee, we haue written and determined that they obserue no such thing.* Their protestation by Letters is, *For as much as we haue heard that certaine which departed from vs haue troubled you with words, and cumbered your mindes, saying, Yee must be circumcised and keepe the Law; know that we gaue them no such Commandement.* *Paul* therefore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obserue the Lawes of *Moses*, but that the obseruation of those Lawes which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether vnlawfull. In which point his Doctrine was mis-reported, as though hee had euer where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Iewes. Wherefore comming vnto *Iames* and the rest of the Clergie at Ierusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, *Thou seeest Brother how many thousand Iewes there are which beleuee, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Iewes which are amongst the Gentiles, to forsake Moses, and sayest that they ought not to circumcise their Children, neither to liue after the customes.* And hereupon they gaue him counsell to make it apparant in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were vntrue, and that himselfe being a Iew, kept the Law euen as they did. In some things therefore wee see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to bee conformitie betweene the Christian Iewes and Gentiles. How many things this Law of Inconformitie did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This generall is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable vnto the Iewes, in that which was necessarily to cease at the comming of Christ. Touching things positive which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles tending the zeal of the Iewes, thought it necessary to bind euen the Gentiles for a time to abstaine as the Iewes did, from things offered vnto Idols, from blood, from strangled. These Decrees were euer where deliuered vnto the Gentiles to be straightly obserued and kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Iewes in their owne opinion still tyed, the Apostles Doctrine vnto the Iew was, *Condemne not the Gentile; vnto the Gentile, Despise not the Iew*: the one sort they warned to take heed that scrupulositie did not make them rigorous, in giuing vnadvised sentence against their Brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their Libertie and Freedom to the offence of their weake Brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawne; the first, that whatsoever conformitie of Positive Lawes the Apostles did bring in betweene the Churches of Iewes & Gentiles, it was in those things onely, which might either cease or continue a shorter or a longer

Vide Niceph. l. 3
c. 25. & Sulpit.
Seuer. p. 149. in
Edit. Plant.

Acts 15.

Acts 21. 25.

Acts 15. 24.

Acts 21. 20.

Acts 15. 28.

Acts 16. 4.

Rom. 14. 10.

longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Jewes Ordinances with bond of necessary and perpetuall obseruation, (as we all both by doctrine and practise acknowledge) but only in respect of the conueniencie and fitnesse for the present state of the Church as then it stood. The words of the Councils decree concerning the Gentiles are, *It seemed good to the Holy Chrest and to vs, to lay upon you no more burden, sauing only those things of necessitie, abstinence from Idoll offerings, from strangled, and bloud, and from fornication.* So that in other things positie which the coming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to seeme vnreasonable, that the Gentiles should necessarily bee bound and tyed to Iewish Ordinances, so farre forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew that their difference from other Nations which were Aliens and Strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that Gods people had positie Ordinances giuen to them of God himselfe, it seemed marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should bee incorporated into the same Common-wealth with Gods owne chosen people, and be subiect to no part of his Statutes, more then onely the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themselves bound vnto. It was an opinion constantly receiued amongst the Iewes, that God did deliuer vnto the sonnes of *Noah* seuen Precepts: namely, to liue in some forme of Regiment vnder, First, publike Lawes: Secondly, to serue and call vpon the Name of God: Thirdly, to shunne Idolatry: Fourthly, not to suffer effusion of bloud: Fifthly, to abhorre all vncleane knowledge in the flesh: Sixthly, to commit no Rapine: Seuenthly, and finally, not to eate of any liuing Creature whereof the bloud was not first let out. If therefore the Gentiles would bee exempt from the Law of *Moses*, yet it might seeme hard they should also cast off euen those things positie which were obserued before *Moses*, and which were not of the same kinde with Lawes that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the Councell saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should according vnto the third, the seuenth, and the fift of those Precepts, abstaine from things sacrificed vnto Idols, from strangled and bloud, and from fornication. The rest the Gentiles did of their owne accord obserue, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature also teach them to abstaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason thinke, that as the former two are positie, so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise vsually vnderstand it. But very Marriage within a number of Degrees, being not onely by the Law of *Moses*, but also by the Law of the sonnes of *Noah*, (for so they tooke it) an vnlawfull discouerie of nakednesse; this discouerie of nakednesse by vnlawfull Marriages, such as *Moses* in the Law reckoneth vp, I thinke it for mine owne part more probable to haue beene meant in the wordes of that Canon, then fornication according vnto the sense of the Law of Nature. Wordes must bee taken according to the matter whereof they are vttered. The Apostles command to abstaine from bloud. Conster this according to the Law of Nature, and it will seeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conster it in reference to the Law of the Iewes about which the question was, and it shall easily appeare to haue a cleane other sense, and in any mans iudgement a truer, when wee expound it of eating, and not of shedding bloud. So if wee speake of fornication, hee that knoweth no Law but onely the Law of Nature, must needs

Lib. qui Seder
Olam inscribitur

ויגיד 1
בדבאשם 2
שמונת מימין 3
גדלערוור 4
הגל 5
אבר בין הח 6
7

Heb. 13. 4.
1. Cor. 5. 11.
Gal. 5. 19.

Leuit. 18.

needes make thereof a narrower construction, then he which measureth the same by a Law wherein sundry kindes euen of coniugall copulation are prohibited as impure, vnclane, vn honest. Saint *Paul* himselfe doth terme incestuous Marriage fornication. If any doe rather thinke that the Christian Gentiles themselues through the loose and corrupt custome of those times, tooke simple fornication for no sinne, and were in that respect offense vnto beleeuing Iewes which by the Law had bene better taught; our proposing of another coniecture, is vnto theirs no preiudice. Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to bee like vnto the Iewes; some things wherein they were commanded not to bee vnlike. Againe, some things also there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might bee either like or vnlike, as occasion should require. And vnto this purpose *Leo* saith, *Apostolicall Ordinance* (belo-ued) knowing that our Lord *Iesus Christ* came not into this World to vndo the Law, hath in such sort distinguished the Mysteries of the Olde Testament, that certaine of them it hath chosen out to benefite Euangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpose appointed that those things which before were Iewish, might now bee Christian customes. The cause why the Apostles did thus conforme the Christians, as much as might be, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reine them in by this meane the more, and to make them cleaue the better. The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Iudaisme; some hauing thought the whole Iewish Law wicked and damnable in it selfe; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, haue notwithstanding iudged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further vnlawfull to be obserued then truth can beare; some of scrupulous simplicitie vrging perpetuall and vniuersall obseruation of the Law of *Moses* necessarie, as the Christian Iewes at the first in the Apostles times; some as Hereticke, holding the same no lesse euen after the contrary determination set downe by consent of the Church at Ierusalem; finally, some being herein resolute through meere infidelitie, and with open profert enmitie against Christ, as vnbeleeuing Iewes. To controule Slanderers of the Law and Prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her Lyurgies hath intermingled with Readings out of the New Testament, Lessons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, saith of the Church of Christ, *It intermingleth with Euangelicall and Apostolicall Writings, the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with Water it sealeth, closeth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eucharist, with Martyrdome setteth forward.* They would haue wondered in those times to heare, that any man being not a Fauourer of Heresie, should terme this by way of disdain, *mangling of the Gospels and Epistles.* They which honor the Law as an Image of the Wisdome of God himselfe, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the Law so abolished with Christ, that after his Ascension the Office of Priests became immediately wicked, and the very name hatefull, as importing the exercise of an vngodly Function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Iewes did continue with their Sacrifices and other parts of legall seruice. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not so soone become vnlawfull to be obserued as some imagine: nor was it afterwards vnlawfull so far, that the very name of

1. Cor. 5. 1.

*Leo in ieiun. mens. Sept. Ser. 9**Tertull. de praescript. aduers. haeret.*

T. C. l. 3, p. 171.
 What an abusing also is it to affirme, the mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to haue bene brought into the Church by godly and learned men?
T. C. l. 1, p. 216.
 Seeing that the Office and Function of Priests was after our Saviour Christs Ascension naught and vngodly; the name whereby they were called which did exercise that vngodly Function, cannot bee otherwise taken then in the euill part.

Altar,

Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice it selfe, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate Sacrifice, whether it be Heathenish or Iewish, so that wee cannot haue the same things which they had, but with impietie; yet vnlesse there be some greater let then the onely euacuation of the Law of *Moses*, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sinne, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Sauiour haue vnto them, which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the Writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were doe continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now haue a metaphoricall vse, & are as so many notes of remembrance vnto vs, that what they did signifie in the letter, is accomplished in the truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to vse names wherunto the Law was accustomed; so neither are we generally forbidden the vse of things which the Law hath, though it neither command vs any particularity, as it did the Iewes a number; and the weightiest which it did command them, are vnto vs in the Gospell prohibited. Touching such as through simplicitie of error did vrge vniuersall and perpetuall obseruation of the Law of *Moses* at the first, we haue spoken already. Against Iewish Hereticks and false Apostles teaching afterwards the selfesame, Saint *Paul* in euery Epistle commonly either disputeth or giueth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the Law, but withall Infidels in respect of Christianitie, and to the Name of Iesus Christ most spitefull Enemies, did while they flourished no lesse persecute the Church then Heathens. And after their estate was ouerthrowne, they were not that way so much to bee feared. Howbeit because they had their Synagogues in euery famous Citie almost throughout the World, and by that means great oportunitie to withdraw from the Christian Faith, which to doe they spared no labour; this gaue the Church occasion to make sundry Lawes against them. As in the Councill of Laodicea, *The Festiual Presents which Iewes or Hereticks vse to send must not be receiued, nor Holy-dayes solemnized in their company.* Againe, *From the Iewes men ought not to receiue their vnleauened, nor to communicate with their Impieties.* Which Councill was afterwards indeed confirmed by the sixt generall Councill. But what was the true sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Christians here forbidden to communicate in vnleauened Bread, because the Iewes did so being Enemies of the Church? He which attentively shall weigh the words, will suspect that they rather forbid communication with Iewes, then imitation of them: much more, if with these two Decrees be compared a third in the Councill of Constantinople; *Let no man either of the Clergy or Laitie eat the vnleauened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor send for them in sicknesse, nor take Physicke at their hands, nor as much as goe into the Bath with them. If any doe otherwise, being a Cleargie man, let him bee deposed; if being a Lay person, let Excommunication bee his punishment.* If these Canons were any Argument, that they which made them did vtterly condemne similitude betweene the Christians and Iewes, in things indifferent appertayning vnto Religion, either because the Iewes were Enemies vnto the Church, or else for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; these Reasons had bene as strong and effectually against their keeping the Feast of Easter on the same day the Iewes kept theirs, and not according to the custome of the West Church. For so they did from the first beginning till *Constantines* time. For in these two things the East and West Churches did interchangeably both confront the Iewes, and concurre with them:

Council. Laod.
Can. 37. 38.
T. C. l. p. 131.

T. C. l. 3. p. 76.

Council. Constantinop.
6. cap. 11.

them: the West Church vsing vneleuened Bread, as the Iewes in their Passeouer did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the Feast of Easter; contrariwise the East Church celebrating the Feast of Easter on the same day with the Iewes, but not vsing the same kind of Bread which they did. Now if so be the East Church in vsing leuened Bread had done well, either for that the Iewes were enemies to the Church, or because Iewish ceremonies were abrogated; how should we thinke but that *Victor* the Bishop of Rome (whom all iudicious men do in that behalfe disallow) did well to bee so vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like dissimilitude for the Feast of Easter? Againe, if the West Churches had in eyther of those two respects affected dissimilitude with the Iewes in the Feast of Easter, what reason had they to draw the Easterne Church herein vnto them, which reason did not enforce them to frame themselves vnto it in the Ceremony of leuened Bread? Difference in Rites should breede no Controuersie betweene one Church and another: but if Controuersie bee once bred, it must bee ended. The Feast of Easter being therefore litigious in the dayes of *Constantine*, who honored of all other Churches most the Church of Rome, which Church was the Mother from whose breasts he had drawne that food, which gaue him nourishment to eternall life; sith agreement was necessary, and yet impossible, vnlesse the one part were yeelded vnto; his desire was that of the two the Easterne Church should rather yeeld. And to this end he vseth sundry perswasive speeches. When *Stephen* the Bishop of Rome going about to shew what the Catholike Church should doe, had alleaged what the Heretikes themselves did, namely that they receiued such as came vnto them, and offered not to baptise them anew: *S. Cyprian* being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in question, which was, *Whether hereticks couerted ought to be rebaptised, yea or no*, answered the allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great stomacke, saying, *To this degree of wretchednesse the Church of God and Spouse of Christ is now come, that her wayes she frameth to the example of Heretikes; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heauenly instruction hath deliuered, light it selfe doth borrow from darknes, & Christians doe that which Antichrists doe.* Now albeit *Constantine* haue done that to further a better cause, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worse, namely, the rebaptization of Heretikes; and haue taken aduantage at the odiousnesse of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of Heretikes, because the Easterne Church kept their Feast of Easter alwayes the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did. what day of the weeke soeuer it fell; or how soeuer *Constantine* did take occasion in the handling of that cause to say *It is unworthy to haue any thing common with that spitefull Nation of the Iewes; shall euery motiue argument vsed in such kind of conferences, be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations suteable vnto it, cease to bark any longer idley against that truth, the course and passage whereof it is not in them to hinder.*

quidne augustinus esse poterit, quàm ut hoc festum per quod ipsem immortalitatis nobis ostentari habemus, uno modo & ratione apud omnes integre sincereque obseruaretur? Ac primum omnium indignum planè videbatur, ut ritum & consuetudinem imitates Iudeorum, (qui quoniam suis ipsorum monui sceleris polluerunt, merito, ut sceleratos, cæco animorum errore tenentur irriteis) in id festum sanctissimum agerent. In nostrâ enim situm est postulate, ut illorum more reiecto, veriore ac magis sincero instituto, (quod quidem vsq; à primâ passionis die beatus Petrus recolimus) huius festi celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobiscum Iudeorum in bâ omnium odij à maxime.

a Cypr. ad Pompei. lib. cont. epist. Stephani.

b Socr. ecclesiast. hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. Perique in Asia minore antiquitatis 14. die mensis, nullâ ratione diei Sabbati habuit hoc festum obseruauerunt.

Quod dum faciebant cum alijs qui aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequebantur, vsq; ad nequaquam differuerunt, quod Victor Episcopus Romanus supra modum iracundus instamatus, omnes in Asia qui erant

τρωπαρετας διακριτως appellati excommunicauerit. Quod factum Ireneus Episcopus Lugduni in Thurem per epistolam grauiter inuectus est. Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 17. Quid preestabilius,

Their excep-
tion against
such Ceremo-
nies as haue
bene abused
by the Church
of Rome, and
are said in that
respect to bee
scandalous.

12 But the weightiest exception, and of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kinde of Ceremonies, as haue bene so grossely and shamefully abused in the Church of Rome, that where they remayne they are scandalous, yea they cannot choose but be stumbling blockes and grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point therefore wee are first to note, what properly it is to be scandalous or offensive; Secondly, what kinde of Ceremonies are such; and Thirdly when they are necessarily for remedie thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to thinke that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whome our Sauiour spake in so fearefull manner, saying, *Whosoever shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which beleene in me* [that is, as they conster it, whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest Artizan which carryeth a good minde, by not remouing out of the Church such Rites and Ceremonies as displease him] *better he were drowned in the bottome of the Sea.* But hard were the case of the Church of Christ if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moued, led, and prouoked vnto sinne. At good things euill men may take occasion to doe euill; and so Christ himselfe was a Rocke of offence in Israel, they taking occasion at his poore estate, and at the ignominie of his Crosse, to thinke him vnworthy the name of that great and glorious *Messias*, whome the Prophets describe in such ample and stately termes. But that which wee therefore terme offensive, because it inuited men to offend, and by a dumbe kind of prouocation encourageth, moueth, or any way leadeth vnto sinne, must of necessitie be acknowledged actiuelly scandalous. Now some things are so euen by their very essence and nature, so that wheresoever they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of prouocation vnto euill; of which kind all examples of sinne and wickednesse are. Thus *Dauid* was scandalous in that bloudie act, whereby hee caused the Enemies of God to be blasphemous: thus the whole state of Israel was scandalous, when their publike disorders caused the Name of God to be ill spoken of amongst the Nations. It is of this kinde that *Tertullian* meaneth; *Offence or scandall, if I be not deceiued, saith he, is when the example not of a good but of an euill thing, doth set men forward vnto sin. Good things can scandalize none save onely euill minds*: good things haue no scandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature either good or at least not euill, may by some accident become scandalous at certaine times, and in certaine places, and to certaine men, the open vse thereof neuerthelessse being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some Rites and Ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did vse, and is in all such as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to vse them vnto euill, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the Heathens did to the seruice of their false gods; which another in heart condemning their Idolatry, could not doe with them in shew and token of approbation, without being guiltie of scandall giuen. Ceremonies of this kinde are eyther deuised at the first vnto euill; as the Eunomian Hereticke in dishonour of the blessed Trinitie, brought in the laying on of water but once, to crosse the custome of the Church, which in Baptisme did it thrice: or else ha-

uing

Mat. 18. 6.

1. Pet. 2. 8.

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

Tertull. lib. de
virgin. uelaud.

uing had a profitable vse, they are afterwards interpreted & wrested to the contrary; as those Heretikes which held the Trinitie to be three distinct, nor persons, but natures, abused the Ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptisme, vnto the strengthing of their Heresie. The element of Water is in Baptisme necessary: once to lay it on or twice is indifferent. For which cause *Gregory* making mention thereof, saith, *To diue an Infant either thrice or but once in Baptisme, can be no way a thing reproveable, seeing that both in three times washing, the Trinitie of persons: and in one, the vnitie of the God-head may be signified.* So that of these two Ceremonies, neither being hurtfull in it selfe, both may serue vnto good purpose; yet one was deuised, and the other conuerted vnto euill. Now whereas in the Church of Rome, certaine Ceremonies are said to haue bene shamefully abused vnto euill, as the ceremony of crossing at Baptisme, of kneeling at the Eucharist, of vsing Wafer-cakes, and such like; the question is, whether for remedy of that euill, wherein such Ceremonies haue bene scandalous, and perhaps may be still vnto some euen amongst our selues, whom the presence and sight of them may confirme in that former error whereto they serued in times past, they are of necessity to be remoued. Are these or any other Ceremonies we haue common with the Church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man obiecteth. Are any such, as haue been polluted from their very birth, and instituted euen at the first vnto that thing which is euill? That which hath bene ordained impiously at the first, may weare out that impietie in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the vse thereof may stand without offence? The names of our Moneths and of our Dayes, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonor vnto God they are said to haue bene deuised at the first. What could be spoken against any thing more effectually to stirre hatred, then that which sometime the ancient Fathers in this case speake? Yet those very names are at this day in vse throughout Christendome, without hurt or scandall to any. Cleere and manifest it is; that things deuised by Heretikes, yea deuised of a very hereticall purpose euen against Religion, and at their first deuising worthy to haue bene withstood, may in time grow meete to be kept; as that custome, the Inuenters whereof were the *Eunomian* Heretikes. So that customes once established and confirmed by long vse, being presently without harme, are not in regard of their corrupt originall to be held scandalous. But concerning those our Ceremonies which they reckon for most Popish, they are not able to auouch that any of them was otherwise instituted, then vnto good; yea, so vsed at the first. It followeth then that they all are such, as hauing serued to good purpose, were afterwards conuerted vnto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as obiected against vs, that we retayne together with them the euill, wherewith they haue bene infected in the Church of Rome: I would demand who they are whom we scandalize, by vsing harmles things vnto that good end for which they were first instituted. Amongst our selues that agree in the approbation of this kind of good vse, no man will lay that one of vs is offensiuē & scandalous vnto another.

Epist ad Leandrum Hisp.

Hom. 11. de Pasch. Idololatria consuetudo in tantum homines occauerat, ut Solis, Lune, Martis atque Mercurij, Iouis, Veneris, Saturni, & diuersis elementorum ac Demonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. Bedae de ratione temp. c. 4. Oclauus dies idem primus est, ad quem reditur, indeq. rursus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à Planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere se credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luca Corpus, à Marte Sanguinem, à Mercurio Ingenium & Linguam, à Ioue Temperantiam, à Venere Voluptatem, à Saturno Tarditatem. Hisp. l. 5. Etymol. c. 30. Dies illi à Dys, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam Syderibus sacrauerunt.

As for the fauourers of the Church of Rome, they know how farre wee herein differ & dissent from them; which thing neither we conceale; and they by their publike writings also professe daily how much it grieueth them: so that of them there will not many rise vp against vs, as witnesses vnto the Inditement of scandall, whereby we might be condemned and cast, as hauing strengthened them in that euill wherwith they pollute them selues in the vse of the same Ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the Church of England herein, & hate it because it doth not sufficiently seeme to hate Rome, they (I hope) are far enough from being by this meane drawne to any kind of Popish error. The multitude therefore of them, vnto whom we are scandalous through the vse of abused Ceremonies, is not so apparant, that it can iustly be said in generall of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so that now or then some few are espied, who hauing bene accustomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not so scowred of their former rust, as to forsake their ancient perswasion which they haue had, howsoeuer they frame them selues to outward obedience of Lawes & Orders; because such may misconster the meaning of our Ceremonies, and so take them as though they were in euery sort the same they haue bene, shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude, that some Law must necessarily be made to abolish all such Ceremonies? They answer, that there is no Law of God which doth bind vs to retaine them. And *S. Pauls* rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstaine, wee should frame the vsage of our libertie with regard to the weaknesse and imbecillitie of our brethren. Wherefore vnto them which stood vpon their owne defence, saying, *All things are lawfull vnto me*; he replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are cleane, all meates are lawfull; but euill vnto that man that catch offensively. If for thy meates sake thy brother be grieved, thou walkest no longer according to Charitie. Destroy not him with thy meate, for whom Christ dyed. Dissolue not for foods sake the worke of God. Wee that are strong, must beare the imbecillitie of the impotent, and not please our selues. It was a weaknesse in the Christian Iewes, and a mayme of iudgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of those meates, which themselves were afraid to touch, for feare of transgressing the Law of *Moses*; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had iust cause to feare, lest they would rather forsake Christianitie, then endure any fellowship with such, as made no conscience of that which was vnto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weak by meates, and of dissoluing the worke of God, which was his Church, a part of the liuing stones whereof were beleeuing Iewes. Now those weak brethren before mentioned are said to be as the Iewes were, and our Ceremonies which haue bene abused in the Church of Rome, to be as the scandalous meates from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abstayne in the presence of Iewes, the feare of auerting them from Christian faith. Therefore as Charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethrens sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them; so it binderh vs for our brethrens sake likewise to abolish such Ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retaine them. But betweene these two cases there are great oddes. For neither are our weak brethren as the Iewes, nor the

1. Cor. 6. 12.

Rom. 14.
Rom. 15. 10.

the Ceremonies which we vse as the meates which the Gentiles vsed. The Iewes were knowne to be generally weake in that respect; whereas contrariwise the imbecillity of ours is not common vnto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there some one be found; and therefore seeing we may presume men commonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame it selfe by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles. Againe, their vse of meates was not like vnto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of priuate action in common life, where euery man was free to order that which him selfe did; but this a publike constitution for the ordering of the Church: and we are not to looke that the Church should change her publike Lawes and Ordinances, made according to that which is iudged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconuenient, especially when there may be other remedy also against the fores of particular inconueniences. In this case therefore where any priuate harme doth grow, we are not to reiect instruction, as being an vnmeete plaster to apply vnto it; neither can we say that he which appointeth Teachers for Physicians in this kind of euill, is as if a man *would set one to watch a child all day long lest he should hurt himselfe with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is auoided, and the seruice of the man better employed.* For a knife may be taken away from a childe, without depriviung them of the benefit thereof which haue yeeres and discretion to vse it. But the Ceremonies which children doe abuse, if we remoue quite and cleane, as it is by some required that we should; then are they not taken from children onely, but from others also; which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselues with kniues, we should conclude, that therefore the vse of kniues is to be taken quite and cleane euen from men also. Those particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next Booke haue occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also traduced in the publike duties of the Church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as haue at any time bin brought eyther against the one or the other. In the meane while against the conuenience of curing such euils by instruction, strange it is that they should obiect the multitude of other necessary matters, wherein Preachers may better bestow their time, then in giuing men warning not to abuse Ceremonies; a wonder it is that they should obiect this, which haue so many yeeres together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things, and are euen to this very houre so earnest in them, that if they write or speake publicly but siue words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the Church of England in respect of abused Ceremonies. How much happier had it bene for this whole Church, if they which haue raysed contention therein about the abuse of Rites and Ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deale for Teachers to spend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement asseuerations, more then through any such experience which wee haue had of our owne, that wee are enforced to thinke it possible for one or other now and then, at least-

Vide Harmenop. l. i. ii. 1. §. 28.

T. c. l. 3. p. 178.

T. c. l. 3. p. 177. It is not so conuenient that the Minister hauing so many necessary points to bestow his time in, should be driuen to spend it in giuing warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were vsed to the best) the eis profit.

wife in the prime of the Reformation of our Church, to haue stumbled at some kind of Ceremonies. Wherein for as much as we are contented to take this vpon their credit, and to thinke it may be; sith also they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their soules, that are at any time taken therein, they must giue our Teachers leaue for the sauing of those soules (bee they neuer so few) to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things, admonition concerning these not vnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yeeld this leaue, considering that hereunto we shal not need to vse the hundredth part of that time, which the selues thinke very needfull to bestow in making most bitter Inuectiues against the Ceremonies of the Church.

Our Ceremonies excepted against, for that some Churches reformed beioe ours, haue cast our those things, which wee, notwithstanding their example to the contrary, doe retaine still.

13 But to come to the last point of all, the Church of England is grieuouly charged with forgetfulnesse of her dutie, which dutie had bene to frame her selfe

T. C. lib. 2. p. 133.

vnto the patterne of their example, that went before her in the Worke of Reformation. For as the Churches of Christ ought to be most vnlike the Synagogue of Antichrist in their indifferent Ceremonies; so they ought to be most like one vnto another, and for preservation of vntity to haue as much as possible may be all the same Ceremonies. And therefore S. Paul to establish this order in the Church of Corinth, That they should make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the first day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reason, that he had so ordained in other Churches. Againe, as children of one father, and seruants of one family, so all Churches should not only haue one dyet in that they haue one Word, but also weare as it were one Liery in vsing the same Ceremonies. Thirdly, this rule did the great

I. Cor. 16. 1.

Can. 20.

The Canon of that Councell which is here cited doth prouide against kneeling at Prayer on Sundayes, or for fifty dayes after Easter on any day, and not at the Feast of Pentecost onely.

Council of Nice follow, when it ordained, that where certayne at the Feast of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they should pray standing; the reason where of is added, which is, that one custome ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diuersitie of Ceremonies ought not to cause the Churches to dissent one with another: but yet it maketh most to the auoyding of dissention, that there be amongst them an vntitie, not onely in Doctrine, but also in Ceremonies. And therefore our forme of Service is to be amended, not only for that it commeth too neere that of the Papiests, but also because it is so different from that of the Reformed Churches. Being asked to what Churches ours should conforme it selfe, & why other Reformed Churches should not as well frame themselves to ours; their answer is, That if there be any Ceremonies which wee haue better then others, they ought to frame themselves to vs: if they haue better then wee, then wee ought to frame our selues to them: if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches should conforme themselves to the first, as the yonger daughter to the elder. For as St. Paul in the members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a marke of honour about the rest, that one is called before another to the Gospel: so is it for the same cause amongst the Churches. And in this respect he pincheth the Corinthians, that not being the first which receiued the Gospel, yet they would haue their seuerall manners from other Churches. Moreouer where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conforme themselves vnto the moe. For as much therefore as all the Churches (so farre as they know which plead after this manner) of our confession in Doctrine, agree in the abrogation of diuers things which wee retaine: our Church ought either to shew that they haue done euil, or else she is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her selfe in that, which she cannot denie to be well abrogated.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 182. 183.

Rom. 16. 5, 7.

I. Cor. 14. 37.

In this axiome, that preferuation of peace and vnity amongst Christian Churches should be by all good meanes procured, we ioyne most willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that to the auoyding of dissention it aualeth much, that there be amongst them an vnitie as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is about the maner of their vnity, how far Churches are bound to be vniforme in their ceremonies, & what way they ought to take for that purpose. Touching the one, the rule which they haue set downe is, that in ceremonies indifferent all Churches ought to be one of them vnto another as like as *possibly* they may be. Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise conster, then that it doth require them to be euen as like as they may be, without breaking any Positiue Ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we speake, being matter of Positiue Law; they are indifferent, if God haue neither himselfe commanded nor forbidden them, but left them vnto the Churches discretion. So that if as great vniformity be required as is possible in these things, seeing that the law of God forbideth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greatest vnto the least they must be in euery Christian Church the same, except meere impossibilitie of so hauing it be the hindrance. To vs this opinion seemeth ouer-extreme & violent: we rather incline to thinke it a iust and reasonable cause for any Church, the state whereof is free and independent, if in these things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not iudge it so fit and expedient to be framed therein by the patterne of their example, as to be otherwise framed than they. That of *Gregorie vnto Leander* is a charitable speech and a peaceable: *In vna fide nil officit Ecclesie sancte consuetudo diuersa; Where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in customes of the Church doth no harme.* That of *S. Augustine to Cassulanus* is somewhat particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are, wherein one Church may varie from the example of another without hurt: *Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide soeuer it haue spred it selfe, be alwaies one, although the vnitie of beliefe be famous for varietie of certaine ordinances, whereby that which is rightly beleeued, suffereth no kinde of let or impediment.* CALVIN GO-
 eth further, *As concerning rites in particular, let the sentence of AVGVSTINE* *Respon. ad
Medias.*
take place, which leaueth it free vnto all Churches to receiue their owne custome. *Yea, sometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference, lest men should thinke that Religion is tyed to outward ceremonies. Alwaies provided that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches delighted with nouelty, affect to haue that which others haue not.* They which grant it true that the diuersity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cause dissention in Churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or if any thing be granted, there must as much be yeelded vnto, as we affirme against their former strict Assertion. For if Churches be vrged by way of duty to take such Ceremonies as they like not of; how can dissention be auoided? will they say that there ought to be no dissentiō, because such as are vrged, ought to like of that wherunto they are vrged? If they say this, they say iust nothing. For how should any Church like to be vrged of dutie, by such as haue no authority or power ouer it, vnto those things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound vnto them? It is their meaning, that there ought to be no dissention, because that which Churches are not bound vnto, no man ought by way of duty to vrge vpon them; and if any man doe, he standeth in the sight both of God & men most iustly blameable, as a

needlesse Disturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Dissention? In saying this, they both condemne their owne practise, when they presse the Church of England with so strict a bond of dutie in these things, and they overthrow the ground of their practise, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies vniformitie, vnlesse impossibilitie hinder it. For prooffe whereof it is not enough to alleage what *S. Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noble men doe in the Liueries of their Seruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for standing in time of Prayer on certaine dayes: because though *S. Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth euery man to lay

T.C.LI. p. 133. And therefore *S. Paul*, to establish this order in the Church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the first day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reason, that he had so ordayned in other Churches.

vp somewhat by him vpon the Sunday, and to reserue it in store, till himselfe did come thither, to send it vnto the Church of Ierusalem for reliefe of the Poore there; signifying withall that hee had

taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reason which hee yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his words are writted. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (hee meaneth them of Ierusalem)

1. Cor. 16. 2.

as I haue giue order to the Church of Galatia, so likewise doe yee, (saith the Apostle) that is, in euery first of the Weeke let each of you lay aside by himselfe, and reserue according to that which God hath blessed him with, that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you shall choofe, them I may forthwith send away by Letters, to carrie your beneficence vnto Ierusalem. Out of which words, to conclude the dutie of vniformitie throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies, will be verie hard, and therefore best

to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it some kind of countenance more than the next of Liuerie-coats affordeth them. For neither is it anie mans dutie to cloath all his Children, or all his Seruants with one Weed; nor theirs to cloath themselues so, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as these Ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And seeing Churches are rather in this case like diuers Families, than like diuers Seruants of one Familie; because euerie Church, the State whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authoritie to appoint Orders for it selfe in things indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather inferre, that as one Familie is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in Friers Gray, for that another doth wear Clay-Colour; so neyther are all Churches bound to the selfe-same indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh sundrie to vse. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weigh it well. The ancient vse of the Church throughout all Christendome was, for fiftie dayes after Easter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecost, though most commonly the last day of them which is Whitsunday bee so called) in like sort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole Yeere their manner was to stand at Prayer; whereupon their meetings vnto that purpose on those dayes, had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which custome *Tertullian* speaketh in this wise; *It is not with vs thought fit either to fast on the Lords Day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunitie from fasting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost.*

T.C. 13. p. 133. So that as children of one Father, & seruants of one Master, he will haue all the Churches not only haue one diet, in that they haue one word, but also wear as it were one liuerie in vsing the same Ceremonies.

T.C. p. 133. This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, &c.

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecostem, nec de geniculis adorare, & ieiunium soluere, De Coro. Militi.

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This being therefore an order generally received in the Church; when some began to bee singular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremonie which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, those few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the Councell of Nice thought good to inclose them againe with the rest, by a Law made in this sort: *Because there are certaine which will needs kneele at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fiftie dayes after Easter, the Holy Synode iudging it meet that a conuenient custome be obserued throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that standing we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the same if any part doe wilfully violate, it may be reformed and in-rayled againe by that generall Authoritie whereunto each particular is subiect, and that the Spirit of singularitie in a few ought to giue place vnto publike iudgement; this doth cleerely enough appeare: but not that all Christian Churches are bound in euery indifferent Ceremonie to be vniforme; because where the whole hath not tyed the parts vnto one and the same thing, they being therein left each to their owne choice, may either doe, as other doe or else otherwise, without any breach of dutie at all. Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath bene heretofore thought good that all Christian Churches should bee vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to passe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath bene iudged, that seeing the Law of God doth not prescribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Christ may vse, and in so great variety of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the Law of nature and reason should direct all Churches vnto the same things, each deliberating by it selfe what is most conuenient: the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all, must needs bee the iudgement of some iudicial authoritie drawne into one onely sentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And because such authoritie ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath bene alwaies followed, as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way, namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and set downe in the assembly of some generall Councell. But to maintaine that all Christian Churches ought for vnities sake to be vniforme in all Ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to passe must be by mutual imitation, so that where we haue better Ceremonies then others, they shal be bound to follow vs, and wee them where theirs are better: how should wee thinke it agreeable and consonant vnto reason? For sith in things of this nature there is such varietie of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better, which another Church led by other inducements iudgeth to bee worse: (For example, the East Church did thinke it better to keep Easter day after the manner of the Iewes, the West Church better to doe otherwise; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worse to vse vnleauened bread in the Eucharist, the Latine Church leauened: one Church esteemeth it not so good to receiue the Eucharist sitting as standing, another Church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable Motiues as well as on the other) vnlesse they adde somewhat else to define more certainly what Ceremonies shall stand for best, in such sort

that all Churches in the World shall know them to be the best, and so know them, that there may not remain any question about this point, we are not awhit the neerer for that they haue hitherto said. They themselues although resolved in their owne iudgements what Ceremonies are best, the foreseeing that such as they are addicted vnto, be not all so cleerly and so incomparably best, but others there are or may bee at leastwise when all things are well considered as good, knew not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without prouiding some more certaine rule to be followed for establishment of vniiformitie in Ceremonies, when there are diuers kinds of equal goodnesse; and therefore in this case they say, that the later Churches and the fewer should conforme themselues vnto the elder and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the Reformed Churches (so farre as they know) which are of our confession in Doctrine, haue agreed already in the abrogation of diuers things which we retaine: our Church ought eyther to shew that they haue done euill, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming her selfe to those Churches, in that which she cannot denie to be in them well abrogated. For the authoritie of the first Churches, (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first reformed) they bring the comparison of yonger Daughters conforming themselues in attire to the example of their elder Sisters; wherein there is iust as much strength of reason as in the Liuey Coates before mentioned. *St. Paul* they say, noteth it for a marke of speciall honour, that *Epenetus* was the first man in all Achaia which did imbrace the Christian faith; after the same sort he toucheth it also as a speciall preeminence of *Tunias* and *Andronicus*, that in Christianitie they were his Ancients; the Corinthians he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the Word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man should thinke that alacritie and forwardnesse in good things doth adde nothing vnto mens commendation; the two former speeches of *St. Paul* might lead him to reforme his iudgement. In like sort to take downe the stomacke of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to set all others to schoole, there can be nothing more fit then some such words as the Apostles third sentence doth containe; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no such great oddes betweene them and the rest of their brethren, that they should thinke themselues to be Gold, and the rest to be but Copper. He therefore vseth speech vnto them to this effect: *Men instructed in the knowledge of Iesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the World; ye neyther are the Fountaine from which first, nor yet the Riuer into which alone the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epenetus* was the first man in all Achaia, so Corinth had bene the first Church in the whole World that receiued Christ: the Apostle doth not shew that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoever, this should haue made their example a Law vnto all others. Indeed the example of sundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as hauing the force of an example onely, and not of a Law. They are effectuall to moue any Church, vnlesse some greater thing doe hinder; but they bind none, no not though they be many; sauing onely when they are the Maior part of a generall Assembly, and then their voyces being moe in number, must ouer-sway their iudgements who are fewer, because in such cases the greater halfe

Y. C. 1. 3. p. 183.
If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches should conforme themselves to the first, &c. And againe, The fewer ought to conforme themselves vnto the moe.

Rom. 16. 5.

1. Cor. 14. 36.

halfe is the whole. But as they stand out single each of them by it selfe, their number can purchase them no such Authoritic, that the rest of the Churches being fewer, should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of these so weake Premisses, that the retaining of diuers things in the Church of England, which other reformed Churches haue cast out, must needs argue that we doe not well, vnlesse wee can shew that they haue done ill; what needed this wrest to draw out from vs an accusation of forraine Churches? It is not proued as yet, that if they haue done well, our dutie is to follow them, and to forsake our owne course, because it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for vs euery way, as theirs for them. And if the proofes alleged for confirmation hereof had bene found, yet seeing they lead no further then onely to shew, that where we can haue no better Ceremonies, theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modestie thinke themselues to haue found out absolutely the best which the wit of men may deuise, so liking their owne somewhat better then other mens, euen because they are their owne, they must in equity allow vs to be like vnto them in this affection: which if they doe, they ease vs of that vncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemne them, or else to follow them. They grant wee need not follow them, if our owne wayes alreadie be better. And if our owne be but equal, the Law of common Indulgence alloweth vs to thinke them at the least halfe a thought the better, because they are our owne; which wee may very well doe, and neuer draw any Inditement at all against theirs, but thinke commendably euen of them also.

14 To leaue reformed Churches therefore and their actions for him to iudge of, in whose sight they are as they are, and our desire is that they may euen in his sight be found such, as wee ought by all means that our owne may likewise bee: somewhat wee are enforced to speake by way of simple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in these affaires; to the end that men whose mindes are free from those partiall constructions, whereby the only name of difference from some other Churches is thought cause sufficient to condemne ours, may the better discern whether that wee haue done bee reasonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her receiued Lawes concerning such Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, as had bene in former times a hinderance vnto Pietie and Religious Seruice of God, was to enter into consideration first, that the change of Lawes, especially concerning matter of Religion, must bee warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is supposed behoofefull vnto men, prooueth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Lawes that haue bene in former Ages establishd, needfull in later to bee abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient, doth not alwayes so continue: and the number of needlesse Lawes vnabolisht, doth weaken the force of them that are necessaric. But true withall it is, that alteration, though it be from worse to better, hath in it inconueniences and those waightie; vnlesse it bee in such Lawes as haue bene made vpon speciall occasions, which occasions ceasing, Lawes of that kind doe abrogate themselues. But when we abrogate a Law as being ill made,

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T.C. l. 3. p. 183.
Our Church ought eyther to shew that they haue done euill, or elle she is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her selfe in that which she cannot denie to be well abrogated.

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for establishment of things as they are.

the whole cause for which it was made still remayning; do we not herein reuoke our very owne deed, and vpbraid our selues with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with ouer-sight and with error? Further, if it be a Law which the custome and continuall practice of many ages or yeeeres hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it, must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt, whether any thing be in it selfe by nature either good or euill, and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold euen those things disproued, disanulled, reiected, which vse had made in a manner naturall. What haue we to induce men vnto the willing obedience and obseruation of Lawes, but the waight of so many mens iudgement, as haue with deliberate aduice assented thereunto; the waight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such Law, must needs with the common sort impaire and weaken the force of those grounds, whereby all Lawes are made effectuell. Notwithstanding, we doe not deny alteration of Lawes to be sometimes a thing necessarie; as when they are vnnaturall, or impious, or otherwise hurtfull vnto the publike communitie of men, and against that good for which humane societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Sauour were ordayned to alter the Lawes of Heathenish religion receiued throughout the whole world; chosen I grant they were (*Paul* excepted) the rest ignorant, poore, simple, vn-schooled altogether and vnlettered men: howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghostly wisdome from aboue before they euer vndertooke this enterprife, yea, their authoritie confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainly appeare that they were the Lords Ambassadors, vnto whose Soueraigne power for all flesh to stoope, for all the Kingdomes of the earth to yeeld themselues willingly conformable in what focuer should be required, it was their ductie. In this case therefore their oppositions in maintenance of publike superstition against Apostolique endeouours, as that they might not condemne the wayes of their ancient Predecessors, that they must keepe *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from Age to Age had descended, that the ceremonies of Religion had bene euer accounted by so much holyer as elder; these and the like allegations in this case were vaine and friuolous. Not to stay longer therefore in speech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of such Lawes as haue bene specified is necessary, so the euidence that they are such must be great. If we haue neither voyce from heauen that so pronounceth of them; neither sentence of men grounded vpon such manifest and cleere prooffe, that they in whose hands it is to alter them, may likewise infallibly euen in heart and conscience iudge them so; vpon necessitie to vrge alteration, is to trouble and disturbe without necessitie. As for arbitrarie alterations, when Lawes in themselues not simply bad or vnmeete are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deuised be but small, such the custome of easinesse to alter and change is so euill, no doubt but to beare a tolerable sore, is better then to venter on a dangerous remedie. Which being generally thought vpon, as a matter that touched neerely their whole enterprife; whereas change was notwithstanding concluded necessarie, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receiue by a number of things then in
vse

vse, whereupon a great deale of that which had bin, was now to be taken away & removed out of the Church; yet sith there are diuers waies of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things, as might in that sort bee extinguished without danger, leauing the rest to bee abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: so touching the stint or measure thereof, Rites and Ceremonies, and other external things of like nature beeing hurtfull vnto the Church, eyther in respect of their qualitie, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done, their deliberatiō in the later was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did resolue to remoue only such things of that kind as the Church might best spare, retayning the residue; their whole counsell is in this point vterly condemned, as hauing eyther proceeded from the blindnes of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that such things might bee tolerated for a while, or if it did proceed (as they which would seeme most fauourable, are content to thinke it possible) from a purpose *partly the easlier to draw Papists vnto the Gospell, by keeping by many orders still the same with theirs, and partly to redeme peace thereby, the breach whereof they might feare would ensue vpon more thorow alteration,* or howsoeuer it came to passe, the thing they did is iudged euill. But such is the lot of all that deale in publike affaires, whether of Church or Commonwealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings being it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherefore to let go priuate surmises, whereby the thing in it selfe is not made either better or worse; if iust & allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are all these censures frustrate. Touching ceremonies harmeles therefore in thēselues, & hurtfull only in respect of number: was it amisse to decree, that those things which were least needfull & newliet come should be the first that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints daies & of other the like customes it appeareth they did, till afterwards the forme of Common Prayer being perfited, Articles of sound Religion & Discipline agreed vpon, Catechismes framed for the needfull instruction of youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthensome to the people, or to the simple offensiuē and scandalous, all was brought at the length vnto that wherein now we stand? Or was it amisse, that hauing this way eased the Church as they thought of superfluity, they wēt on til they had pluckt vp euen those things also, which had taken a great deale stronger & deeper root; those things which to abrogate without constraint of manifest harme thereby arising, had beene to alter vnneccessarily (in their iudgements) the ancient received custome of the whole Church, the vniuersall practice of the people of God, and those very decrees of our Fathers, which were not only set downe by agreement of generall Councils, but had accordingly bin put in vre, and so continued in vse till that very time present? True it is that neither Councils nor customes, be they neuer so ancient and so generall, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtfull to be retained. Where things haue beene instituted, which being conuenient and good at the first, doe afterward in proccesse of time waxe other wise; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea though Councils or Customes generall haue received them. And therefore it is but a needles

T.C.1.2.p.29.
It may wel be;
their purpose
was by that
temper of Po-
pish Ceremo-
nies with the
Gospell, partly
the easlier to
draw the Pa-
pists to the
Gospell, &c.
partly to re-
deme peace
thereby.

T.C.1.3.p.33.

kind

T.C.lib.3.p.30.

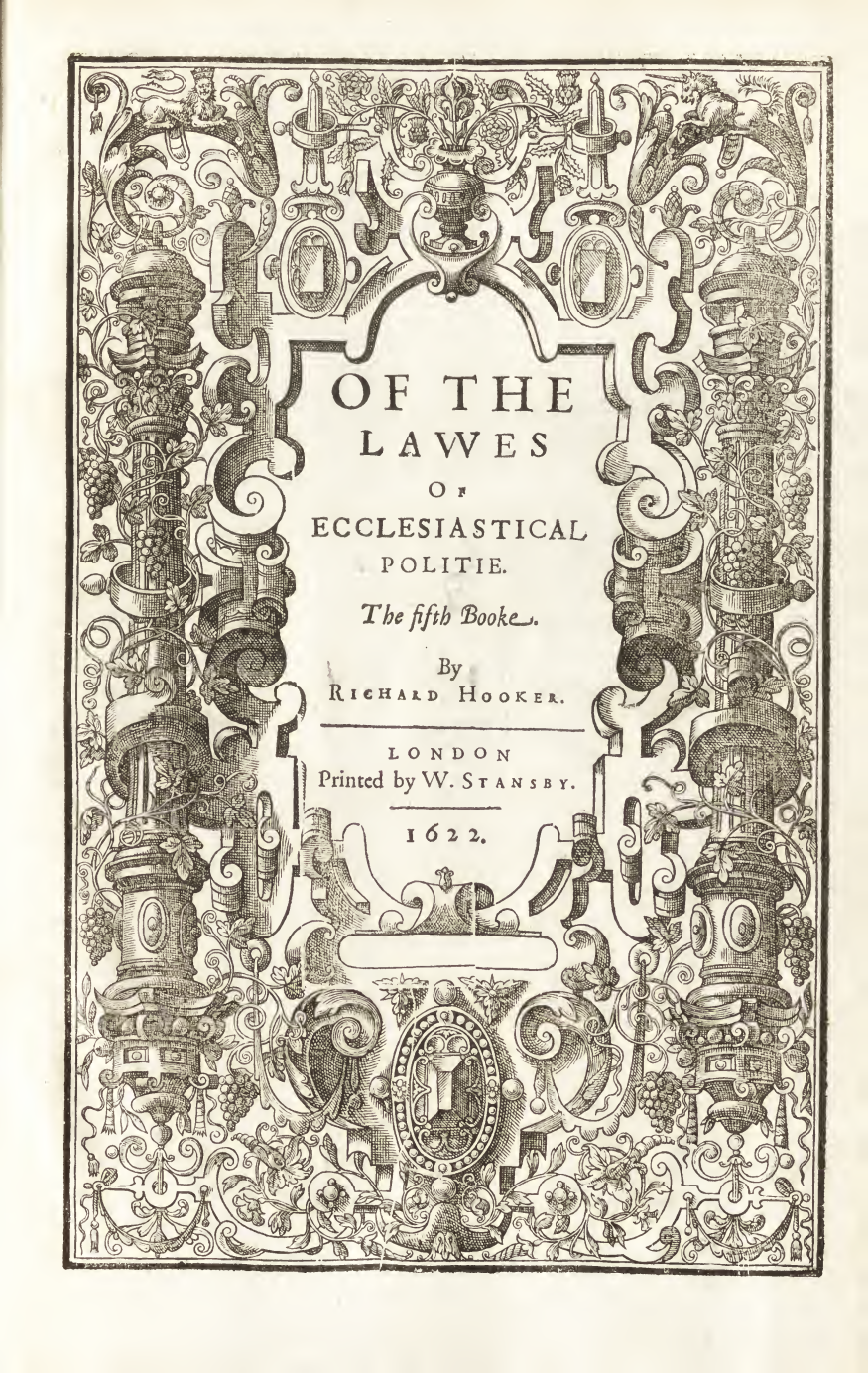
kind of opposition which they make who thus dispute, *If in those things which are not expressed in the Scripture, that is to be obserued of the Church, which is the custome of the people of God & decree of our forefathers; then how can these things at any time be varied,* which heretofore haue bene once ordained in such sort? Whereto we say, that things so ordayned are to be kept, howbeit not necessarily any longer, then till there grow some vrgent cause to ordaine the contrarie. For there is not any Positiue Law of men, whether it be generall or particular, received by formall expresse consent, as in Councils; or by secret approbation, as in customes it cometh to passe, but the same may be taken away if occasion serue. Euen as we all know, that many things kept generally heretofore, are now in like sort generally vnkept and abolished euery where. Notwithstanding till such things be abolished, what exception can there be taken against the iudgement of S. *Augustine*, who saith, that, Of things harmelesse whatsoever there is, which the whole Church doth obserue throughout the world, to argue for any mans immunitie from obseruing the same, it were a point of most insolent madnes? And surely, odious it must needs haue bin for one Christian Church, to abolish that which all had receiued and held for the space of many ages, and that without any detriment vnto Religion so manifest and so great, as might in the eyes of vnpartiall men appeare sufficient to cleere them from all blame of rash & inconsiderate proceeding, if in seruor of zeale they had remoued such things. Whereas contrariwise so reasonable moderation herein vsed, bath freed vs from being deseruedly subiect vnto that bitter kind of obloquy, wherby as the Church of Rome doth vnder the color of loue towards those things which be harmlesse, maintaine extremely most hurtfull corruptions; so wee peradventure might be vprayed, that vnder colour of hatred towards those things that are corrupt, we are on the other side as extreme, euen against most harmelesse Ordinances. And as they are obstinate to retaine that, which no man of any conscience is able well to defend: so we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to teare away that, which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our consciences would storme and repine thereat. The Romans hauing banished *Tarquinius* the Proud, & taken a solemne oath that they neuer would permit any man more to reigne, could not herewith content themselves, or thinke that tyrannie was throughly extinguished, till they had driuen one of their Consuls to depart the Citie, against whom they found not in the world what to obiekt, sauing only that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Common-wealth could not seeme to haue recouered perfect freedome, as long as a man of so dangerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to haue done the like, in casting out Papall tyrannie and superstition, to haue shewed greater willingnes of accepting the very Ceremonies of the Turke, Christs professed enemy, then of the most indifferent things which the Church of Rome approueth: to haue left not so much as the names which the Church of Rome doth giue vnto things innocent: to haue eiekt whatsoever that Church doth make account of, be it neuer so harmelesse in it selfe, and of neuer so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, then onely that it hath bene the hap thereof to be vsed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the Word of God: this kinde of proceeding might haply haue pleased some few men, who hauing begunne such a course themselves,

T.C.lib.1.p.131.
For indeede it were more safe for vs to conforme our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turkes which are far off, then to the Papists which are so neere.

felues must needs bee glad to see their example followed by vs. But the Almighty which giueth wisdom, and inspireth with right vnderstanding whom-
 soeuer it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which mans wit had neuer beene able
 to reach vnto, namely, what Tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration
 would raise in some parts of the Christian World, did for the endlesse good of
 his Church (as we cannot chuse but interpret it) vse the bridle of his prouident
 restraining hand, to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their reso-
 lution vpon a course more calme and moderate; lest as in other most ample and
 heretofore most flourishing] Dominions it hath since falne out, so likewise if in
 ours it had come to passe, that the aduerse part being enraged, and betaking it
 selfe to such practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they be-
 hold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other
 end, then onely the vtter oppression and cleane extinguishment of one side; by
 this meane Christendome flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once,
 they all had wanted that comfort of mutuall reliefe, whereby they are now for
 the time sustained (and not the least by this our Church which they so much
 impeach) till mutuall combustions, bloud-sheds and wastes (because no other in-
 ducement will serue) may enforce them through very faintnes, after the experi-
 ence of so endlesse miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such con-
 sultation, as may tend to the best re-establisment of the whole Church of Iesus
 Christ. To the singular good whereof it cannot but serue as a profitable direc-
 tion, to teach men what is most likely to proue available, when they shall qui-
 etly consider the tryall that hath bene thus long had of both kinds of Reforma-
 tion, as well this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken, as
 that other more extreme and rigorous which certaine Churches elsewhere haue
 better liked. In the meane while it may be, that suspence of iudgement and ex-
 ercise of charitie were safer and seemelier for Christian men, then the hote pur-
 suite of these Controuersies, wherein they that are more seruent to dispute, bee
 not alwayes the most able to determine. But who are on his side and who a-
 gainst him, our Lord in his good time shall reueale. And sith thus farre we haue
 proceeded in opening the things that haue bene done, let not the principall
 doers themselues be forgotten. When the ruines of the house of God (that house
 which consisting of religious Soules, is most immediatly the precious Temple
 of the Holy Ghost) were become not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the
 whole world so exceeding great, that very Superstition began euē to feele it
 selfe too farre growne: the first that with vs made way to reuire the decayes
 thereof by beheading Superstition, was King *Henry* the Eighth. The Sonne and
 Successor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: in whom
 (for so by the euent wee may gather) it pleased God Righteous and Iust to let
 England see, what a blessing sinne and iniquitie would not suffer it to enioy.
 Howbeit that which the Wiseman hath sayd concerning *Enoch* (whose dayes
 were, though many in respect of ours, yet scarce, as three to nine in comparison
 of theirs with whom he liued) the same to that admirable Child most worthily
 may be applied, *Though He departed this World soone, yet fulfilled He much time.*
 But what ensued? That worke, which the one in such sort had begun, and the
 other so farre proceeded in, was in short space so ouerthrowne, as if almost it had
 neuer

neuer beene: till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darknesse a most glorious Starre to arise, and on her head settled the Crowne, whom himselfe had kept as a Lambe from the slaughter of those bloudy times, that the experience of his goodnes in her owne deliverance, might cause her mercifull disposition to take so much the more delight in sauing others, whom the like necessitie should presse. What in this behalfe hath beene done towards Nations abroad, the parts of Christendome most afflicted can best testifie. That which especially concerneth our selues in the present matter we treat of, is the state of reformed Religion, a thing at Her coming to the Crowne, euen raised as it were by miracle from the dead, a thing which we so little hoped to see, that euen they which beheld it done, scarcely beleeued their owne senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to passe, thus many yeeres it hath continued, standing by no other worldly meane but that one onely hand which crected it, that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cause at the first to with-hold it selfe, so neither haue the practices so many, so bloudie following since, beene euer able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so iustly, that *Aaron* and *Hur* the Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill States haue sustained the hand which did lift it selfe to Heauen for them; as that Heauen it selfe hath by this hand sustained them, no aide or helpe hauing thereunto beene ministred for performance of the worke of reformation, other then such kind of helpe or aide as the Angell in the Prophet *Zacharie* speaketh of, saying, *Neither by an Army nor strength, but by my Spirit, sayth the Lord of Hostes.* Which grace and fauour of Diuine assistance, hauing not in one thing or two shewed it selfe, nor for some few dayes or yeeres appeared, but in such sort so long continued, our manifold sinnes and transgressions struiuing to the contrary; what can wee lesse thereupon conclude, then that God would at leastwise by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he blesteth, defendeth, keepeth, so strangely, cannot choose but be of him? Wherefore if any refuse to beleeu vs disputing for the veritie of Religion established, let them beleeu God himselfe thus miraculously working for it, and wish life euen for euer and euer vnto that

Glorious and Sacred Instrument
whereby he worketh.



OF THE
LAWES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL
POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

By
RICHARD HOOKER.

LONDON
Printed by W. STANSBY.

1622.

STATE OF THE
LAW

HONORABLE

MEMBERS

OF THE

LEGISLATURE

AND

OF THE

JUDICIAL

BRANCH

OF

THE

STATE

OF

NEW

YORK

1880

TO
THE MOST REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY
GOOD LORD, THE LORD ARCH-

BISHOP OF CANTERBURY
His GRACE, Primate and
Metropolitane of all
ENGLAND.



*M*OST Reuerend in Christ, the long continued, and morethen ordinary fauour, which hitherto your Grace hath beene pleased to shew towards me, may iustly claime at my hauds some thankesfull acknowledgement thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the auncient received course, and conueniencie of that Discipline, which teacheth inferiour degrees, and orders in the Church of God, to submit their writings to the same authoritie, from which their allowable dealings whatsoeuer, in such affaires, must receiue approbation, I nothing feare but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of these my simple and meane labours, bestowed for the necessary iustification of lawes heretofore made questionable, because, as I take it, they were not perfectly vnderstood. For surely, I can not find any great cause of iust complaint, that good lawes haue so much been wanting vnto vs, as we to them. To seeke

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reformation of euill lawes is a commendable endeour, but for vs the more necessary is a speedy redresse of our selues. We haue on all sides lost much of our first feruencie towards God, and therefore concerning our owne degenerated waies, we haue reason to exhort with S. Gregorie, ὁ πῶρ ἦμαρ γυνώμεθα,

Greg. Naz.

Let vs returne againe vnto that which wee sometime were: but touching the exchange of Lawes in practice, with Lawes in deuce, which, they say, are better for the state of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cause we finde to conclude μῆτρον ἰστέρι ἰστέρι, although we continue the same we are, the harme is not great. These feruent reprehenders of things established by publique authoritie, are alwaies confident and bold spirited men. But their confidence for the most part riseth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits, for which cause they are seldome free from errorrs. The errorrs which we seeke to reforme in this kind of men, are such as both receiued at your owne hands their first wound, and from that time to this present, haue bene proceeded in with that moderation, which vseth by patience to suppress boldnesse, and to make them conquer that suffer. Wherein considering the nature and kinde of these controuersies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many waies wee haue bene thereby taught wisdom, I may boldly auerre concerning the first, that as the waightiest conflicts the Church hath had, were those which touched the head, the person of our Sauour Christ, and the next of importance, those questions, which are at this day betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God, so these which haue

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haue lastly sprung up for complements, rites and ceremonies of Church actions, are in truth for the greatest part such silly things, that very easinesse doth make them hard to bee disputed of in serious manner. Which also may seeme to be the cause, why diuers of the Reuerend Prelacie, and other most iudicious men, haue especially bestowed their paines about the matter of jurisdiction. Notwithstanding led by your Graces example, my selfe haue thought it conuenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method, which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth. Now, if any maruaile, how a thing in it selfe so weak, could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the sparke is that flieth vp, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politike, being subiect as much as naturall, to dissolution, by diuers meanes, there are vndoubtedly moe estates ouerthrowne through diseases, bred within themselves, then through violence from abroad, because our manner is alwaies to cast a doubtfull and a more suspicious eye towards that, ouer which wee know we haue least power; and therefore, the feare of externall dangers, causeth forces at home to bee the more vnited, it is to all sorts a kind of bridle, it maketh vertuous mindes watchfull, it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspence, and it setteth those wits on worke in better things, which could be else employed in worse; whereas on the other side, domesticall euils, for that we thinke wee can master them at all times, are often permitted to runne on forward, till it bee too late to recall them. In the meane while the Common-wealth is not onely through vsoundnesse so farre impared, as those euils chance to preuaile; but farther also

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through

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through opposition arising betweene the vnsound parts and the sound, where each endeoureth to draw euermore contrary waies, till destruction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To reckon vp how many causes there are by force whereof diuisions may grow in a Common-wealth, is not here necessarie. Such as rise from varietie in matter of Religion, are not onely the farthest spread, because in Religion all men presume themselues interess'd alike; but they are also for the most part hotlier prosecuted and pursued then other strifes, for as much as coldnesse, which in other contentions may be thought to proceede from moderation, is not in these so fauourably construed. The part which in this present quarrell striueth against the current and streame of Lawes, was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to minde how errors haue their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reason whereupon they would seeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is cast towards them, and proceedeth from other causes. For there are diuers motiues, drawing men to fauour mightily those opinions, wherein their persuasions are but weakely settled: and if the passions of the minde be strong, they easily sophisticate the vnderstanding, they make it apt to beleue vpon very slender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where scarce any probable shew appeareth. Thus were those poore seduced creatures Hacquet, and his other two adherents, whom I can neither speake nor thinke of, but with much commiseration and pitie, thus were they trained by faire wayes first, accomplishing their owne extraordinary loue to this Discipline, a token of Gods more then ordinarie loue towards them;

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them; from hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God which had moued them to loue his Discipline, more then the common sort of men did, might haue a purpose by their meanes to bring a wonderfull work to passe, beyond all mens expectation, for the aduancement of the throne of discipline by some tragicall execution, with the particularities wherof it was not safe for their friends to bee made acquainted, of whom they did therefore but couertly demaund what they thought of extraordinary motions of the spirit in these dayes, and withall request to be commended vnto God by their Prayers, whatsoeuer should be vnderaken by men of God, in meere zeale to his glory, and the good of his distressed Church. With this vnusuall and strange course they went on forward, till God, in whose heaviest worldly iudgements, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercie, gaue them ouer to their owne inuentions, and left them made in the end an example for head-strong and inconsiderate zeale, no lesse fearefull then Achitophell, for proud and irreligious wisdom. If a sparke of error haue thus farre preuailed, falling euen where the wood was greene, and farthest off to all menst hinking, from any inclination vnto furious attempts, must not the perill thereof be greater in men, whose minds are of themselues as dry fewell, apt before-hand vnto tumults, seditions and broyles? But by this we see in a cause of Religion, to how desperate aduentures men will straine themselues for reliefe of their owne part, hauing law & authority against them. Furthermore, let not any man think, that in such diuisions, either part can free it selfe from inconueniencies, sustained not only through a kind of Truce, which vertue on both sides doth make
with

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with vice, during warre betweene truth and error; but also in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministred for men to purchase to themselves wel-willers by the colour, vnder which they oftentimes prosecute quarels of enuie or inueterate malice, and especially because contentions were as yet neuer able to preuent two euils, the one a mutuall exchange of vnseemely and vniust disgraces, offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule, the other, a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to worke vpon all occurrents, with most aduantage in priuate. I denie not therefore, but that our Antagonists in these controuersies, may peraduenture haue met with some, not vnlike to Ithacius, who mightily bending himselfe by all meanes against the heresie of Priscillian, the hatred of which one euill was all the vertue hee had, became so wise in the end, that euery man, carefull of vertuous conuersation, studious of Scripture, and giuen vnto any abstinence in diet, was set downe in his Kalender of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approue their soundnesse of faith by a more licentious and loose behauiour. Such Proctors and Patrons the truth might spare. Yet is not their grossenesse so intolerable, as on the contrary side, the scurrilous and more then Satyricall immodestie of Martinisme, the first published schedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a graue, and a very Honourable Knight, with signification giuen, that the Booke would refresh his spirits, hee tooke it, saw what the tittle was, read ouer an vnfaurie sentence or two, and deliuered backe the Libell with this answer, I am forie you are of the minde to bee solaced with these sports, and sorrier you haue herein thought mine affection

Sulp. Seuer.
Epi. hist.
Eccl.

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fection to bee like your owne. But as these sores on all hands lie open, so the deepest wounds of the Church of God haue beene more softly and closely giuen. It being perceiued that the plot of Discipline did not onely bend it selfe to reforme ceremonies, but seeke farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take away Episcopall iurisdiction, together with all other ornaments and meanes, whereby any difference or inequality is vpheld in the Ecclesiasticall order, towards this destructiue part, they haue found many helping hands, diuers although peraduenture not willing to be yoked with Elderships, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to vphold opposition against Bishops, not without greater hurt to the course of their whole proceedings in the busines of God and her Maiesties seruice, then otherwise much more waighty aduersaries had been able by their owne power to haue brought to passe. Men are naturally better contented to haue their comendable actions suppress, then the contrary much diuulged. And because the wits of the multitude are such, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being possess'd with some notable either dislike or liking of any one thing whatsoeuer, sundry other in the meane time may escape them vnperceiued; therefore if men desirous to haue their vertues noted, doe in this respect griue at the fame of others, whose glory obscureth and darkneth theirs, it can not be chosen, but that when the eares of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations against abuses in the Church, these tunes come alwaies most acceptable to them, whose odious and corrupt dealings in secular affaires, both passe by that meane the more couertly, and whatsoeuer happen doe also the least feele that scourge
of

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of vulgar imputation, which notwithstanding they most deserve. All this considered, as bebooneth, the sequelle of duty on our part is only that, which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmlesse discretion, the wisdom of Serpents tempered with the innocent meeknes of doves. For this world will teach them wisdom that haue capacitie to apprehend it. Our wisdom in this case must be such, as doth not propose to it selfe ⁱⁿ our owne particular, the partial & immoderate desire wherof poisoneth whersoever it taketh place: but the scope & mark which we are to aime at; is ⁱⁿ the publike and common good of all, for the easier procurement whereof our diligence must search out all helps & furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, counsels, fathers, histories, the lawes & practises of all Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obseruations may afford, our industry must euen anatomize euery particle of that body, which we are to vphold sound: & because, be it neuer so true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their effections begin to be alienated, a small thing perswadeth them to change their opinions; it behooueth that we vigilantly note and preuent by all meanes those euils, whereby the hearts of men are lost, which euils for the most part being personall, do arme in such sort the aduersaries of God and his Church against vs, that if through our too much neglect and security the same should runne on, soone might we feele our estate brought to those lamentable termes, whereof this hard and heavy sentence was by one of the ancients. uttered upon like occasions, Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit. But the gracious prouidence of Almighty God hath

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bath, I trust, but these thornes of contradiction in our sides, lest that should steale vpon the Church in a slumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his assistance may be turned away from vs, bending thereunto our selues with constancie, constancie in labour to doe all men good, constancie in prayer vnto God for all men, her especially, whose sacred power matched with incomparable goodnes of nature, hath hitherto beene Gods most happy instrument, by him miraculously kept for workes of so miraculous preservation and safetie vnto others; that as, By the sword of God and Gedeon, was sometime the cry of the people of Israell, so it might deseruedly be at this day the ioyfull song of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of some Estates and Dominions in the world, and (which must bee eternally confest euen with teares of thankfulnessse) the true inscription, stile or title of all Churches as yet standing within this Realme, By the goodnesse of Almighty God Iud. 7. 20. and his seruant Elizabeth we are. That God, who is able to make moralitie immortall, giue her such future continuance as may be no lesse glorious vnto all prosperitie, then the daies of her regiment past haue beene happy vnto our selues, and for his most deare annoynteds sake, grant them all prosperitie, whose labours, cares, and counsels, vnfaignedly are referred to her endlesse welfare, through his vn-speakable mercy, vnto whom we all owe euerlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest, humbly beseeching your Grace, to pardon my great boldnesse, and God to multiply his blessings vpon them that feare his name.

Your Graces in all dutie,

Richard Hooker.

The first of the year was a very cold one, and the
 weather was very disagreeable. The wind was
 very strong, and the rain was very heavy. The
 snow was very deep, and the ice was very
 thick. The water was very cold, and the
 ground was very hard. The trees were
 very bare, and the leaves were very
 dry. The grass was very dry, and the
 corn was very hard. The wheat was
 very dry, and the barley was very
 hard. The oats were very dry, and the
 rye was very hard. The clover was
 very dry, and the alfalfa was very
 hard. The hay was very dry, and the
 straw was very hard. The wood was
 very dry, and the bark was very
 hard. The fruit was very dry, and the
 seeds were very hard. The vegetables
 were very dry, and the roots were very
 hard. The animals were very dry, and
 the people were very hard.



OF THE LAWES OF
ECCLESIASTICALL
POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

Of their fourth Assertion, that touching the severall
publike duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst vs much
*Superstition retayned in them; and concerning persons which for
performance of those duties are indued with the power of Ecclesiasti-
call Order, our Lawes and proceedings according thereunto
are many wayes herein also corrupted.*

The matter contayned in this fifth Booke.

- 1 **T**True Religion is the Root of all true Vertues, and the stay of all well-ordered Common-wealths.
- 2 *The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheisme.*
- 3 *Of Superstition and the roote thereof, either misguided zeale or ignorant feare of diuine Glorie.*
- 4 *Of the redresse of Superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the question of this Booke.*
- 5 *Four generall Propositions demanding that which may reasonably bee granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true Religion. And first, Of a Rule, not safe, nor reasonable in these cases.*
- 6 *The first Proposition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.*
- 7 *The second Proposition.*
- 8 *The third Proposition.*
- 9 *The fourth Proposition.*
- 10 *The rule of mens prinate Spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.*
- 11 *Places for the publike Seruice of God.*
- 12 *The solemnitie of erecting Churches, condemned; the hallowing and dedicating of them, scorned by the Aduersarie.*
- 13 *Of the names, whereby we distinguish our Churches.*
- 14 *Of the fashion of our Churches.*

- 15 *The sumptuousnesse of Churches.*
- 16 *What holinesse and vertue we ascribe to the Church, more then other places.*
- 17 *Their pretence, that would haue Churches vtterly razed.*
- 18 *Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechizing.*
- 19 *Of preaching, by reading publikely the Bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed vntruthes in those Translations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.*
- 20 *Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Bookes Apocryphall.*
- 21 *Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons bee the only ordinarie way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the sauing knowledge of Gods Truth.*
- 22 *What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.*
- 23 *Of Prayer.*
- 24 *Of publike Prayer.*
- 25 *Of the forme of Common Prayer.*
- 26 *Of them, which like not to haue any set forme of Common Prayer.*
- 27 *Of them, who allowing a set forme of Prayer, yet allow not ours.*
- 28 *The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papiſts, too farre different from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.*
- 29 *Attire belonging to the Seruice of God.*
- 30 *Of gesture in praying, and of different places, chosen to that purpose.*
- 31 *Easinesse of praying after our forme.*
- 32 *The length of our Seruice.*
- 33 *In stead of such Prayers, as the Primitiue Churches haue vsed, and those that be reformed now vse, we haue (they say) diuers short cuts, or shreddings, rather wishes then Prayers.*
- 34 *Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.*
- 35 *The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lords Prayer.*
- 36 *The peoples saying after the Minister.*
- 37 *Our manner of reading the Psalmes, otherwise then the rest of the Scripture.*
- 38 *Of Musique with Psalmes.*
- 39 *Of singing or saying Psalmes, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and the Minister answere one another by course.*
- 40 *Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.*
- 41 *Of the Letanie.*
- 42 *Of Athanasius Creed, and Gloria Patri.*
- 43 *Our want of particular Thanksgiuing.*
- 44 *In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, is vnfound.*
- 45 *When thou hadst overcome the shar pnesse of death, thou didst open the Kingdome of Heauen vnto all Beleeuers.*
- 46 *Touching Prayer for deliuerance from suddaine death.*
- 47 *Prayer for those things, which we for our vnworthinesse dare not aske, God, for the worthinesse of his Sonne, would vouchsafe so grant.*
- 48 *Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie.*
- 49 *Prayer that all men may find mercie, and of the will of God, that all men might be saued.*

- 50 Of the name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes, to make vs partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
- 51 That God is in Christ by the personall incarnation of the Sonne, who is very God.
- 52 The misinterpretations, which Heresie hath made, of the manner, how God and Man are united in one Christ.
- 53 That by the union of the one, with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.
- 54 What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his his flesh with Deitie.
- 55 Of the personall presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
- 56 The union or mutuall participation, which is betweene Christ and the Church of Christ, in this present World.
- 57 The necessitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Christ.
- 58 The substance of Baptisme, the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, & that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptisme may giue place to necessitie.
- 59 The ground in Scripture, whereupon a necessity of outward Baptisme hath bin built.
- 60 What kind of necessitie in outward Baptisme hath bin gathered by the words of our Sauion Christ, and what the true necessitie thereof indeed is.
- 61 What things in Baptisme haue bin dispensed with by the Fathers, respecting necessitie.
- 62 Whether Baptisme by Women, be true Baptisme, good, and effectnall, to them that receiue it.
- 63 Of intergatories in Baptisme, touchiug faith, & the purpose of a Christian life.
- 64 Interrogatories proposed vnto Infants in Baptisme, and answered, as in their names by God-fathers.
- 65 Of the Crosse in Baptisme.
- 66 Of Confirmation after Baptisme.
- 67 Of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ.
- 68 Of faults noted in the forme of administring that holy Sacrament.
- 69 Of Festiuall dayes, and the naturall causes of their conuenient Institution.
- 70 The manner of celebrating Festiuall Dayes.
- 71 Exceptions against our keeping of other Festiuall Dayes, besides the Sabbath.
- 72 Of Dayes appointed, as well for ordinarie as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
- 73 The celebration of Matrimonie.
- 74 The Churching of Women.
- 75 The Rites of Buriall.
- 76 Of the nature of that Ministry, which serueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happinesse, not eternall only, but also temporall, doth depend vpon it.
- 77 Of power giuen vnto men, to execute that heauenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.
- 78 Of degrees, whereby the power of order is distinguished, and concerning the attire of Ministers.

- 79 Of oblations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuities of Religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certaine & sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of Church-livings be made frustrate.
- 80 Of ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their qualittie is that enter into holy Orders.
- 81 Of the Learning that should bee in Ministers, their Residence and the number of their Livinges.

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues, and the stay of all well ordered Common-weales.



EW there are of so weake capacitie, but publike euils they easily espie; fewer so patient, as not to complaine, when the grieuous inconueniences thereof worke sensible smart. Howbeit, to see wherein the harme which they feele consisteth, the seedes from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study wherof is so full of toile, and the practice so be set with difficulties, that wary and respectiue men had rather seeke quietly their owne, and wish that the World may goe well, so it bee not long of them,

then, with paine and hazard make themselves aduisers for the common good. Wee which thought it at the very first a signe of cold affection towards the Church of God, to preferre priuate ease before the labour of appeasing publike disturbance, must now of necessitie, referre euents to the gracious prouidence of Almighty God, and, in discharge of our dutie towards him, proceed with the plaine, and vnpartiall defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeauour is not so much to ouerthrow them, with whom we contend, as to yeeld them iust and reasonable causes of those things, which for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceiued, accusing Lawes for mens ouersights, imputing euils growne through personall defects, vnto that which is not euill, framing vnto some Sores vnwholesome Plasters, and applying other some where no Sore is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, *We agree*, that pure and vnstayed Religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertayning to publike Regiment: as well in regard of that a ayde and protection, which they, who faithfully serue God, confesse they receiue at his mercifull hands; as also for the force which Religion bath to qualifie all sorts of men, and to make them in publike affaires the more seruiceable, Governours the apter to rule with conscience, Inferiours for conscience sake the willing to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious, from whose abilities the same proceed. For if the course of publike affaires cannot in any good sort goe forward without fit Instruments, and that which fitteth them be their vertues, let Policie acknowledge it selfe indebted to Religion, godlinesse being the chiefest top and well-spring of all true vertues, euen as God is of all good things. So naturall is the vnion of Religion with Iustice, that we may boldly deeme there is neither, where

a Psa. 144.
 C. Th. lib. 6.
 tit. 2. Gaudere
 & gloriari ex fi-
 de semper volumus
 scientes
 magis religionibus
 quam officijs
 & labore co-
 poris vel sudore no-
 strum rempubli-
 cam contineri.
 b 'Εσι δ' ἑδὲν
 ἐν τοῖς πολι-
 κῆσι θωατὸν
 πρᾶξι ἀνεγ τὸ
 ποιοῦντα εἶναι,
 λόγῳ δὲ θιον
 σπεδαῖον, τὸ
 δὲ σπεδαῖον
 εἶναι ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς
 ἀρετὰς ἔχειν.
 Arist. Magn.
 moral. lib. 1. c. 1.
 c 'Αρχὴ δ' ἀρ-
 χῆ πάντων τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν θεός ἀρε-
 τῶν δ' εὐσε-
 βεία. Philo de
 dec. precept.

where both are not. For how should they be vnfaignedly iust, whom Religion doth not cause to bee such; or they religious, which are not found such by the prooue of their iust actions? If they, which imploy their labour and trauaile about the publique administration of Iustice, follow it only as a Trade, with vnquenchable and vnconscionable thirst of gaine, being not in heart perswaded that ^d Iustice is Gods owne worke, and themselves his agents in this businesse, the sentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themselves his Priests to deliuer it; formalities of Iustice doe but serue to smother right, and that which was necessarily ordayned for the common good, is through shamefull abuse made the cause of common miserie. The same Pietie, which maketh them that are in authoritie desirous to please and resemble God by Iustice, inflameth euery way men of action with zeale to doe good (as farre as their place will permit) vnto all. For ^e that they know, is most noble and diuine. Whereby, if no naturall nor casuall inabilityitie crosse their desires, they alwayes delighting to iniure themselves with actions most beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great Experience, and through Experience the more Wisdom, because Conscience, and the feare of swaruing from that which is right, maketh them diligent obseruers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the Nurse of vulgar Folly, no lesse then *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherances the most effectuall to make him eminent aboue others. For he ^f gave good heed, and pierced euery thing to the very ground, and by that meanes became the Author of many Parables. Concerning fortitude, sith euils great and vnexpected (the true touchstone of constant mindes) doe cause oftentimes euen them to thinke vpon diuine Power with ^g fearefullest suspicions, which haue bin otherwise the most secure despisers thereof, how should we looke for any constant resolution of mind in such cases, sauing onely where vnfaigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For prooue whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Iewes be indifferently weighed, from whose magnanimitie, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and vnwonted resolutions haue grown, which for all circumstances, no people vnder the rooofe of Heauen did euer hitherto match. And that which did alwayes animate them, was their meere Religion. Without which, if so be it were possible that all other ornaments of minde might be had in their full perfection, neuertheless the mind that should possesse them diuorced from Pietie, could be but a spectacle of commiseration; euen as that bodie is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-sight, the chiefeft grace that Nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicitie of that innocent World, wherein it is said, that men of their owne accord did embrace fidelitie and honestie, not for feare of the Magistrate or because reuenge was before their eyes, if at any time they should doe otherwise, but that which held the people in awe, was the shame of ill doing, the loue of equitie and right it selfe, a barre against all oppressions which greatnesse of power causeth, they which describe vnto vs any such estate of happinesse amongst men, though they speake not of Religion, doe notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her onely working. For if Religion did possesse sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there

d 2. Ebr. 1. 9. 6.

e. Αγαπῶντες
μὴν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ
μῆτιν, καὶ ἀλλοτρίων
δὲ καὶ θεοφόρον
ἐθνεὶ καὶ τῶν
σιν. Α. ἱστ. Etbic.
lib. 1. cap. 2.

f Eccle. 12. 10.

g Wjd. 17. 13.

would need no other restraint from euill. This doth not onely giue life and perfection to all endeouours wherewith it concurrerh; but what euent fouer ensue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladnesse alwayes, yet alwayes patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath bene set downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand, are ^a prosperously ended; because whether men in the end haue that which Religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, ^b they are in neyther euent vnfortunate. But lest any man should heere conceiue, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our Religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the same effects, which our selues ascribe thereunto, they hauing ours in the same detestation that we theirs: it shall be requisite to obserue well, how farre-
 forth there may bee agreement in the effects of different Religions. First, by the bitter strife, which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalfe, and is by so much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; wee see a generall agreement in the secret opinion of men, that euery man ought to imbrace the Religion which is true, and to shunne, as hurtfull, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generalitie of which perswasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a spurre to our industrie, in searching and maintayning that Religion, from which as to swarue in the least points is Errour, so the capitall Enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly Foes, Aliens, and without Repentance, children of endlesse perdition. Such therefore, touching mans immortall state after this life, are not likely to reape benefit by their Religion, but to looke for the cleane contrarie, in regard of so important contrarietie betweene it and the true Religion. Neuerthelesse, in as much as the Errours of the most seduced this way haue bene mixed with some Truthes, wee are not to maruaile, that although the one did turne to their endlesse woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the Affaires of this present life. There were in ^c these quarters of the World, sixteene hundred Yeares agoe, certaine speculatiue men, whose authoritie disposed the whole Religion of those Times. By their meanes it became a receiued opinion, that the soules of men departing this life, doe flit out of one bodie into some other. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the soules of men doe neuer perish, abated the feare of death in them which were so resolued, and gaue them courage vnto all Aduentures. The Romans had a vaine Superstitious custome in most of their Enterprizes, to coniecture before-hand of the euent, by certaine tokens which they noted in Birds, or in the intrayles of Beasts, or by other the like friuolous Diuinations. From whence notwithstanding as oft as they could receiue any Signe, which they tooke to be fauourable, it gaue them such hope, as if their gods had made them more then halfe a promise of prosperous successe. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did preuaile, especially being men of their owne naturall inclination, hopefull and strongly conceited, whatsoever they tooke in hand. But could their fond Superstition haue furthered so great Attempts, without the mixture of a true perswasion,

a P/al. 113.

b Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῆς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐμφορὰν πᾶσιν οὐκ ἐπιδοῦναι τὰς τύχας ἑσυχίμωνος εὐρεῖν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπαρχούσων αἰσῶν πρᾶττεν. Arist. Ethic. 1. 1. c. 10.

c Cef. de Bell. Gal. lib. 6.

sion, concerning the vnresistable force of diuine power ? Vpon the wilfull violation of oathes, execrable blasphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, euen vnto false gods, fearefull tokens of diuine reuenge haue bene knowne to follow. Which occursents the deuouter sort did take for manifest arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped, were of power to reward such as sought vnto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the ^a *Wiseman* rightly noteth concerning ^a *Wisd.* 14.13. such) it was not the power of them by whom they sware, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the vngodly. It was their hurt vntruely to attribute so great power vnto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to periurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the course of their liues, who feared the wilfull violation of oathes in that respect. And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their milde and mercifull disposition, some for their vertuous seueritie, some for integritie of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles deliuered vnto vs in the Word of God, as the axiomes of our Religion, wich being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts also, and taking better roote in some then in most others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidst the heapes of manifold repugnant errors, which errors of corrupt religion had also their sutable effects in the liues of the selfesame parties. Without all controuersie, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them, who stedfastly and sincerely imbrace it, in others not. They that loue the religion which they professe, may haue failed in choise, but yet they are sure to reape what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retaining it in that sort, no benefit. *Dauid* was a man after Gods owne heart, so termed, because his affection was heartie towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which liued vnder him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, ^b *O keepe this for euer in the purpose and thoughts* ^b *1. Chro. 29.17.* of the heart of this people. But when, after that *Dauid* had ended his dayes in peace, they who succeeded him in place, for the most part followed him not in qualitie, when their Kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate (as they thought) leit their owne, and their peoples ghostly condition vncaared for, by woefull experience they both did learne, that to forsake the true God of heauen, is to fal into all such euils vpon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of grace diuine may commit, or vnprotected from aboue endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appeare, that the safetie of all estates dependeth vpon Religion; that Religion vnfaignedly loued, perfecteth mens abilities vnto all kinds of vertuous seruices in the Common-wealth; that mens desire is in generall to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects doe grow out of their Religion, who imbrace in stead of the true, a false, the rootes thereof are certaine sparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkeness of errour, because no Religion can wholly and onely consist of vntruthes, we haue reason to thinke that all true vertues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to loue her as their chiefeft stay.

The most extreme opposite to true religion, is effected Atheisme.

a *Wisd.* 2. 21.
Such things they imagine, and go astray, because their owne wickedness hath blinded them.
*'Esi yapn ka-
xia qbasinē
αρχής. Arist.
Ethic. l. 6. cap. 5.*

b *Susan. vers. 9.*
They turned away their mind, and cast downe their eyes, that they might not see heauen, nor remember iust iudgements.

c *Hec est summa de illi, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis. Cyr. de Idol. vanit.*

2 They of whom God is altogether vnapprehended, are but few in number, and for grossenesse of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seeme to hold the place of humane being. These we should iudge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom, whereas nature hath bestowed riper capacitie, their euill disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it commeth to passe, that of these two sorts of men, both godlesse, the one hauing vtterly no knowledge of God, the other studie how to perswade themselves that there is no such thing to be knowne. The ^a fountaine and well-spring of which impietie, is a resolu'd purpose of mind to reape in this world what sensuall profit or pleasure fouer the world yeeldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever meanes auailable thereunto. And that that is the very radical cause of their Atheisme, no man (I thinke) will doubt, which considereth what paines they take to destroy those principall spurres and motiues vnto all vertue, the creation of the World, the prouidence of God, the resurrection of the Dead, the ioyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, and the endless paines of the wicked, yea aboue all things, the authoritie of the Scripture, because on these points it euermore beateth, and the Soules immortalitie, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest, as a voluntarie traine. Is it not wonderful, that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their owne excellencie, as to make them willing that their soules should be like to the soules of beasts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? Till some admirable or vnusuall accident happen (as it hath in some) to worke the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, disputation about the knowledge of God with such kind of persons commonly preuaileth little. For how should the brightness of wisdom shine, where the windowes of the soule are of ^b very fet purpose closed? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof gauleth and troubleth their mindes. Being therefore loth, that inquirie into such matters should breed a perswasion in the end contrarie vnto that they embrace, it is their endeuour to banish, as much as in them lyeth, quite and cleane from their cogitation whatsoever may sound that way. But it commeth many times to passe (which is their torment) that the thing they shunne doth follow them, truth, as it were, euen obruding it selfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, in as much as the nature of man is vnwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall alwayes condemne it selfe, they continuing still obstinate, to follow the course which they haue begonne, are driuen to deuise all the shifts that witte can inuent for the smothering of this light, all that may but with any the least shew of possibilitie stay their mindes from thinking that true, which they heartily wish were false, but ^c cannot thinke it so, without some scruple and feare of the contrarie. Now because that iudicious learning, for which wee commend most worthily the ancient Sages of the world, doth not in this case serue the turne, these trencher-mates (for such the most of them be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant, a new method they haue of turning things that are serious into mockerie, an Art of Contradiction by way of scorne, a learning wherewith we

were

were ^b long sithence forewarned, that the miserable times whereinto we are fallen should abound. This they studie, this they practise, this they grace with a wanton superfluitie of wit, too much insulting ouer the patience of more vertuously disposed minds. For towards these so forlorne creatures we are (it must be confessed) too patient. In zeale to the glory of God, Babylon hath exceeded Sion. We want that ^c decree of *Nabuchodonosor*; the furie of this wicked brood hath the reines too much at libertie, their tongues walke at large, the spit-venome of their poisoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their vntamed lust suggesteth, the same their licencious mouthes doe enery where set abroad. With our contentions their irreligious humour also is much strengthened. Nothing pleaseth them better, then these manifold oppositions about the matter of Religion, as well for that they haue hereby the more opportunitie to learne on one side how another may be oppugned, and so to weaken the credit of all vnto themselues; as also because by their hot pursute of lower controuersies amongst men professing Religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations thereof, they conceiue hope that about the higher principles themselues, time will cause altercation to grow. For which purpose, when they see occasion, they sticke not sometime in other mens persons, yea sometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the most religious are able to say in defence of the highest points, whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the most part it so falleth out touching things which generally are receiued, that although in themselues they be most certaine, yet because men presume them granted of all, we are hardliest able to bring such prooffe of their certainty, as may satisfie gaine-sayers, when suddenly and besides expectation they require the same at our hands. Which impreparation and vreadinesse, when they find in vs, they turne it to the soothing vp of themselues in that cursed phansie, whereby they would faine beleue that the heartie deuotion of such, as indeed feare God, is nothing else but a kind of harmelesse error, bred and confirmed in them by the slight of wiser men. For a politique vse of Religion they see there is, and by it they would also gather, that Religion it selfe is a meere politique deuce, forged purposely to serue for that vse. Men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually, then by positive Lawes restrained from doing euill, in as much as those Lawes haue no farther power, then ouer our outward actions onely, whereas vnto mens ^d inward cogitations, vnto the priuie intents and motions of their hearts, Religion serueth for a bridle. What more sauage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he see himselfe able either by fraud to ouer-reach, or by power to ouer-bear, the Lawes whereunto he should be subiect? Wherefore in so great boldnesse to offend, it behooueth that the world should be held in awe, not by a vaine surmise, but a true apprehension of somewhat, which no man may thinke himselfe able to withstand. This is the politike vse of Religion. In which respect there are of these wise malignants some, who haue vouchsafed it their maruellous fauorable countenance and speech, very grauely affirming that Religion honored, addeth greatnes, and contemned, bringeth ruine vnto Common-weales, that Princes and States, which will continue, are aboue all things to vphold the reuerend regard of Religion, and to provide for the same by all

^b 2. Pet. 3. 2.
vide vers^o 18.

^c Dan. 3. 29.

^d Vos scelera
admissa puniatis,
apud nos & cogitare peccare
est; vos conscientias
timetis, nos etiam
conscientiarum
solam, sine qua
esse non possunt
nos. Minus.
Fel. in Oclau.
Summum iustitiam
regni est
iustitia ob aper-
tos immutatus, &
religio ob occultos.
Carda. de
Sapien. lib. 3.

meanes

meanes in the making of their Lawes. But when they should define what meanes are best for that purpose, behold, they extol the wisdom of Paganisme, they giue it out as a mysticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and such as are vnder them in most authority or credit with the people, should take all occasions of rare euents, and from what cause soeuer the same doe proceed, yet wrest them to the strengthening of their religion, and not make it nice for so good a purpose to vse, if need be, plaine forgeries. Thus while they studie how to bring to passe that Religion may seeme but a matter made, they lose themselues in the very maze of their owne discourses, as if reason did purposefully forsake them, who of purpose forsake God the Author thereof. For surely a strange kind of madnesse it is, that those men, who though they be void of pietie, yet, because they haue wit, cannot chuse but know, that treacherie, guile and deceit are things, which may for a while, but doe not vse long to goe vnspied, should teach that the greatest honour to a State is perpetuic; and grant, that alterations in the seruice of God, for that they impaire the credit of Religion, are therefore perillous in Common-weales, which haue no continuance longer then Religion hath all reuerence done vnto it; and withall acknowledge (for so they doe) that when people began to espie the falshood of Oracles, whereupon all gentilitie was built, their heart were vtterly auerted from it; and notwithstanding counsell, Princes, in sober earnest for the strengthening of their States, to maintaine Religion, and, for the maintenance of Religion not to make choise of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choise of by those false and fraudulent meanes, which in the end must needs ouerthrow it. Such are the counsels of men godlesse, when they would shew themselues politike deuifers, able to create God in man by Art.

Of Superstition, and the roote thereof, either misguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine glorie.

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

3 Wherefore to let goe this execrable crue, and to come to extremities on the contrarie hand, two affection there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or lesser sway in mans heart, frame accordingly to the stampe and character of his Religion, the one zeale, the other feare. Zeale, vnlesse it be rightly guided, when it in deuoueth most busily to please God, forceth vpon him those vnseasonable offices which please him not. For which cause, if they who this way swarue, be compared with such sincere, sound and discreet as Abraham was in matter of Religion, the seruice of the one, is like vnto flattery, the other like the faithfull sedulitie of a friendship. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it selfe vnto conflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to be opposite vnto Religion, vseth the razor many times with such eagernes, that the very life of religion it selfe is thereby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corne in the field of God is pluckt vp. So that zeale needeth both wayes a sober guide. Feare, on the other side, if it haue not the light of true vnderstanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewise superstition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things diuine, we should worke too much vpon the spur, either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good solicator to deuotion. Howbeit, sith feare in this kind doth grow from an apprehension of Deitie indued with irresistible power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the vnaptest to admit any conference with reason, for which cause the ^b Wiseman doth say of feare, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reason

b Wisd. 17. 11.

sonable

sonable vnderstanding, therefore except men know before-hand what manner of seruice pleaseth God, while they are fearefull, they trie all things which fancie offereth. Many there are who neuer thinke on God, but when they are in extremitie of feare: and then because, what to thinke, or what to doe they are vncertaine, perplexitie not suffering them to be idle, they thinke and doe, as is were in a phrensie, they know not what. Superstition neither knoweth the right kind, nor obserueth the due measure of actions belonging to the seruice of God, but is alwayes ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things diuine. Superstition is, when things are either abhorred or obserued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erroneous relation to God. By meanes whereof, the superstitious doe sometimes serue, though the true God, yet with needlesse offices, and defraud him of duties necessarie, sometime load others then him with such honours as properly are his. The one their ouersight, who misse in the choise of that wherewith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whom they shew deuotion: this the crime of Idolatrie, that the fault of voluntarie, either nicenesse, or superfluitie in Religion. The Christian world it selfe being diuided into two ground parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of Heresie the West hath bene often and much troubled; but the East part neuer quiet, till the deluge of miserie wherein now they are, ouerwhelmed them. The chiefeft cause whereof doth seeme to haue lien in the restlesse wits of the Grecians, euermore proud of their owne curious and subtile inuentions, which when at any time they had contriued, the great facilitie of their language serued them readily to make all things faire and plausible to mens vnderstanding. Those ground hereticall impieties therefore, which most highly and immediatly touched God and the glorious Trinitie, were all in a manner the monsters of the East. The West bred fewer a great deale, and those commonly of a lower nature, such as more neerely and directly concerned rather men then God, the Latines being alwaies to capitall heresies lesse inclined, yet vnto grosse superstition more. Superstition such as that of the ^b Pharisies was, by whom diuine things in deed were lesse, because other things were more diuinely esteemed of then reason would; the superstition that riseth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly discerned, mingleth it selfe with the Rites euen of very Diuine Seruice done to the onely true God, must be considered of, as a creeping and incroching euill; an euill, the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmelesse, so that it prooueth onely then to be an euill, when some farther accident doth grow vnto it, or it selfe come vnto farther growth. For in the Church of God sometimes it commeth to passe, as in ouer battle grounds, the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much ranknesse, things lesse profitable, whereby, that which principally it should yeeld, being either preuented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This (if so large a discourse were necessarie) might be exemplified euen by heapes of Rites and Customes, now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian world, which in their first originall beginnings, when the strength of vertuous, deuout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iustly haue condemned as euill.

^b Marke 7.9.

Of the redresse
of superstition
in Gods
Church, and
concerning
the question
of this booke.

4 But howsoeuer superstition doe grow, that wherein vnfounder times haue done amisse, the better ages insuing must rectifie, as they may. I now come therefore to those accusations brought against vs by pretenders of reformation, the first in the ranke whereof is such, that if so be the Church of England did at this day therewith as iustly deserue to be touched, as they in this cause haue imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seeke pardon euen with teares at the hands of God, then meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might thinke fauourably of them. For as the case of this world, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour haue we to leane vnto, saue the testimonie of our conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serue the liuing God (as neere as our wits can reach vnto the knowledge thereof) euen according to his owne will, and doe therefore trust that his mercie shall be our safegard against those intraged powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our enemies? But sith no man can doe ill with a good conscience, the consolation which we herein seeme to find, is but a meere deceitfull pleasing of our selues in errour, which at the length must needs turne to our greater grieffe, if that which we doe to please God most, be for the manifold defects thereof offensive vnto him. For so it is iudged, our prayers, our Sacraments, our fasts, our times and places of publike meeting together for the worship and seruice of God, our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections and ordinations Ecclesiasticall, almost whatsoeuer we doe in the exercise of our Religion according to Lawes for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faultie, all things stained with superstition. Now although it may be, the wiser sort of men are not greatly moued hereat, considering how subiect the very best things haue bin alwayes vnto cauill, when wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof, haue set them vp as their marke to shoot at: safe notwithstanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serue God as they ought, but being not so skilfull as in euery point to vnwind themselues where the snares of glosing speech doe lye to intangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they heare so bitter inuectiues against that which this Church hath taught them to reuerence as holy, to approue as lawfull, and to obserue as behoouefull for the exercise of Christian dutie. It seemeth therefore at the least for their sakes very meete, that such as blame vs in this behalfe be directly answered, and they which follow vs, informed plainly in the reasons of that we doe. On both sides the end intended betweene vs, is to haue lawes and ordinances, such as may rightly serue to abolish superstition, and to establish the seruice of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in some perfect forme.

There is an inward ^a reasonable, and there is a ^b solemne outward seruiceable worship belonging vnto God. Of the former kind are all manner vertuous duties, that each man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth. Solemne and seruiceable worship we name for distinction sake, whatsoeuer belongeth to the Church or publike societie of God by way of externall adoration. It is the later of these two whereupon our present question groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but

precepts

^a Rom. 12. 1.

^b Luke 1. 23.

Precepts Diuine onely; partly, and as concerning things of inferiour regard, by Ordinances as well humane as diuine: about the substance of Religion wherein Gods only Law must bee kept, there is heere no Controuerfie; the crime now intended against vs is that our Lawes haue not ordered those inferiour things as becometh, and that our customes are eicher superstitious, or otherwise amisse, whether we respect the exercise of publike duties in Religion, or the functions of persons authorised thereunto.

5 It is with teachers of Mathematicall Sciences vsuall, for vs in this present question necessary, to lay downe first certaine reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serue as Principles whereby to worke, and therefore must be before-hand considered. The men whom we labour to inform in the Truth, perceiue that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose touching customes and rites indifferent their generall axiomes, some of them subiect vnto iust exceptions, and as we thinke, more meete by them to be farther considered, then assented vnto by vs. As that, *In outward things belonging to the Seruice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to shunne conformance with the Church of Rome; that, The first reformed should bee a patterne whereunto all that come after ought to conforme themselues, that sound Religion may not vse the things, which being not commanded of God, haue bene either deuised or abused vnto Superstition.* These and the rest of the same comfort we haue in the Booke going before examined. Other Canons they alleage, and rules not vnworthy of approbation, as *That in all such things the glorie of God and the edification or ghostly good of his people must be sought; that nothing should be vndecently or vorderly done.* But for as much as all the difficultie is in discerning what things doe glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when wee should thinke : them decent and fit, when otherwise : because these rules being too generall, come not neere enough vnto the matter which wee haue in hand; and the former Principles being neerer the purpose, are too farre from truth, we must propose vnto all men certaine petitions incident, and very materiall in causes of this nature, such as no man of moderate iudgement hath cause to thinke vniust or vnreasonable.

6 The first thing therefore which is of force to cause approbation with good conscience towards such customes or rites, as publicly are established, is, when there ariseth from the due consideration of those customes and rites in themselues apparent reason, although not alwayes to proue them better, then any other that might possibly bee deuised, (for who did ever require this in mans Ordinances?) yet competent to shew their conueniencie and fitnesse, in regard of the vse for which they should serue. Now touching the nature of religious Seruices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be most cleere, that whereas the greatnesse and dignitie of all manner actions is measured by the worthinesse of the subiect from which they proceed, and of the Object whereabout they are conuersant, wee must of necessitie in both respects acknowledge, that this present World affordeth not any thing comparable vnto the publike duties of Religion. For if the best things haue the perfectest and best operation, it will follow, that seeing man is the worthyest Creature vpon Earth, and euery society of men more worthy then

Four general Propositions, demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true Religion. And finally, of a Rule not iust nor reasonable in these cases.

The first Proposition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church Affaires.

any man, and of societies that most excellent which we call the Church; there can bee in this World no worke performed equall to the exercise of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, for as much as Religion worketh vpon him, who in Maiesty and Power is Infinite, as we ought we account not of it, vnlesse wee esteeme it euen ^a according to that very height of excellencie which our hearts conceiue, when Diuine sublimitie it selfe is rightly considered. In the powers and faculties of our soules God requireth the vttermost which our vnfayned affection towards him is able to yeeld: So that if we affect him not farre above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it should haue, neyther doe wee indeed worship him as our God. That which inwardly each man should bee, the Church outwardly ought to testifie. And therefore the duties of our Religion which are seene, must be such as that affection which is vnseene ought to bee. Signes must resemble the things they signifie. If Religion beare the greatest sway in our hearts, our outward religious duties must shew it as farre as the Church hath outward abilitie. Duties of Religion performed by whole Societies of men, ought to haue in them according to our power a sensible excellencie, ^b correspondent to the Maiesty of him whom wee worship. Yea then are the publike duties of Religion best ordered, when the Militant Church doth ^c resemble by sensible meanes, as it may in such cases, that hidden Dignitie and Glorie wherewith the Church Triumphant in Heauen is beautified. Howbeit, euen as the very heate of the Sunne it selfe, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the Desert a grieuous annoyance, for ease whereof his extraordinarie Prouidence ordained a Cloudie Piller to ouer-shaddow them: So things of generall vse and benefit (for in this world what is so perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it?) may by some accident bee incommodious to a few. In which case, for such priuate euils remedies there are of like condition, though publike Ordinances wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred. Let our first demand be therefore, that in the externall forme of Religion such things as are apparently, or can bee sufficiently proued effectually and generally fit to set forward Godlinesse, either as betokening the greatnesse of God, or as befeeming the dignitie of Religion, or as concurring with celestially Impressions in the mindes of men may be reuerently thought of; some few, rare, casuall, and tolerable, or otherwise curable inconueniences notwithstanding.

The second
Proposition.

7 Neither may we in this case lightly esteeme what hath bene allowed as fit in the iudgement of antiquitie, and by the long continued practise of the whole Church, from which vnneccessarily to swerue, experience hath neuer as yet found it safe. For wisdomes sake wee reuerence them no lesse that are yong, or not much lesse, then if they were stricken in yeares. And therefore of such it is rightly said, that their ripenesse of vnderstanding is ^d *gray haire*, and their vertues *olde Age*. But because Wisdome and Youth are seldome ioyned in one, and the ordinary course of the World is more according to *Iobs* obseruation, who giueth men aduice to seeke Wisdome ^e *amongst the ancient*, and in the *length of dayes* vnderstanding, therefore if the comparison do stand betweene man and man, which shall hearken vnto other, sith the aged for the

most

^a *Iobn* 4.24.
Wisd. 6.10.
^b *1. Chron.* 29.17.

^b *1. Chron.* 21.5.

^c Ἐκκλησία
ἐστὶν ἐπιγαίος
αὐρανοῦ. *Ger.*
πρὸς τὸν ἱεροῦ-
ζουμάνων. *De-*
lectatio Domini
in *Ecclesio* est,
Ecclesia verò est
imago caelestium,
Ambr. de interp-
pel. Dau. !
Facit in terris
opera caelorum.
Sidon. Apol. E-
pist. lib. 6.

^d *Wisd.* 4.9.

^e *Iob* 10.12.

most part are best experienced, least subiect to rash and vnaduised passions, it hath bene euer iudged reasonable, that their sentence in matter of counsell should be better trusted, and more relyed vpon then other mens. The goodnesse of God hauing furnished Man with two chiefe Instruments, both necessaric for this Life, Hands to execute, and a Mind to deuise great things; the one is not profitable, longer then the vigour of Youth doth strengthen it, nor the other greatly till age and experience haue brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfect knowledge, such must bee contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cause none is more attentiuely heard, then they whose speeches are as *Dauids* were, *I haue bene yong, and now am olde*, much I haue seene and obserued in the world. Sharpe and subtile discourses of witte procure many times very great applause, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of sound experience, plainly deliuereth, they are ouer-weighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with vnderstanding as it pleaseth him. But let no man presuming thereupon neglect the instructions, or despise the ordinances of his elders, such he, whose gift wisdom is, hath said, ^a *Aske thy Father, and he will shew thee, thine Ancients, & they shall tell thee*. It is therefore the voice both of God and Nature, not of learning onely, that especially in matters of action and policie, ^b *The sentences and iudgements of men experienced, aged and wise, yea though they speake without any prooffe or demonstration, are no lesse to be hearkened vnto, then as being demonstrations in themselves, because such mens long obseruation is as an eye, wherewith they presently and plainly behold those principles which sway ouer all actions*. Whereby we are taught both the cause wherefore wise mens iudgements should bee credited, and the meane how to vse their iudgements to the increase of our owne wisdom. That which sheweth them to be wise, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles, shall make vs such as they are. If therefore, euen at the first, so great account should be made of wise mens counsels touching things that are publicly done, as time shall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding ages, their credit and authority must needs be greater. They, which doe nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they doe amisse, yet the lesse faulty, because they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of noueltie. To the best and wisest, ^c while they liue, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious obseruer of their defects and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cause, many times that which most deserueth approbation, would hardly be able to find fauour, if they which propose it, were not content to professe themselves therein schollers and followers of the ancient. For the world will not endure to heare that wee are wiser then any haue bene which went before. In which consideration there is cause why wee should bee slow and vnwilling to change, without very vrgent necessitie, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approued customes of our venerable predecessors. The loue of things ancient doth argue ^d slaydenesse; but leuitie and want of experience maketh apt vnto innouations. That which wisdom did first begin,

^a Dent. 32.7.

^b Arist. Eth. 6. cap. 11.

^c Πρὸς τὸς ἰσ. σοφῶν φθόνος ἕνεκεν φέρεται, Philo.
Πᾶσα δὲ σοφία νεῖα τῷ βίῳ τίτω σωμαποτίεται, Synes.
Τὸ ἐκ σοφῶν ἢ ἀντιπῆκτι καὶ τετιμῆται ἀφθόνως, Greg.
Ναχ, ἐν Στιχ. d. σοι δὲ εὐσάβηαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαίου τοῦ σοφῶν καὶ καινοπραγίας.

ἡ προτίμιον καὶ ἀπαρτίστον τῶν πατέρων διετύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τεχέωσαν καὶ πόλιν ταύτην κέλευσται τῆ φωνῆ. *Basil. de Spirit. Sa. lib. cap. 7.*

α ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τὸ εὖ παρεβλήων ὁ δὲ μεγαλῶν. *Arist. Ethic. 2. cap. 9. Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet.*

Tiraquel. de iud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.
The third proposition.

β ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τῶν πικρῶν ὄρων αὐτοῖς τὴν θέσιν αὐτῶν. *Pbi. v. p. 35.*

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 171.

and hath been with good men long continued, chalengeeth allowance of them that succeed, although it pleade for it selfe nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth teare condemnation before triall; till triall, no man doth acquite or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kinde there are few things knowne to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vaine pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alleaged, hath wrought such a preiudice against them in the minds of the common sort, as if they had vtterly no force at all, whereas (especially for these obseruances which concerne our present question) antiquitie, custome, and consent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth establish, are themselues most sufficient reasons to vphold the same, vnlesse some notable publique inconuenience inforce the contrarie. For a small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our second petition this, that in things the fitnessse whereof is not of it selfe apparent, nor easie to be made sufficiently manifest vnto all, yet the iudgement of antiquitie concurring with that which is receiued, may induce them to thinke it not vsfir, who are not able to alleage any knowne waightie inconuenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against.

8 All things cannot bee of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of spirituall affaires: but the Church being a Bodie which dieth not, hath alwayes power, as occasion requireth, no lesse to ordain that which neuer was, then to ratifie what hath bin before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogatiue which *Wisedom*e hath as Queene or Soueraigne commandresse ouer other vertues. This in euery seuerall mans actions of common life appertaineth vnto *Moralls*; in publique and politique secular affaires vnto *Ciuill wisedom*e. In like manner, to deuise any certaine forme for the outward administration of publique duties in the seruice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to finde out the most conuenient for that vse, is a point of wisdome *Ecclesiasticall*. It is not for a man which doth know, or should know what order is, and what peaceable gouernment requireth, to aske, *why we should hang our iudgement vpon the Churches sleeue, & why in matters of Order more then in matters of Doctrine*. The Church hath authority to establish that for an order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliuer rightly as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly auouch the contrary. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so. Wee reade often in the writings of Catholike & holy men touching matters of doctrine, *This we beleue, this we hold, this the Prophets and Euangelists haue declared, this the Apostles haue deliuered, this Martyrs haue sealed with their blood, and confessed in the midst of torments, to this we cleaue, as to the anker of our soules, against this, though an Angell from heauen should preach vnto vs, we would not beleue*. But did we euer in any of them read touching matters of meere comeliness, order, and decencie, neither commaunded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Euangelist, any Apostle, *Although the Church where in wee line*

doe

doe ordaine them to be kept, although they be neuer so generally obserued, though all the Churches in the world should comand them, though Angels from heauen should require our subiection thereunto, I would hold him accursed that doth obey? Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliuer, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatsoever any man can necessarily conclude by force of Reason; after these the voice of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church by her Ecclesiasticall authoritie shall probably thinke and define to be true or good, must in congruities of reason ouer-rule all other inferior iudgements whatsoever. To them which aske why we thus hang our iudgement on the Churches fleewe, I answer with Salomon, Because ^a two are better then one. Yea simply (sayth ^b Basil) and vniuersally, whether it be in workes of Nature, or of voluntarie choice and counsell, I see not any thing done as it should bee, if it bee wrought by an agent singling it selfe from consoris. The Iewes haue a sentence of good aduice, ^c Take not vpon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no sole Iudge but one onely; say not to others, Receiue my sentence, when their authority is about thine. The bare consent of the whole Church should it selfe in these things stop their mouths, who liuing vnder it, dare presume to barke against it. There is (saith ^d Cassianus) no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yeilded to that which all haue agreed vpon. Might we not thinke it more then wonderfull, that Nature should in all communities appoint a predominant iudgement to sway and ouer-rule in so many things; or that God himselfe should allow so much authoritie and power vnto every poore Family; for the ordering of all which are in it; and the Citie of the liuing God, which is his Church, be able neyther to command, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole authorities sake, be bound to obey? Wee cannot hide or dissemble that euill, the grieuous inconuenience whereof wee feele. Our dislike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath bene attributed vnto the Church, is growne to an errour on the contrary hand, so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which remoouall of one extremitie with another, the World seeking to procure a remedie, hath purchased a meere exchange of the euill which before was felt. Suppose wee that the sacred Word of God can at their hands receiue due honour, by whose incitement the holy Ordinances of the Church indure euery where open contempt? No, it is not possible they should obserue as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw vnneccessarily their owne, or their brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this businesse is neither of capacitie, I trust, so weake, nor so vnstrengthened, I know, with authoritie from above, but that her Lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and enioyne gain-sayers silence, giuing them roundly to vnderstand, that where our dutie is submission, weake oppositions betoken Pride. Wee therefore craue thirdly to haue it granted, that where neither the euidence of any law Diuine, nor the strength of any inuincible Argument otherwise found out by the light of Reason, nor any notable publike inconuenience doth make against that which our owne lawes Ecclesiasticall haue, although but newly instituted, for the ordering of these Affaires,

a Eccles. 9. 9.
 b Basil. Epist.
 c R. d. 8. c. qua
 contra.
 Turpis est omnia
 pars vniuerso
 suo non congru-
 ens.
 c R. Ismael in
 Cap. Patr.
 d Cassian. de im-
 carn. lib. 3. cap. 6.

the very authoritie of the Church it selfe, at the least in such cases, may giue fo much credit to her owne Lawes, as to make their sentence as touching fitnesse and conueniencie waightier then any bare and naked conceit to the contrarie; especially in them who can owe no lesse then childlike obedience to her that hath more then Motherly power.

The fourth
Proposition.

9 There are ancient Ordinances, Lawes which on all sides are allowed to be iust and good, yea Diuine and Apostolike Constitutions, which the Church, it may be, doth not alwayes keepe, nor alwayes iustly deserue blame in that respect. For in euils that cannot be removed, without the manifest danger of greater to succeed in their roomes, wisdom, of necessitie, must giue place to necessitie. All it can doe in those cases, is to deuise, how that which must bee endured, may bee mitigated, and the inconueniences thereof counteruailed as neere as may be; that when the best things are not possible, the best may bee made of those that are. Nature then, which there is nothing more constant, nothing more vniforme in all her wayes, doth notwithstanding stay her hand, yea, and change her course, when that which God by creation did commaund, he doth at any time by necessitie countermaund. It hath therefore pleased himselfe sometime to vnloose the very tongues euen of dumbe creatures, and to teach them to pleade this in their owne defence, lest the crueltye of man should persist to afflict them for not keeping their wonted course, when some inuincible impediment hath hindered. If we leaue Nature, and looke into Arte, the Workman hath in his heart a purpose, hee carryeth in minde the whole forme which his worke should haue, there wanteth not in him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best effect, only the matter which hee hath to worke on is vnframable. This necessitie excuseth him, so that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his workes perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more fauourably heard then theirs, who alleage sincerely for themselues, that they did as necessitie constrained them. For when the minde is rightly ordered and affected as it should be, in case some externall impediment crossing well aduised desires, shall potentially draw men to leaue what they principally wish, and to take a course which they would not, if their choice were free; what necessitie forceth men vnto, the same in this case it^a maintayneth, as long as nothing is committed simply in it selfe euill, nothing absolutely sinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable Law, whereby, whatsoeuer is condemned as euill, can neuer any way be made good. The casting away of things profitable for the sustenance of mans life, is an vnthankfull abuse of the fruites of Gods good Prouidence towards Mankinde. Which consideration for all that did not hinder
^b Saint Paul from throwing Corne into the Sea, when care of sauing mens liues made it necessary, to lose that which else had bene better saued. Neither was this to doe euill, to the end that good might come of it. For of two such euils, being not both euitable, the choice of the lesse is not euill. And euils must bee in our construction iudged incuitable, if there bee no apparent ordinary way to auoyd them, because where counsell and aduice beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power, without extraordinary warrant we cannot presume. In Ciuill Affaires to declare what sway necessitie hath euer bene accustomed to beare,

Numb. 22. 28.

^a *Necessitas
quicquid coegit
defendit. Senec.
Controuers. 9.*

^b Acts 27. 38.

were labour infinite. The lawes of all States and Kingdomes in the world haue scarcely of any thing more common vsē. Should then only the Church shew it selfe inhumane and sterne, absolutely vrging a rigorous obseruation of spirituall Ordinances, without relaxation or exception what necessitie soeuer happen? We know the ^c contrary practice to haue bene commended by him, vpon the warrant of whose iudgement, the Church most of all delighted with mercifull and moderate courses, doth the oftner condescend vnto like equitie, permitting in cases of necessitie that, which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases of necessitie being sometime but vrgent, sometime extreame, the consideration of ^d publike vtilitie is by very good aduice iudged at the least equiualent with the easier kinde of necessitie. Now that which causeth numbers to storme against some necessariē tolerations, which they should rather let passe with silence, considering that in Politie as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill, there are and will be alwayes euils, which no arte of man can cure, breaches and leakes moe then mans wit hath hands to stop; that which maketh odious vnto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is, that very iust regard hath bene had of the publike good; that which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present Controuersie, hath insnared the iudgements both of sundry good, and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certaine generall Principles, whereupon the Ordinances that serue for vsuall practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which Principles men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatsoeuer is ouer and besides that ordinarie, the same they iudge repugnant to those true Principles. The cause of which error is ignorance, what restraints and limitations all such Principles haue, in regard of so manifold varieties, as the ^e matter whereunto they are appliable, doth commonly afford. These varieties are not knowne but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all Principles, to discern how farre forth they take effect, to see where and why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees and meanes they leade to the practice of things in shew, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more sharpnesse of wit, more intricate circutations of discourse, more industrie and depth of iudgement then common abilitie doth yeeld. So that generall rules, till their limits bee fully knowne (especially in matter of publike and Ecclesiasticall affaires) are, by reason of the manifold secret exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans vnderstanding, then cloudie mists cast before the eye of common sense. They that walke in darknesse know not whither they goe. And euen as little is their certaintie, whose opinions generalities only doe guide. With grosse and popular capacities, nothing doth more preuayle, then vnlimited generalities, because of their plainenesse at the first sight; nothing lesse with men of exact iudgement, because such rules are not safe to bee trusted ouer-farre. Generall Lawes are like generall rules of Physicke, according whereunto, as no Wiseman will desire himselfe to be cured, if there be ioyned with his disease some speciall accident, in regard whereof, that whereby others in the same infirmicie; but without the like accident, recouer health, would be to him either hurtfull, or at the least vnprofitable: So we must not, vnder a colourable commendation of

c Luke 6.4.

d *Causa necessitatis & utilitatis equiparantur in iure.*
Ab. Panor. ad c. vi super. no. 15. de reb. Eccles. non alien.

e *Ἐπιτεῖς πρὸς τὰς πράξεις λόγους ἵμεν καθόλου κανόνες ἴσταν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μέρους ἄλλων θεωροῦντες πρὸ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἕνα αἰ πράξεις.* Arist. Eth. li. 1. c. 7.

holy

holy ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have beene grounded for the common good, imagine that all mens cases ought to haue one measure. Not without singular wisdom therefore it hath beene provided, that as the ordinary course of common affaires is disposed of by generall lawes, so likewise mens rarer incident necessities and vilities should bee with speciall equitie considered. From hence it is, that so many priuiledges, immunities, exceptions, and dispensations haue beene alwayes with great equitie and reason granted, not to turne the edge of Justice, or to make void at certaine times, and in certaine men through meere voluntary grace or beneuolence, that which continually and vniuersally should bee of force (as some vnderstand it) but in very truth to practise generall lawes according to their right meaning. Wee see in contracts and other dealings which daily passe betweene man and man, that, to the vtter vndoing of some, many things by strictnesse of law may be done, which equitie and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the law is vniust, but vnperfect; nor equitie against, but aboue the law; binding mens consciences in things which law cannot reach vnto. Will any man say, that the vertue of priuate equitie is opposite and repugnant to that Law, the silence whereof it supplyeth in all such priuate dealing? No more is publike equitie against the law of publike Affaires, albeit the one permit vnto some in speciall considerations, that which the other agreeably with generall Rules of Justice doth in generall sort forbid. For sith all good lawes are the voices of right Reason, which is the instrument wherewith God will haue the world guided, and impossible it is that right should withstand right; it must follow that Principles and Rules of Justice, be they neuer so generally vttered, doe no lesse effectually intend, then if they did plainly expresse an exception of all particulars, wherein their litterall practice might any way preiudice equity: and because it is naturall vnto all men to wish their owne extraordinary benefit, when they thinke they haue reasonable inducements so to doe; and no man can be presumed a competent Iudge what equity doth require in his owne case, the likeliest meane whereby the wit of man can prouide, that hee which vseth the benefit of any speciall benignity aboue the common course of others may inioy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of lawes, which in outward shew are contrarie, must needs bee to arme with authoritie some fit both for quality and place to administer that, which in euery such particular shal appeare agreeable with equitie: wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that sometimes the practice of such iurisdiction may swarue through error euen in the very best, and for other respects where lesse integrity is: So the watchfullest obseruers of inconueniences that way growing, and the readiest to vrge them in digrace of authorized proceedings, doe very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who liue in no worldly awe or subiection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, and superior power controll; yea, to them also in such sort, that law it selfe hath set downe to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost euery faculty of fauour shall be granted, leauing in a manner nothing vnto them, more then onely to deliuer what is already giuen by law. Which maketh it by many degrees lesse reasonable, that vnder pretense of
incon-

inconueniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented, that none may, men should be altogether barred of the libertie that law with equity & reason granteth. These things therefore considered, we lastly require, that it may not seeme hard, if in cases of necessitie, or for common vilitie sake, certaine profitable ordinances sometimes be released, rather then all men alwayes strictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

10 Now where the word of God leaueth the Church to make choyce of her owne ordinances, if against those things which haue bene receiued with great reason, or against that which the ancient practise of the Church hath continued time out of minde, or against such ordinances as the power and authoritie of that Church vnder which wee liue hath in it selfe deuised for the publike good, or against the discretion of the Church, in mitigating sometimes with fauourable equitie, that rigour which otherwise the literall generalitie of Ecclesiasticall Lawes hath iudged to bee more conuenient and meete, if against all this it should be free for men to reprove, to disgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they see done and practised according to order set downe, if in so great varietie of wayes, as the wit of man is easily able to finde out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all men especially haue vnto those inuentions, whereby some one shall seeme to haue bene more inlightened from aboue then many thousands, the Church did giue every man license to follow what himselfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reueale* vnto him, or what hee supposeth that God is likely to haue reuealed to some speciall person, whose vertues deserue to be highly esteemed, what other effect could hereupon ensue, but the vtter confusion of his Church, vnder pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his spirit? the gifts and graces whereof doe so naturally all tend vnto common peace, that where such singularitie is, they whose hearts it possesseth, ought to suspect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and should for that cause preuaile with others, the same God which reuealeth it to them, would also giue them power of confirming it vnto others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and inuincible remonstrance of sound reason, such as whereby it might appeare that God would indeed haue all mens iudgements giue place vnto it; whereas now the error and vn sufficiencie of their arguments doth make it on the contrarie side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moued their harts to thinke such things, as he hath not inabled them to proue. And so from rules of generall direction it resteth, that now we descend to a more distinct explication of particulars, wherein those rules haue their speciall efficacy.

The rule of mens private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.

11 Solemne duties of publike seruice to bee done vnto God, must haue their places set and prepared in such sort as besecmeth actions of that regard. *Adam* euen during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had ^a where to present himselfe before the Lord. *Adams* sonnes had out of Paradise in like sort ^b whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarks vsed ^c altars, and ^d mountaines and ^e groues to the selfe-same purpose. In the vast wilderness, when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moueable ^f Tabernacle they were commaunded of God to make. The like

Places for the publike seruice of God.

a Gen. 2.
b Gen. 4.3.
c Gen. 13.4.
d 22.1.
e 21.33.
f Exod. 26.

charge

charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had bene promised vnto their fathers, ^a *Ye shall seeke that place which the Lord your God shall chuse.* When God had chosen Ierusalem, and in Ierusalem mount ^b *Moria*, there to haue his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of ^c *Dauids* desires to haue performed so good a worke. His griefe was no lesse, that he could not haue the honor to build God a Temple, then their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they haue not as yet the power to pull downe the Temples which they neuer built, and to leuell them with the ground. It was no meane thing which hee purposed. To performe a worke so maiesticall and stately was no small charge. Therefore ^d hee incited all men vnto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, siluer, brasse, iron, wood, precious stones in great abundance. Yea moreouer, ^e *because I haue (saith Dauid) a ioy in the house of my God, I haue of mine owne gold and siluer, besides all that I haue prepared for the house of the Sanctuarie, giuen to the house of my God three thousand talents of gold, euen the gold of Ophir, seuen thousand talents of fined siluer.* After the ouerthrow of this first house of God, a second was in stead thereof erected, but with so great oddes, that ^f they wept which had seene the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beautie whereof notwithstanding was such, that euen this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and euen in Ierusalem, by proesse of time, no small number of Synagogues for men to resort vnto. Our Sauour himselve, and after him the Apostles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Christ which was in Ierusalem, and held that profession which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authoritie, could not so long vse the exercise of Christian religion but in ^g private only: So that as Iewes they had access to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was serued after the custome of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessitie forced other where to assemble themselves. And as God gaue in cease to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do) but the safest places they could. In proesse of time somewhiles by sufferance, somewhiles by special leaue & fauor, they beganne to erect to themselves Oratories, not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poore estate of the Church, and had bene perilous in regard of the worlds enuie towards them. At the length, when it pleased God to raise vp Kings and Emperours fauouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durst not doe, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No cost was spared, nothing iudged too deare which that way should bee spent. The whole world did seeme to exult, that it had occasion of powring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerefull deuotion which *Dauid* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and ^h wish that the same in the Iewish people might be the perpetuall, was then in Christian people euery where to be seene. Their actions till this day alwayes accustomed to be spoken of with great honor, are now called openly into question. They and as many

as haue bene followers of their example in that thing; we especially that worship God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other men fithence haue framed by the like patterne, are in that respect charged no lesse then with the very sinne of Idolatry. Our Churches in the foame of that good Spirit, which directeth such fiery tongues, they terme spitefully the Temples of *Baal*, are Idoll Synagogues, abominable Styles.

12 Wherein the first thing which mooueth them thus to cast vp their poyson, are certaine Solemnities vsuall at the first erection of Churches. Now although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this Age (thanks bee to God) hath reasonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any such blame. It cannot bee layd to many mens charge at this day liuing, either that they haue bene so curious, as to trouble Bishops with placing the first stone in the Churches they built, or so scrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great adoe for their dedication. In which kind notwithstanding as wee doe neither allow vnmeete, nor purpose the stiffe defence of any vnecessary custome^a heretofore receiued: So we know no reason wherefore Churches should bee the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are deliuered, as it were, into Gods owne possession, and when the vse whereunto they shall euer serue is established, Ceremonies fit to betoken such intents, and to accompany such actions bee vsuall, as^b in the purest times they haue bene. When^c *Constantine* had finished an house for the seruice of God at Ierusalem, the dedication he iudged a matter not vnworthy, about the solemnne performance whereof, the greatest part of the Bishops in Christendome should meete together. Which thing they did at the Emperours motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power; some with Orations, some with Sermons, some with the sacrifice of Prayers vnto God for the peace of the World, for the Churches safetie, for the Emperours and his Childrens good. ^d By *Athanasius* the like is recorded concerning a Bishop of Alexandria, in a worke of the like deuout Magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Bishops in those dayes were Church-founders, the solemnne dedication of Churches they thought not to bee a worke in it selfe either vaine, or superstitious. Can we iudge it a thing seemely for any man to goe about the building of an house to the God of heauen with no other apparance, than if his end were to reare vp a Kitchin, or a Parlor for his owne vse? Or when a worke of such nature is finished, remayneth there nothing but presently to vse it, and so an end? It behooueth that the place where God shall be serued by the whole Church, bee a publike place, for the auoyding of priuie Conuenticles, which couered with pretence of Religion, may serue vnto dangerous practises. Yea, although such Assemblies be had indeed for Religions sake, hurtfull neuerthelesse they may easily proue, as well in regard of their fitnessse to serue the turne of Heretiques, and such as priuily will soonest aduerture to infill their poyson into mens minds; as also for the occasion, which thereby is giuen to malicious persons, both of suspecting & of traducing with more colourable shew those actions, which in themselues being holy, should be so ordered, that no man might probably otherwife thinke of them. Which considerations haue by so much the greater weight, for that of these incoueniencies the Church

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The solemn-
tie of erecting
Churches con-
demned by
B. r. pag. 130.
The hallowing
and dedicating
of them scor-
ned, pag. 141.

a *Diwandrationali*
lib. 1. cap. 6.
de consecra-
t. d. 1. c. *tabernacu-
culum, Greg.*
Mag. lib. 10.
Epist. 12 & lib.
7. Epist. 71. &
lib. 8. Epist. 63.
b *Ἐν χρείαις*
πρασθεῖς πῶ-
λαιος νόμος, καὶ
καλῶς ἐργων,
μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ
νόα πρᾶσθαι
δι' ἐγκρασίαν.
Καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον
ἀπαρῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πολλοὶ αὖτις ἐνθ-
ους τῷ ἐναντιῷ
πρὶ τραπε-
τίῳ αὐτῷ ἡ-
μίραν ἐπαγέ-
σους ἵνα μὴ ἐξ-
παλα τῷ χρέον
γῆται τὰ κα-
λα. Gregor.
Naxian. orat.
ἐπὶ τῷ κυρια-
κῷ.
c *Vide Euseb.*
de vita Con-
stanti. lib. 4. cap.
41. 43. 44. 45.
d *Athanas. A-*
polog. ad Con-
stantinum.

heretofore had so plaine experience, when Christian men were driuen to vse secreet meetings, because the libertie of publique places was not graunted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of Religion performed amongst them, doe make the place of their Assembly publique, euen as the presence of the King and his retinue makeih any mans house a Court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the on-ly thing which maketh any place publique, is the publique assignement there- of vnto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they performe, it doth not appeare how either should be of force to infuse any such Prerogatiue. Nor doth the solemne dedication of Churches serue onely to make them publique, but further also to surrender vp that right which o-therwise their Founders might haue in them, and to make God himselfe their

a Exod. 40.34.

1. Reg. 8.11.

b Exod. 40.9.

c 1. Reg. 8.

d Leuit. 16.2.

The place nam-
med holy.

c Exr. 6.16.

f Mat. 21.13.

g Ier. 17.24.

h Mark. 11.16

i Leuit. 26.2.

k 1. Cor. 11.22.

l Pct. Clusiac.

a Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleased the Almighty to giue a manifest signe that he tooke possession of both. Finally, b it notifieth in solemne man-ner the holy and religious vse whereunto it is intended such Houses shall bee put. c These things the Wisdome of *Salomon* did not account superfluous, Hee knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawne from the vse whereunto it was first prouided; hee knew how bolde men are to take euen from God himselfe; how hardly that House would bee kept from impious prophanation, he knew; and right wisely therefore endeu-ured by such solemnities to leaue in the mindes of men that d impressi- on, which might somewhat restrayne their boldnesse, and nourish a reuerend affection towards the House of God. For which cause when the first House was de-stroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the Children of Israel after their returne from captiuitie, they kept the e dedication euen of this House also with ioy. The f Argument which our Sauiour vseth against Prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the vse whereunto it was with solemnitie con-secrated. And as the Prophet *Ieremie* forbiddeth the carrying of g burthens on the Sabbath, because that was a sanctified day: So because the Temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer, no h not the carriage of a Vessell thorow the Temple. These two Commandements therefore are in the Law conioyned, i *Ye shall keepe my Sabbaths, and reuerence my Sanctuarie*. Out of those the Apostles words, k *Haue ye not houses to eate and drinke?* albeit Temples, such as now, were not then erected for the exercise of Christian Re- ligious, l it hath bene neuerthelessse not absurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference should bee made betweene House and House; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans Habitation hee shew- eth; requireth that Christian men at their owne home take common foode, and the House of the Lord none but that foode which is heavenly; hee in-structeth them, that as in the one place they vse to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learne to seeke the nourishment of their soules; and as there they sustaine temporall life, so heere they would learne to make prou-ision for eternall. CHRIST could not suffer that the Temple should serue for a place of Mart, nor the Apostle of Christ, that the Church should bee made an Inne. When therefore wee sanctifie or hallow Churches, that
which

which wee doe, is onely to testifie that we make them places of publike resort, that wee inuest Gōd himselfe with them, that wee seuer them from common vses. In which action, other solemnities then such as are decent and fit for that purpose, we approue none. Indeed we condemne not all as vnmeet, the like whereunto haue bene either deuised or vsed haply amongst Idolaters. For why should conformitie with them in matter of opinion be lawfull, when they thinke that which is true, if in action, when they doe that which is meet, it be not lawfull to bee like vnto them? Are wee to forsake any true opinion, because Idolaters haue maintained it? Nor to shun any requisite action, onely because we haue in the practise thereof bene preuented by Idolaters. It is no impossible thing, but that sometimes they may iudge as rightly what is decent about externall affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatsoever Idolaters haue either thought or done, but let whatsoever they haue either thought or done *idolatrously*, be so farre forth abhorred. For of that which is good, euen in euill things, God is Authour.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the most of our Churches are called; as the custome of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the vse and continuance with vs at this present hurtfull. That Churches were consecrated vnto none but the Lord onely, the very generall name it selfe doth sufficiently shew, in as much as by plaine grammaticall construction, *Church* doth signifie no other thing then *The Lords house*. And because the multitude, as of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be deuised for distinctions sake, founders of *Churches* did herein that which best liked their owne conceit at the present time; yet each intending, that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in minde of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it commeth to passe, that all Churches haue had their names, ^b some as memorials of peace, some of wisdom, some in memorie of the Trinitie it selfe; some of Christ vnder sundry titles; of the blessed Virgin not of a few, many of one Apostle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which respect their commendable purpose being not of euery one vnderstood, they haue bene in later ages construed, as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places which were denominatēd of Angels and Saints, should serue for the worship of so glorious creatures, or else those glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of such places. A thing which the Ancients doe vtterly disclaime. ^c To them saith Saint *Augustine*, we appoint no Churches, because they are not to vs as Gods. Againe, *The Nations to their gods erected Temples, wee not Temples vnto our Martyrs, as vnto gods, but memorials as vnto dead men, whose spirits with God are still lining*. Diuers considerations there are, for which Christian Churches might first take their names of Saints: as either because by the ministerie of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those Saints hauing suffered for the testimonie of Iesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they dyed venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to giue such occasion of mentioning them often, to the ende that the naming of their persons might cause inquirie to be made, and meditation to be had of their

Of the names whereby wee distinguish our Churches.

a From *Kupia-xh*, *Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*.

b *Vide Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 16. Euang. lib. 4. cap. 30.*

Hist. Trip. lib. 4. cap. 18.

c *Vide Aug. lib. 8. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 27.*

lib. 22. cap. 10. Epist. 49. ad Deo gra.

The duetic which Christi-

an men perform-

ed in keeping festiuall

dedications.

S. B. *ist* termeth

λατρίαν τῶ θεῷ, acknow-

ledging the

same to haue

beeue withall,

τηλικῶ εἰς τὸς μυστηριας.

Basil in v. sal.

114.

vertues. Wherefore seeing that wee cannot iustly account it superstition, to giue vnto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorialls either of holy persons or things, if it bee plaine that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not wee in otherwise taking them, offer them iniurie? Or if it bee obscure or vncertaine what they meant, yet this construction being more fauourable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtfull of their mindes, to leane to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea, although it were cleere, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalfe) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault preiudice vs, who (as all men know) doe vse but by way of meere distinction the names which they of superstition gaue? In the vse of those names whereby wee distinguish both dayes and moneths, are we culpable of superstition, because they were, who first inuented them? The signe of ^a *Castor* and *Pollux* superstitiously giuen vnto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Euangelists pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had bene giuen no other name, but onely ^b *Beltshazzar*, giuen him in honour of the Babylonian Idoll *Belti*, should their idolatrie, which were authors of that name, cleaue vnto euery man which had so tearmed him by way of personall difference onely? were it not to satisfie the mindes of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthie the labour which wee bestow to answer them.

^a *Act.* 28. 11.

^b *Dan.* 4. 5.
Vide Scal. de
emendat. temp.
lib. 6. pag. 277.

Of the fashion
of the Churches.

14 The like vnto this is a fancie, which they haue against the fashion of our Churches; as being framed according to the paterne of the Iewish Temple. A fault no lesse grieuous, if so be it were true, then if some King should build his mansion house by the modell of *Salomons* Palace. So farre-forth as our Churches and their Temple haue one end, what should let, but that they may lawfully haue one forme? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had roomes to that purpose, such as ours haue none. Our Churches are places prouided, that the people might there assemble themselues in due and decent manner, according to their seuerall degrees and orders. Which thing being common vnto vs with Iewes, we haue in this respect our Churches diuided by certaine partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their seuerall for Heathen Nations, their seuerall for the people of their owne Nation, their seuerall for men, their seuerall for women, their seuerall for the Priests, and for the high Priest alone their seuerall. There being in ours for locall distinction betweene the Clergie and the rest (which yet wee doe not with any great strictnesse or curiositie obserue neyther) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might there assemble themselues, and no other creepe in amongst them; this is now made a matter so hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become plaine Iudaisme, and as though wee retayned a most holy place, wherein to there might not any but the High Priest alone enter, according to the custome of the Iewes.

The sumptuousnesse of Churches.

15 Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are employed: *The mother of such magnificence (they thinke) is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far & wide. Suppose we that God himselfe delighteth to dwell sumptuously,*

usually, or taketh pleasure in chargeable pompe? No, then was the Lord most acceptably serued, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houses of poore men. This was susable vnto the nakednesse of Iesus Christ and the simplicity of his Gospell. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the vse and benefit whereof hath descended vnto our selues, as we doe not know, so we need not search. It commeth (we grant) many times to passe, that the workes of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are diuers. The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet *Salomons* vertuous, *Constantines* holy. But howsoeuer their hearts are disposed by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we thinke that it baneth the worke which they leaue behinde them, or taketh away from others the vse and benefit thereof? Touching God himselfe, hath hee any where teucaled, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped, sauing onely in poore cottages? Euen then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as euer, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorne his temple. This is most sureable, decent and fit for the greatnesse of Iesus Christ, for the sublimitie of his Gospell, except wee thinke of Christ and his Gospell as the officers of *Iulian* did. As therefore the sonne of *Syrach* giueth verdict concerning those things, which God hath wrought, ^b *A man need not say this is worse then that, this more acceptable to God, that lesse, for in their season they are all worships* praise: the like we may also conclude, as touching these two so contrarie waies of providing in meaner or in costlier sort for the honour of Almighty God, *A man need not say this is worse then that, this more acceptable to God, that lesse, for with him they are in their season both allowable*, the one, when the state of the Church is poore, the other, when God hath enriched it with plentie. When they, which had seene the beautie of the first Temple, built by *Salomon* in the dayes of his great prosperitie and peace, beheld how farre it excelled the second, which had not builders of like abilitie, the teares of their grieved eyes the Prophets ^c endeoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the house of God were by so much the more perfect, by how much the glorie thereof is lesse, they should haue done better to reioyce then weep, their Prophets better to reprove then comfort. It being obiected against the Church in the times of vniuersall persecution, that her seruice done to God was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of diuine Maiestie, their most conuenient answer was, that ^d *The best Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our sanctified soules and bodies*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were vpbraided with that defect, comforted themselues with the meditation of Gods most gracious and mercifull nature, who did not therefore the lesse accept of their heartie affection and zeale rather, then rooke any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of externall Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was their onely lacke of abilitie; abilitie seruing, they wanted them not. Before the ^e Emperour *Constantines* time, vnder *Seuerus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, and *Galienus*, the state of Christian affaires being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of meane and small estate contented them not, spacious and ample Churches they erected throughout euery Citie. No enuie was able to bee their

* Εργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τίμιον, τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἢ θωρία θαυμαστὴ. *Avist. Eth. l. 4. c. 2*
 τὰ αἰσθησι καλὰ καὶ ὑβρισὶ καλῶν ἐκθύβης.
Philo Iud.
 a *Felix the sacri imperialis questor conspicuus sa. rorum uasorum pretia, En inquit quibus uasis ministratur Niarie filio.*
Theodore. hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 12.
 b *Eccles. 39-34.*
 c *Agge 2. 1. 10.*

d *Minut. Fal. in Octauo.*

e *En. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

their hinderance, no practice of Satan or fraude of men auailable against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthie to seele the ayde of the arme of God extended ouer them for their safetie. These Churches *Dioclesian* ^a caused by solemne Edict to bee afterwards overthrowne. *Maximinus* with like authoritie giuing leaue to erect them, the hearts of all men were euen wrapt with diuine ioy, to see those places, which tyrannous impietie had layd waite, recouered, as it were, out of mortall calamitie, Churches ^b reared up to an height immeasurable, and adorned with farre more beautie in their restauration, then their founders before had giuen them. Whereby we see how most Christian mindes stood then affected, wee see how ioyfull they were to behold the sumpruous statelinessse of houses built vnto Gods glorie. If we should, ouer and besides this, alleage the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moses* might be as beautifull, gorgeous and rich, as arte could make them, or what trauell and cost was bestowed, that the goodlinesse of the Temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world; this they will say was figuratiue, and serued by Gods appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true euerlasting glorie of a more diuine Sanctuarie, whereinto Christ being long sithence entred, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also our selues would grant, if the vse thereof had bene merely and onely mysticall. But sith the Prophet *Dauid* doth mention a naturall conueniencie which such kinde of bounteous expences haue, as well for that we doe thereby giue vnto God a testimonie of our ^c cheerefull affection, which thinketh nothing too deere to bee bestowed about the furniture of his seruice; as also because it serueth to the world for a witnesse of his ^d Almightinesse, whom wee outwardly honor with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himselfe incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should haue made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leaue them all to bee consumed in secular vanitie, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his owne seruice? To set forth the ^e Maiestie of Kings his Vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath, are procured. Wee thinke, ^f belike, that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain. If there bee great care to build and beautifie these corruptible Sanctuaries, litle or none, that the liuing Temples of the holy Ghost, the deereley redeemed soules of the people of God may bee edified; huge expences vpon Timber and Stone, but towards the reliefe of the poore small deuotion; Cost this way infinite, and in the meane while Charitie cold; wee haue in such case iust occasion to make complaint as ^g Saint *Ierome* did, *The walles of the Church there are enow contented to builde, and to vnder set it with goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, the rooves shine with gold, the Altar hath precious stones to adorne it: and of Christs Ministers no choice at all.* The same *Ierome* both in that place and ^h elsewhere debaseth with like intent the glorie of such magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affections in those times needed no spurre) thereby to extoll the necessitie sometimes of charitie and almes, sometimes of other the most principall duties belonging vnto Christian men, which duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the

^a Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 8.

^b Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 2.

^c 1. Cor. 28. 14.

^d 2. Cor. 2. 5.

^e Matth. 6. 29.

^f Malac. 1. 8.

^g Ad Nepotian. de vita cleric.

^h Ad Demetr. epist. 12. ad Gaudentium.

directest sentence wee can giue of them both, as vnto mee it seemeth, is this, *God, who requireth the one as necessarie, accepteth the other also as being an honorable worke.*

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which such places haue, is, I trust, without any blemish or staine of heresie. Churches receiue, as euery thing else, their chiefe perfection from the end whercunto they serue. Which end being the publike worship of God, they are, in this consideration, houses of greater dignitie, then any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seeme after a sort euen to mourne, as being iniured and defrauded of their right, when places not sanctified as they are, preuent them *vnecessarily* in that preeminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to passe, that the seruice of God hath not then it selfe, *such perfection of grace and comelinesse*, as when the dignitie of place which it wiltheth for doth concurre. Again, albeit the true worship of God to be God in it selfe acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is serued; and therefore *Moses* in the midst of the sea, *Iob* on the dunghill, *Ezechias* in bed, *Ieremie* in mire, *Ionas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the denne, the Children in the furnace, the Thiefe on the Crosse, *Peter and Paul* in prison, calling vnto God, were heard, as ^a *S. Basil* noteth: manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very maiestic and holinesse of the place, where God is worshipped, hath *in regard of vs* great vertue, force and efficacie, for that it serueth as a sensible helpe to stirre vp deuotion, and *in that respect*, no doubt, *bettereth* euen our holiest and best actions in this kinde. As therefore wee euery where exhort all men to worship God, euen so, for performance of this seruice by the people of God assembled, wee thinke not any place *so good* as the Church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of *Dauid*, ^b *O worship the Lord in the beautie of holinesse.*

17 For of our Churches thus it becommeth vs to esteeme, howsoeuer others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale, doe powre out against them deuout blasphemies, crying, ^c *Downe with them, downe with them, euen to the very ground; For to Idolatrie they haue bene abused.* And the places where Idols haue bene worshipped, are by ^d the Law of God deuote to utter destruction. For execution of which Law, the ^e Kings that were Godly, as *Asa*, *Iehosaphat*, *Ezechia*, *Iosia*, destroyed all the high places, Altars and Groves, which had bene erected in Iuda and Israel. He that said, *Thou shalt haue no other Gods before my face*, hath likewise said, *Thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these Synagogues and places where such Idols haue bene worshipped.* This Law containeth the temporall punishment which God hath set downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which spare them therefore, doe but reserve, as the Hypocrite *Saul* did, execrable things, to worship God withall. The truth is, that as no man serueth God, and loueth him not; so neither can any man sincerely loue God, and not extremely abhorre that sinne, which is the highest degree of treason against the supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whose diuine authoritie and power it inuesteth others. By meanes whereof the state of Idolaters is two wayes miserable. First, in that which they worship ^f they finde no succour; and secondly, at his hands whom they ought to serue, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of most iust displeasure, the ^g withdrawing of grace, ^h dereliction in this world, and in the world to come ⁱ confusion.

What holines
and vertue we
ascrib to the
Church, more
then other
places,

^a Exhort. ad
bapt. & peniten.

^b Psal. 96. 9.

Their pretense
that would
haue Churches
utterly razed.

^c Psal. 137. 7.

^d Deut. 12. 2.

^e 1. Chron. 17. 6.

^f 2. Chron. 29.

^g 2. Chron. 3.

^h 1. Sa. 8. 21.

ⁱ 4. 20.

^j Hof. 14. 4.

^k 1. Sa. 47. 2. 4.

^l g. Psal. 115. 8.

^m 8. 1. 13.

ⁿ Rom. 1. 24.

^o h. Indic. 6. 13.

^p i. Apoc. 21. 8.

^q 1. Sa. 2. 21.

k *Act. 14. 14.* sion. ^k Paul and Barnabas, when Infidels admiring their vertues, went about to sacrifice vnto them, rent their garments in token of horroure, and as frigh-
 I *Deut. 28. 20.* ted persons, ranne crying thorow the preasse of the people, *O men, wherefore doe yee these things?* They knew the force of that dreadfull curse where-
 m *Ier. 2. 17.* unto Idolatrie maketh subiect. Nor is there cause why the guiltie sustayning the same, should grudge or complaine of iniustice. For whatsoeuer be-
 fallerth in that respect, ^m themselves haue made themselues worthie to suffer it. As for those things either *whereon*, or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and deprived of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieue, and as it were, euen loath it selfe, whensoeuer iniquitie causeth it to serue vnto vile purposes. Idolatrie therefore maketh, whatsoeuer it toucheth, the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which haue no vnderstanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sinne; and only that which sinneth is subiect to *punishment*; which way should any such creature be *punishable* by the law of God? There may bee cause sometimes to *abolish*, or to *extinguish* them. But surely neuer by way of punishment to the things themselves. Yea farther, howsoeuer the Law of *Moses* did punish Idolaters, we finde not that God hath appointed for vs any definite or certaine temporall iudgement, which the Christian Magistrate is of necessitie for euer bound to execute vpon offenders in that kind, much lesse vpon things that way abused as meere instruments. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not vs any otherwise then on-ly as a fearefull pattern of his iust displeasure and wrath against sinnefull Nations. It teacheth vs how God thought good to plague and afflict them. It doth not appoint in what forme and manner wee ought to punish the sinne of Idolatrie in all others. Vnlesse they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no couenant with the people of that Land, therefore leagues and truces made betweene superstitious persons, and such as serue God aright, are vnlawfull altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas
 n *Deut. 12. 2.* ⁿ Commandement was also giuen to destroy all places where the Cananites had serued their gods, and not to conuert any of them to the honour of the true God: this precept had reference vnto a speciall intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but one only place in the whole Land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their *Leuiticall* law did require. By which law, seuerer charge was giuen them in that respect, not to conuert those places to the worship of the liuing God, where Nations before
 o *Deut. 12. 4, 5.* ^o them had serued Idols, ^b But to seeke the place which the Lord their God should chuse out of all their tribes. Besides, it is reason wee should likewise consider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to haue neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was, and theirs, who onely reforme a decayed estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swarued. In this case wee are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as wee may. Sith therefore examples haue not generally the force of lawes which all men ought to keepe, but of counsels onely and perswasions not amisse to bee followed

followed by them whose case is the like, surely where cases are so vnlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did, should induce, much lesse any way enforce vs to the same practice, especially considering that *groves* and *hill-altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regard of the secret accessse, which people superstitiously giuen, might haue alwaies thereunto with ease, neither could they remayning serue with any fitnesse vnto better purpose: whereas our Temples (their former abuse being by order of law remooued) are not onely free from such perill, but withall so conueniently framed for the people of God to serue and honour him therein, that no man beholding them, can chuse but thinke it exceeding great pittie they should be euer any otherwise employed. Yea but the Cattell of *Amalek* (you will say) were *fit* for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit which sometime deceived *Saul*. It was so. Nor doe I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* vpon this conceit might euen lawfully haue offered to God those reserved spoiles, had not the Lord in that particular case giuen speciall charge to the contrarie. As therefore notwithstanding the commandement of *Israel* to destroy *Canaanites*, Idolaters may be conuerted and liue: So the Temples which haue serued Idolatrie as instruments, may bee sanctified againe and continue, albeit, to *Israel* commandement haue bene giuen, that they should destroy all Idolatrous places in their land; and to the good Kings of *Israel* commendation for fulfilling, to the euill for disobeying the same commandement, sometimes punishment, alwaies sharpe and seuerer reproofe hath euen from the Lord himselfe befallen. Thus much it may suffice to haue written in defence of those Christian oratories, the ouerthrow and ruine whereof is desired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turkes, but by a speciall refined sect of Christian beleeuers; pretending themselues exceedingly grieved at our solemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which wee suffer them to hold, at their forme and fashion, at the stateliness of them and costlinesse, at the opinion which wee haue of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they haue bene put.

18 Places of publike resort being thus provided for, our repaire thither is especially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to bee had betweene God and vs. Because therefore want^a of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquitie amongst men, as contrariwise, the very ground of all our happinesse, and the seed of whatsoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine, this kinde of knowledge wee may iustly set downe for the first and chiefe thing which God imparteth vnto his people, and our dutie of receiuing this at his mercifull hands, For the first of those religious offices wherewith we publikely honour him on earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of men to eternall life, it is necessarie, that the sacred and sauing truth of God bee openly published vnto them. Which open publication of *heauenly mysteries*, is by an excellencie termed *preaching*. For otherwise there is not any thing *publicly notified*, but we may in that respect, rightly and properly say it is ^b *preached*. So that when the schoole of God doth vse it as a *word of arte*, wee are accordingly to vnderstand it with restraint to

Of publike teaching, or preaching and the first kinde thereof, Catechising,

a *Contra*ria fortia in quibus, homines sibi inimicem opponantur secundum exercitia & desideria & opiniones omnia promouent ex ignorantia: sicut caecitas ex privatione sui visus, & caecitas ubiq; & leditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam

am & odium. Hoc promittit sancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et assignat rationem, Repleta est terra sapientia Dominum, Moyses Aegypti, in Mor. Hamelbuch, lib. 3, cap. 12. b Luc. 8, 59. 12. 3.

such speciall matter as that schoole is accustomed to publish. Wee finde nor in the world any people that hath liued altogether without religion. And yet this dutie of religion, which provideth that publikely all sorts of men may be instructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God, and hath beene alwaies so peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how^a curious soeuer in searching out all kindes of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could euer once so much as endeauour to resemble *herein* the Churches care for the endlesse good of her Children. Wayes of teaching there haue beene sundrie alwaies vsuall in Gods Church. For the first introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God,^b the Jewes euen till this day haue their Catechismes. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the first deliuerie of the elements there-

^a Vide Tertul. de prescr. aduers. her.

^b The Jewes Catech. called Lekach, Tob.

^c Incipientibus breuius ac simplicius tradita precepta magis conueniunt. Aut enim difficultate institutionum tam numerosa: a: q: perplexa: deterrere solent; aut eo tempore quo precipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt asperiorum rerum tractatum atteruntur. Fab. proem. lib. 1. Incipientibus nobis exponere iura populi Romani. ita videntur posse tradi commodissime, si primo leui ac simplici via post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioquin si statim ab initio rudem alicui & infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus duorum alterum, aut deiorum studiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore eius, sapientiam eum dissidentia (que plerumque iuuenes auerit) seruet ad id perducemus, ad quod leuiore via ductus, sine magno labore & sine ulla dissidentia maturius perducitur: sic. Inscit. Imper. lib. 1. tit. 1. d. *Vide Ruff. in Symbol.*

of must, for^c like consideration, bee framed according to the weak and slender capacities of young beginners: vnto which manner of teaching principles in Christianitie, the Apostle in the sixth to the Hebrewes is himselfe vnderstood to allude. For this cause therefore, as a Decalogue of *Moses* declareth summarily those things which we ought to doe; the Prayer of our Lord what soeuer wee should request or desire: so eyther by the^d Apostles, or at the least wise out of their

writings, wee haue the substance of Christian beliefe compendiously drawne into few and short articles, to the end that the weaknesse of no mans wit might either binder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuse the vtter ignorance of needfull things. Such as were trayned vp in these rudiments, and were so made fit to bee afterward by Baptisme receiued into the Church, the Fathers vsu-

^e Tertul. de penitent. An alius est iudicium Christi? Alii Audientibus? Audientes optare in iudicium non presumere oportet. Cyprian. Epist. 17. lib. 3. Audientibus vigila vitia vestra non desit. Rupert. de diuin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. Audiens quisque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.

ally in their writings doe terme^e *Hearers*, as hauing no farther communion or fellowship with the Church, then onely this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Christian faith made plaine vnto them. Ca-

techising may bee in schooles, it may be in private families. But when wee make it a kind of Preaching, we meane alwaies the publike performance thereof in the open hearing of men, because things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

Of Preaching, by reading publikely the bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed vnto those translations of scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choise which we make in reading. A. 15. 21.

19 *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, were in their times all preachers of Gods truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly as faithfull *witnesses*, making meere relation what God himselfe had *revealed* vnto them; and partly as careful *exponers*, teachers, perswaders thereof. The Church in like case *preacheth* still, first publishing by way of *testimonie* or relation, the truth which from them she hath receiued, euen in such sort as it was receiued, *written in the sacred volumes of Scripture*; secondly, by way of *explication*, discovering the mysteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witness, preacheth his meere revealed truth, by *reading* publikely the sacred Scripture. So that a second kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier speake, being strengthened^f with the example

example of so reuerend a Prelate as saith, that *Moses* from the time of ancient generations and ages long since past, had amongst the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* hee was read euery Sabbath day. For so of necessitie it must be meant, in as much as we know, that the Iewes haue alwayes had their weekely readings of the *Law of Moses*; but that they alwayes had in like manner their weekely *Sermons upon some part of the Law of Moses*, wee no where finde. Howbeit still we must here remember, that the Church, by her publike reading of the Booke of God, preacheth onely *as a witnesse*. Now the principall thing required in a witnesse, is fidelitie. Wherefore as wee cannot excuse that Church, which either through corrupt translations of Scripture, deliuereth in stead of diuine speeches, any thing repugnant vnto that which God speaketh; or, through falsified additions, propo- seth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both these respects hath bene layd vpon the Church of England, is surely altogether without cause. Touching translations of Holy Scripture, albeit wee may not disallow of their painfull trauailes here- in, who strictly haue tyed themselues to the very originall letter, yet the iudgement of the Church, as we see by the practice of all Nations, *Greekes, Latines, Persians, Syrians, Ethiopians, Arabians*, hath bene euer, that the fittest for publike audience are such, as following a middle course betweene the rigor of literall translators, and the libertie of Paraphraists, doe with greatest short- nesse and plainnesse deliuer the meaning of the holy Ghost. Which being a labour of so great difficultie, the exact performance thereof wee may rather wish then looke for. So that, except betweene the *words of translation* and the *minde of Scripture* it selfe, there bee *Contradiction*, euery little difference should not seeme an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out. Whereas therefore the ^a Prophet *Dauid* in a certaine Psalmes doth say concerning *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they were obedient to the word of God, and in the self- same place our allowed translation saith, they were not obedient; wee are for this cause challenged as manifest gain-sayers of Scripture, euen in that which we reade for Scripture vnto the people. But for as much as words are resem- blances of that which the minde of the speaker conceiueth, and conceits are images representing that which is spoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, should haue recourse to the things themselues from whence they rise. In setting downe that miracle, at the sight whereof *Peter* fell downe astonished before the feet of *Iesus*, and cryed, *Depart, Lord, I am a sinner*, the ^b Euangelist *Saint Luke* saith, the store of the fish which they tooke was such, that the net they tooke it in *brake*, and the ships which they loaded there- with suncke; ^c *Saint Iohn* recording the like miracle, saith, that albeit the fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so great a waight was not broken. Suppose they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifest shew of iarre; yet none, if wee looke vpon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both haue spoken euen of one miracle, the very same which they spake of diuers, the one in- tending thereby to signifie that the greatnesse of the burthen exceeded the naturall ability of the instruments which they had to beare it; the other, that the weaknesse thereof was supported by a supernaturall and miraculous addi- tion

a Psal. 105. 28

b Luc. 5. 6, 7.

c Iohn. 21. 11.

a *Matth. 5. 2.*
 b *Matth. 2. 6.*
 c *Exod. 10. 24.*
 d The Gospell on the second Sunday after East. x. and on the twentieth after Trinitie.
 e *John 10. 11.*
 f *Matth. 22. 1.*
 g *T. C. L. 2. p. 381.* Although it be very conuincient which is vsed in some Churches, where before preaching time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare publike reading in the Church necessary. h. d.
 g. *Aug. de Ciuit. De lib. 22. cap. 8.* *Faſto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt lecta diuina ſolennia.* That for ſeueral times ſeueral pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their ſundrie Homilies and other writings doe allecge the like order in the Syrian Churches, is cleare by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the new Teſtament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerpe.

tion of ſtrength. The nets, as touching themſelues *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the *a* Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the least? And doth not the very *b* Euangelist translate these words, Thou *Bethleem* not the least? the one regarding the quantitie of the place, the other the dignitie. *Micheas* attributeth vnto it smalnesse, in respect of circuit; *Matthew* greatnesse, in regard of honor and estimation, by being the native soyle of our Lord and Sauour Christ. Sith therefore speeches, which gain-say one another, must of necessitie be applied both vnto one and the same subiect; sith they must also the one affirme, the other deny the selfe same thing: what necessitie of contradiction can there bee betweene the letter of the Prophet *Dauid* and our authorized translation thereof, if he vnderstanding *Moses* and *Aaron* doe say, *They* were not *disobedient*; we applying our speech to *Pharao* and the *Egyptians*, doe say of them, *They* were not *obedient*? Or (which the matter it selfe will easily enough likewise suffer) if the *Egyptians* being meant by both, it be said that *they*, in regard of their offer to let goe the people, when they saw the fearefull darknesse, *disobeyed* not the word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his word, in as much as the sheepe and cattell at the selfe same time they withheld. Of both translations the better I willingly acknowledge, that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the originall veritie: yet so, that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any perill at all of gain-saying, as much as the least iot or syllable of Gods most sacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this we doe not violate, so neither is the same gain-sayed or crost, no not in those very preambles placed before certaine readings, wherein the steps of the Latine Service-booke haue bin somewhat too neerly followed. As when we say, Christ spake *d* to his Disciples, that which the Gospell declareth he spake *e* vnto the Pharises. For doth the Gospell affirme he spake to the *Pharises only*? doth it meane that they, and besides them, no man else was at that time spoken vnto by our Sauour Christ? If not, then is there in this diuersity no contrariety. I suppose it somewhat probable, that *S. Iohn* and *S. Matthew*, which haue recorded those Sermons, heard them, and being hearers, did thinke themſelues as well respected as the *Pharises*, in that which their Lord and Master taught, concerning the Pastorall care he had ouer his own flocke, and his offer of grace made to the whole world, which things are the matter whereof hee treateth in those Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we reade for the word of God that which may bee condemned as repugnant vnto his word. Furthermore somewhat they are displeased, in that we follow not the method of reading, which *f* in their iudgement is most commendable, the method vsed in some forren Churches, where scriptures are read *before* the time of diuine seruice, and without either *choyce* or *stint* appointed by any *determinat* order. Neuerthelesse, till such time as they shall vouchsafe vs some iust and sufficient reason to the contrarie, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retaine the *g* ancient receiued custome which wee now obserue. For with vs the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgie, a speciall portion of the Service which wee doe to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth waite for anothers comming, till the assembly of them that shall afterward worship him bee complete. Wherefore

fore as the forme of our publike seruice is not voluntarie, so neither are the parts, thereof vncertaine, but they are all set downe in such order, and with such choise, as hath in the wisdome of the Church seemed best to concurre as well with the speciall occasions, as with the generall purpose which wee haue to glorifie God.

20 Other publike readings there are of bookes and writings not Canonically, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make knowne the doctrine of vertuous conuersation; whereupon, besides those things, in regard whereof we are thought to reade the Scriptures of God amisse, it is thought amisse, that wee reade in our Churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction, as the Church hath deuised for the better vnderstanding of Scripture, or for the easier trayning vp of the people in holinesse and righteousnesse of life, they

*pleade, that God in the Law would haue *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither befoms, nor flesh-hookes, nor trumpets, but those onely which were sanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we ought to follow the Iewes * Politie, who vnder *Antiochus*, where they had not the Commoditie of Sermons, appointed alwaies at their meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to bee read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to bee vnderstood; that before and after our Sauours

comming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Ionathans* Paraphrase, though hauing both, but contented themselues ^b with the reading onely of Scriptures; that if in the Primitiue Church there had bene any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, ^c *Iustin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention these, would haue spoken of the other likewise; that ^d the most ancient and best Councils forbid any thing to bee read in Churches sauing Canonically Scripture onely; that when ^e other things were afterwards permitted, ^f fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible it selfe thereby in time quite and cleane thrust out. Which arguments, if they bee onely brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly bee accepted of by them, who already are perswaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose to be perswade others, it would bee demanded, by what rule the legall *halloving* of befomes and flesh-hookes must needs exclude all other readings in the Church saue Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated vnto God, as that they might neuer afterwards againe be made common. For which cause, the Lord, to signe and marke them as his owne, ^g appointed oyle of holy eynment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinary and daily vses. Thus the ^h anoynted of *Aaron* and his sonnes tyed them to the office of the Priest-hood for euer; the anointing not of those siluer trumpets (which ⁱ *Moses* as well for secular as sacred vses was commanded to make, not to sanctifie) but the vnction of the ^k Tabernacle, the table, the lauer, the Altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for euer holy vnto him, in whose seruice they were employed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things

Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning bookes Apocryphall.

a T. C. l. 1. pag. 196. Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to bee read in the Church. Wherein first it is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, when hee commanded *Exod.* 30. 29. that no vessel, nor no instrument, eyther befome or flesh-hooke, or pan should once come into the Temple, but those onely which were sanctified and set apart for that vse. And in the booke of Numbers, hee will haue no other trumpets blowne to call the people together, but those onely which were set apart for that purpose. *Numb.* 10. 2.

^a T. C. l. 1. p. 197. Besides this, the Politie of the Church of God in times past is to bee followed, &c. ^b *Act.* 13. 15. ^c *Act.* 15. 21. ^c *Iustin. Apol.* 2. ^d *Origen. Hom.* 11. ^e *super Exod.* & *in Iudic.* ^d *Concil. Laod.* cap. 59. ^e *Concil. Vassen.* 2. 4. ^f *Concil. Colon.* p. 17. 2.

^g *Exod.* 30. 25.

^h 32.

^h *Exod.* 4. 15.

ⁱ *Numb.* 10. 2.

^k *Exod.* 27. 3.

& 30. 26, 27, 28

l T.C. l. 1. p. 197. The Lord would by these rudiments and pedagogic teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the Church, but that which hee had appointed. in *Elias Theob in verbo Patar.* a *Aff.* 15. 21. b *Aff.* 13. 15. c T.C. l. 1. p. 197. This practice continued still in the Churches of God after the Apostles times, as may appeare by the second Apologie of *Iustin Martyr.* *Idem pag.* 198. It was decreed in the Councell of *Laodicea*, that nothing should be read in the Church but the Canonical books of the old and new Testament. Afterwards as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs liues was permitted. But besides the euill successe thereof, that vs and custome was controuerted, as may appeare by the Councell of *Colo.* albeit otherwise Po-pith. The bring-ing in of Homilies & Martyr: liues, hath thrust the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner. d The Apocalips. e T.C. l. 2. p. 181. It is vntrue, that simple reading is necessarie in the Church. A number of Churches which haue no such order of simple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods Commandement, which they might be if simple reading were necessarie. [By simple reading, he meaneth the custome of bare reading more, then the Preacher at the same time expoundeth vnto the people] f *Comus ad diuinarm literarum commemorationem.* Terul. Apolog. p. 692. g *Iudaiarum historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Aposolis legendi in Ecclesijs.* Orig. in Ios. Hom. 15.

things now in the Church, from the greatest to the least, are vnholly, which the Lord hath not himselfe precisely instituted? For so^l those rudiments, they say, doe import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authoritie hath appointed, and consequently all positie ordinances that euer were made by Ecclesiasticall power, touching spirituall affaires, are prophane, they are vnholly. I would not wish them to vndertake a worke so desperate as to prouue, that for the peoples instruction no kinde of reading is good, but onely that which the Iewes deuised vnder *Antiochus*, although euen that bee also mistaken. For according to^m *Elias* the Leuite (out of whom it doth seeme borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbade, was the publike reading of the Law, and not *Sermons* vpon the Law. Neither did the Iewes reade a portion of the Prophets, together with the Law, to serue for an interpretation thereof, because *Sermons* were not permitted them; But in stead of the Law, which they might not reade openly, they read of the Prophets that, which in likenesse of matter came nearest to each section of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the libertie of reading the^a Law was restored, the selfe-same custome^b as touching the Prophets did continue still. If neither the Iewes haue vsed publicly to reade their Paraphrasts, nor the Primitive Church for a long time any other writings then Scripture, except the cause of their not doing it, were some Law of God, or reason forbidding them to doe that which wee doe, why should the latter ages of the Church bee deprived of the libertie the former had? Are wee bound while the world standeth, to put nothing in practice, but onely that which was at the very first? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of those things which are not Canonical, so it maketh^d some things not Canonical which are. Their iudgement in this wee may not, and in that wee need not follow. Wee haue by thus many yeeres experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbered with any notable inconuenience, hath growne by the custome which we now obserue. As for the harme whereof iudicious men haue complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read besides the Scripture, but that so euill choise was made. With vs there is neuer any time bestowed in diuine Seruice, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which wee account a thing most necessarie. Wee dare not admit any such forme of Liturgie, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thrusting of the Bible out of the House of God, is rather there to bee feared, where men esteeme it a matter^e so indifferent, whether the same bee by solemne appointment read publicly, or not read, the bare text excepted, which the Preacher happily chuseth out to expound. But let vs heere consider what the practice of our Fathers before vs hath beene, and how farre foorth the same may bee followed. Wee finde, that in ancient times there was publicly read first the^f Scripture, as namely, some thing out of the Bookes of the^g Prophets of God, which were of old, something out of

the Apostles writings; and lastly out of the holy^b Euangelists, some things which touched the person of our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe. The cause of their reading first the old Testament, then the new, and alwaies somewhat out of both, is most likely to haue bene that which *Iustin Martyr* and *S. Augustine* obserue in comparing the two Testaments. *The Apostles* (saith the one) *haue taught vs as themselves did learne, first the precepts of the Law, and then the Gospels. For what else is the Law, but the Gospel foresheued? What oither the Gospel then the Law fulfilled?* In like sort the other, *What the old Testament hath, the very same the new containeth, but that which lieth there as vnder a shadow, is here brought forth into the open Sunne. Things there prefigured, are heere performed.* Againe, *In the old Testament there is a close comprehension of the new, in the new an open discouerie of the old.* To bee short, the method of their publike readings cyther purposely did tend, or at the leastwise doth fitly serue, *That from smaller things the minde of the hearers may goe forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees clime vp from the lowest to the highest things.* Now besides the Scripture, the bookes which they called *Ecclesiasticall*, were thought not vnworthy sometime to bee brought into publike audience, and with that name they entituled the Bookes which we terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the selfe-same name they also comprised certaine, no otherwise annexed vnto the new, then the former to the old Testament, as a booke of *Hermes*, Epistles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the Phrase of Antiquitie, these we may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Ecclesiasticall* bookes or writings. For we being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of *Saint Ierome*, who saith, that *All writings not Canonically are Apocryphall*, vse not now the title *Apocryphall*, as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily haue done, whose custome is so to name for the most part onely, such as might not publicly bee read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore hauing reheard the selfe-same bookes of Canonically Scripture, which with vs are held to be alone Canonically, addeth immediatly by way of caution, *Wee must know that other bookes there are also, which our forefathers haue vsed to name not Canonically, but Ecclesiasticall bookes, as the booke of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobie, Iudith, the Maccabees in the old Testament; in the new, the booke of Hermes, and such others. All which bookes and writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alicaged, as if their authoritie did binde vs to build vpon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not haue read in Churches. These things deliuered vnto vs from the Fathers, we haue in this place thought good to set downe.* So farre *Ruffinus*. He which considereth notwithstanding what store of false and forged writings, dangerous vnto Christian beliefe, and yet bearing^b glorious inscriptions, began soone vpon the Apostles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had bene indeede Apostolike, shall easily perceiue what cause the Prouinciall Synod of *Laodicea* might haue as then to preuent, especially the danger of bookes made newly Ecclesiasticall, and for feare of the fraud of Heretikes, to prouide, that such publike readings might bee altogether taken out of Canonically Scripture. Which ordi-

ἡ Πίστις κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μερόσων ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σωματεύσις, γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀποκρυφικῶν ἀναγιγνωσκέσθαι. *Iustin. Apol. 2. pag. 162.* *Falsum est ut ista die Dominica Prophetica lectio iam lecta, ante altare adhiberi e qui lectionem S. P. vli proferret, beatissimus Antistes Ambrosius, &c. Sulpit. Sever. lib. 3. de vita S. Martini.* *b Vide Concil. Vase. 2. habitum an. Dom. 440. to. Concil. 2. pag. 19. Item Synod. Lond. cap. 16. Cyr. lib. 2. epist. 5. & lib. 4. epist. 5. Ambros. lib. 1. Offic. cap. 8. & Epist. 75. & lib. de Helia arque ieiunio, cap. 20. c Iust. quest. 101. d August. quest. 33. in Numer.*

e Wals. Strab. de rebus Ecclesiast. cap. 22.

f Hieron. in Prolog. Galas.

g Ruffinus in Symbol. Apost. apud Cyr.

h Vide Gelas. in Decret. to. Concil. 2. p. 462.

i Circa An. Dom. 366.

nance respecting, but that abuse that grew through the intermingling of lessons humane with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit, and vsurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of ^a a latter Councell prouiding remedie for the selfe same euill, and yet allowing the old Ecclesiasticall Bookes to be read, it doth more plainly and cleerely appeare) neyther can be construed, nor should be vrged vterly to prejudice our vse of those olde Ecclesiasticall writings; much lesse of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings vsuall in former times, a most commendable institution as well then ^b to supply the casual, as now the necessarie defect of Sermons. In the heate of generall persecution whereunto Christian beleefe was subiect, vpon the first promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and constancie of weaker mindes, when publike relation was made vnto them, after what manner ^c GOD had bene glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holinesse during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous euidence of grace diuine assisting them from aboue. For which cause the vertues of some being thought expedient to bee annually had in remembrance aboue the rest, this brought in ^e a fourth kind of publike reading, whereby the liues of such Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearely memorialls solemne recognition in the Church of ^d GOD. The fond imitation of which laudable custome being in latter ages resumed, when there was neyther the like cause to doe as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conscience, or wit in such as vnderooke to performe that worke, some brainelesse men haue by great labour and trauaile brought to passe, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more then of Saints. If therefore Pope ^d *Gelasius* did so long sithence see those defects of iudgement euen then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs should bee and was at that time forborne in the Church of *Rome*; wee are not to maruaile, that afterwards Legends being growne in a manner to bee nothing else but heapes of friuolous and scandalous vanities, they haue bene euen with disdain throwne out, the ^e very nests which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one sute, as if they, who abolish Legends, could not without incongruities retain in the Church either Homilies, or those olde Ecclesiasticall Bookes: Which Bookes in case my selfe did thinke, as some others doe, safer and better to be left publikely vread; neuerthelesse as in other things of like nature, euen so in this, ^f my priuate iudgement I should be loth to oppose against the force of their reuerend authority, who rather considering the diuine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certaine of those *Apocrypha* which we publikely read, haue thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginall border vnto the old Testament, and, though with diuine, yet as humane compositions to grant at the least vnto certaine of them publikely audience in the house of God. For in as much as the due estimation of heauenly truth dependeth wholly vpon the knowne and approued authority of those famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoueth the Church to haue alwaies most especiall care, lest through confused mixture at any time humane vsurpe the roome and title of diuine writings. Wherefore albeit for the

people

^a Concil. Carthag. 3. cap. 47. Præter scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesiis legatur sub nomine diuina: um scriptura: um.

Circa. an. D. 401. b. Concil. V. asen. 2. habitum. an. Dom. 444. 10. Concil. 2. p. 19. Si presbiter aliqua infirmitate prohibeatur per seipsum non poterit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homilie à Diaconibus recitentur.

^c Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 36. & Hadria. epist. & Carol. Mag.

^d Gelasius circa an. Dom. 492. 10. Concil. 2. p. 461.

^e Concil. Coloniæ. celebrat. an. Dom. 1536. part. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. loco theol. lib. 11. Vin. de trad. disc. lib. 5. & In errorum barathrum facilierrunt qui conceptu proprios patrum deflectionibus anteposunt. c. vn. de relig. do. in Extra.

peoples ^a more plaine instruction (as the ancient vse hath beene) wee reade in our Churches certaine Bookes besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture wee reade them not. All men know our professed opinion touching the difference whereby we seuer them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected that some one or other will haply mistake a thing so manifest in euery mans eye, there is no let, but that as often as those Bookes are read, and need so requirerh, the stile of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to barre euen all possibilitie of error. It being then known, that we hold not the Apocrypha for sacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for humane compositions, the subiect whereof are sundry diuine matters; let there be reason shewed, why to reade any part of them publicquely, it should be vnlawful or hurtfull vnto the Church of God. I heare it said, that ^b many things in them are very *frivolous*, & vnworthy of publique audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neyther sufficiently proued by him who sayth it, and if the proofes thereof were strong, yet the very allegation it selfe is weake. Let vs therefore suppose (for I will not demaund to what purpose it is, that against our custome of reading Bookes not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in those Bookes which we neuer vse to reade) suppose (I say) that what faults soeuer they haue obserued throughout the passages of all those Bookes, the same in euery respect were such as neither could be construed, nor ought to be censured otherwise, then euen as themselues pretend: Yet as men, through too much haste, oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they should goe; so here it appeareth, that an eager desire to rake together whatsoeuer might preiudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphall Bookes, hath caused the Collectors Pennes so to runne as it were on wheelles, that the mind which should guide it, had no leysure to thinke, whether that which might haply serue to withhold from giuing them the authoritie which belongeth vnto sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually serue to shut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from graunting vnto them that publique vse, wherein they are onely held as profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged, that those Bookes are ^c *Holy*, that they are *Ecclesiastical* and *Sacred*, that to terme them *Diuine*, as being for their excellency next vnto them which are properly so termed, is no way to honor them aboue desert; yea, euen that the whole Church of Christ, as well *at the first* as *sithence*, hath most worthily approued their fitnessse, for the publique information of life and manners: Is not thus much I say acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithstanding receiue not the same for *any part of Canonick Scripture*, by them who deny not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are readie enough to giue instances, wherein they seeme to containe matter *scarce agreeable with holy Scripture*? So little doth such their supposed faultinesse in moderate mens iudgement inforce the remouall of them out of the House of God, that still they are iudged to re-
 tayne worthily those very Titles of Commendation; then which, there cannot greater be giuen to Writings, the Authors whereof are Men. As in truth, if the Scripture it selfe, ascribing to the persons of men righteousness in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be construed, as though it did thereby cleare them and make them quike free from all faults, no reason wee should

^a Hieron. *prefa.*
ad libros Salom.
Aug. de iud.
Santi l. 1. c. 14.
P. esat. gloss.
ord. & Lxx ad
prof. Hieron in
Tob.

^b T. C. lib. 2.
 pag. 400. 401.

^c *Harm. Con-*
ses. Sect. 1.
Belg. con. art. 6.
Lubert. de prin-
cip. Christi. dogm.
lib. 1. c. 5.

judge it absurd to commend their writings as reuerend, holie, and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, onely for that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected then easily cleared of error by vs which haue but coniecturall knowledge of their meaning. Against immodest Inuectiues therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with ^a *outrageous lyes*, we doubt not but their more allowable censure will preuaile, who without so passionate termes of disgrace, doe note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other Writings, a difference such as ^b *Iosephus* and *Epiphanius* obserue: the one declaring, that amongst the Iewes, Bookes written after the dayes of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the ^c other acknowledging that they are *profitable*, although denying them to be *diuine*, in such construction and sense as the Scripture it selfe is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the ^d Nephew of *Iesus*. doe plainly enough signifie, *After that my grandfather Iesus had giuen himselfe to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and other Bookes of our Fathers, and had gotten therein sufficient iudgement, he purposed also to write something pertaining to Learning and Wildome, to the intent, that they which were delirous to learne, and would giue themselves to these things, might profit much more in liuing according to the Law.* Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The Bookes of *Iudith*, *Toby*, *Baruch*, *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, we reade, as seruing most vnto that end. The rest we leaue vnto men in priuate. Neyther can it be reasonably thought, because vpon certain solemne occasions, some Lessons are chosen out of those Bookes, and of Scripture it selfe some Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby doe offer disgrace to the Word of God, or lift vp the Writings of men aboue it. For in such choice we do not thinke, but that *fitnesse* of speech may be more respected then *worthinesse*. If in that which we vse to read, there happen by the way any Clause, Sentence, or Speech, that foundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little drosse constaine the Church to deprive her selfe of so much Gold, rather then learne how by art and iudgement to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsell that *S. Ierome* giueth *Leta*, of taking heed *how* she read the *Apocrypha*, as also by the helpe of other learned mens iudgements deliuered in like case, we may take direction. But surely, the arguments that should bind vs not to reade them, or any part of them publicquely at all, must be stronger then as yet we haue heard any.

Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the onely ordinarie way of Teaching, whereby men are brought to the sauing knowledge of Gods Truth.

21 We maruaile the lesse that our reading of Bookes not Canonically is so much impugned, when so little is attributed vnto the reading of Canonically Scripture it selfe, that now it hath growne to be a question, whether the *Word of God* be any ordinary means to saue the Soules of men, in that it is eyther priuately studied, or publicquely read, and so made knowne, or else onely as the same is *preached*, that is to say, *explained by liuely voice, & applied* to the peoples vse, as the speaker in his wisdom thinketh meete. For this alone is it which they vse to call *Preaching*. The publicque reading of the *Apocrypha* they condemne altogether

altogether as a thing effectuall vnto euill; the bare reading in like sort of whatsoeuer, yea euen of Scriptures themselves, they mislike, as a thing vn-effectuall to doe *that good*, which we are perswaded may grow by it. Our desire is in this present controuersie, as in the rest, not to be carried vp and downe with the waues of vncertaine arguments, but rather positiuely to leade on the mindes of the simpler sort by plaine and easie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it selfe doe make manifest what is truth. First therefore, because whatsoeuer is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessitie of Gods Word; the same they tye and restraine onely vnto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhorre in the Church) but Sermons without booke, Sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may haue publique audience but once: for this cause, to auoid ambiguities, wherewith they often intangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God in it selfe; and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heavenly Truth, touching matters of eternall life reuealed & vttered vnto Men, vnto Prophets and Apostles by immediate diuine inspiration, from them to vs by their Books and Writings. We therefore haue no Word of God but the Scripture. Apostolique Sermons were vnto such as heard them, his Word, euen as properly as to vs their Writings are. Howbeit not so our own Sermons, the expositions which our discourse of Wit doth gather and minister out of the Word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the Word of God, alwayes to meane the Scripture only. The end of the Word of God is to saue, and therefore we terme it *the Word of Life*. The way for all men to be saued, is by the knowledge of that truth which the Word hath taught. And sith eternall Life is a thing of it selfe communicable vnto all, it behoueth that the Word of God, the necessary meane thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been alwayes a treasure, though precious, yet easie, as well to attaine, as to find, lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficultie of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwise serueth, then only in the nature of a doctrinall instrument. It saueth, because it maketh *wise to saluation*. Wherefore the ignorant it saueth not; they which liue by the Word, must know it. And being it selfe the instrument which God hath purposely framed, thereby to worke the knowledge of saluation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of it selfe be acknowledged a most apt and a likely meane, to leaue an apprehension of things diuine in our vnderstanding, & in the mind an assent thereunto? For touching the one, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich treasures of his owne wisdom, hath by deliuering his Word, made choise of the Scriptures, as the most effectuall meanes, whereby those Treasures might be imparted vnto the World, it followeth, that to mans vnderstanding the Scripture must needs be euen of it selfe intended as a full and perfect discoverie, sufficient to imprint in vs the liuely character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of eternall Life. And concerning our assent to the mysteries of heavenly Truth, seeing that the Word of God, for the Authors sake, hath credit with all that confesse it (as we all doe) to be his Word, every Proposition of holy Scripture, every Sentence being to vs a Principle; if the Principles of all kindes of Knowledge else haue

2. Tim. 3. 15.

that vertue in themselves, whereby they are able to procure our assent vnto such conclusions, as the industrie of right discourse doth gather from them, we haue no reason to thinke the Principles of that Truth, which tendeth vnto mans euerlasting happinesse, lesse forcible then any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certaintie the most infallible. But as euery thing of price, so this doth require trauaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with vs into the World. And the lesse our owne oportunitie or abilitie is that way, the more wee neede the helpe of other mens Iudgements, to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man euer belecue, into whom the doctrine of beleefe is not instilled by instruction, some way receiued at the first from others. Wherein whatsoeuer fit means there are to notifie the mysteries of the Word of God, whether publicquely (which wee call *Preaching*) or in private howsoeuer, the Word by *euery such meane* euen *ordinarily* doth saue, and not onely by being deliuered vnto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the onely preaching* which doth saue Soules. For concerning the vse and sense of this Word *Preaching*, which they shut vp in so close a prison, although more then enough haue alreadie bene spoken, to redeeme the libertie thereof, yet because they insist so much, and so proudly insult thereon, we must a little inure their eares with hearing, how others whom they more regard, are in this case accustomed to vse the selfe-same language with vs, whose manner of speech they deride. * *Iustin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the *Græcians*, that euen in certaine of their *Writings* the very Iudgement to come is preached; nor the ^b *Councell of Vaus* to insinuate, that *Presbyters*, absent through infirmities from their Churches, might be sayd to preach by those *Deputies*, who in their stead did but reade *Homilies*; nor the ^c *Councell of Toledo*, to call the vsuall publique reading of the *Gospels* in the Church, preaching; nor ^d others, long before these our dayes to write, that by him who but readeth a *Lesson* in the solemne Assembly as part of Diuine Seruice, the very Office of Preaching is so far-forth executed. Such kind of speeches were then familiar, those phrases seemed not to them absurd, they would haue marvelled to heare the ^e outcries which we doe, because we think, that the Apostles *in writing*, & others *in reading* to the Church those Bookes which the Apostles wrote, are neyther vntuly nor vnfitly sayd to *preach*. For although mens *Tongues* and their *Pennes* differ, yet to one and the selfe *same* generall, if not particular *effect*, they may both serue. It is no good argument, *S. Paul* could not *write with his Tongue*, therefore neither could he *preach with his Penne*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and speaking doe both serue. Men speake not with the instruments of writing, neither write with the instruments of speech, & yet things *recorded* with the one, and *uttered* with the other, may be ^f *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it spoken, the Apostles preached as well when they wrote as when they spake the Gospell of Christ, and our vsuall *publique reading* of the Word of God for the peoples instruction, is *preaching*. Nor about words would we euer contend, were not their purpose in so restraining the same, iniurious to Gods most sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both sides confest, that the Word of God outwardly administred (his ^g Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) conuerteth, edifieth, and saueth Soules. Now whereas the externall

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a *Paranot. ad Gent. pag. 17.*
 b *Concil. Vansen. 2. ca. 2.*
 c *Concil. Tol. 4. ca. 11.*
 d *Ruport. de Diuin. Offic. lib. 1. ca. 12, 13.*
 e *Histor. de Eccles. Offic. lib. 1. ca. 10.*
 f *The Iuell of Schoole. art. 11.*
 T. C. lib. 2. pag. 388.
 S. Pauls writing is no more preaching, then his penne or his hand is his Tongue: seeing they cannot be the same, which cannot bee made by the same Instruments.
 f *Euangelio manu & scriptione. Rainol. de Rom. Eccles. Idolol. pref. ad C. Esse.*
 g *Ioha. 6. 45. Matth. 16. 17. 2. Cor. 4. 5. 1. Cor. 12. 3. Act. 16. 4.*

administration of his Word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the same when Sermons thereon be made, in the one they deny, that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certaine *principall operations*, which we most stedfastly hold and beleue that it hath in both.

22. So worthy a part of Diuine Seruice we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteeme Preaching as the blessed Ordinance of God, Sermons as Keyes to the Kingdome of Heauen, as Wings to the Soule, as Spurrès to the good Affections of Man, vnto the sound and healthy as Foode, as Physicke vnto diseased mindes. Wherefore how highly fouer it may please them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they shall not herein offend vs. Wee seeke not to derogate from any thing which they can iustly esteeme, but our desire is to vphold the iust estimation of that, from which it seemeth vnto vs they derogate more then becommeth them. That which offendeth vs, is, first the great disgrace which they offer vnto *our Custome* of bare reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifesting it selfe, for the endlesse good of mens Soules, euen the vertue which it hath to *conuert*, to *edifie*, to *saue* Soules; this they mightily strue to obscure: and secondly, the shifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *sauiug* power of the holy Ghost, they separate from all *apparent* hope of life and saluation thousands whom the goodnesse of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the vse of Scripture, euen in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very meane hath reaped; there was, wee may very well thinke; some cause, which moued the Apostle S. Paul to ^a require, that those things which *any one* Churches affaires gaue particular occasion to write, might for the instruction of all be published, and that by *reading*. 1. When the very hauiug of the Bookes of God was a matter of no small charge and difficultie, in as much as they could not be had otherwise then only in written Copies, it was the necessitie not of preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of reading the Word it selfe at large to the people, which caused Churches throughout the World to haue publique care, that the sacred Oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great sedulitie be kept both intire and sincere. If then wee admire the prouidence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeouors of Infidels to abolish, and the fraudulent of Heretiques alwayes to depraue the same, shal we set light by that custome of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath growne? 2. The voice and testimonie of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the Law of the living God, is for the truth and certaintie thereof no meane euidence. For if with reason we may presume vpon things which a few mens depositions doe testifie, suppose wee that the mindes of men are not both at their first accessse to the Schoole of Christ exceedingly moued, yea and for euer afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the maine consent of all the Churches in the whole World witnessing the sacred authoritie of Scriptures, euer sitthence the first publication thereof, euen till this present day and houre? And that they all haue alwayes so testified, I see not how we should possibly with a prooffe more palpable, then this manifest receiued and euery-where

What they contribute to Sermons onely, and what we to Reading also.

a 1. Tim. 5. 27.
Col. 4. 16.

continued

continued custome of reading them publiquely as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the Word of God, as the vse hath euer beene, in open audience, is the plainest evidence we haue of the Churches *assent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his Word. 3. A further commodity this Custome hath, which is, to furnish the very *simplest* and *rudest* sort with such infallible *Axiomes* and *Precepts* of sacred Truth, deliuered euen in the *very Letter* of the Law of God, as may serue them for ^a *Rules* whereby to iudge the better *all other doctrines* and instructions which they heare. For which end and purpose, I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar vnto all, vnlesse farre more should be read in the peoples hearing, then by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a maner the whole Booke of God is by reading euery yere published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very wel the readiest interpreter of Scripture occupied many yeres. 4. Besides, wherfore should any man thinke, but that reading it selfe is one of the *ordinary* meanes, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnesse to in-fill that celestiall Veritie, which being *but so* receiued, is neuerthelesse effectuall to *saue Soules*? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the Word of God, as the maner is in our Churches. And because it were odious, if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they yeeld that reading may *set forward*, but not begin the work of saluation; that ^b Faith may be *nourished* therewith, but not bred; that ^c herein mens attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God haue like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if ^d any *beleue* by reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an *extraordinary worke* of God. Wherein that which they graunt, wee gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they haue to denie that which as yet they graunt not. The ^e Scripture witnesseth, that when the Booke of the Law of God had beene sometime missing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but onely read, tare his clothes, & with teares confessed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord vpon vs, because our Fathers haue not kept his Word, so doe after all things which are written in this Booke*. This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as feare God, and yet incurre his displeasure, the deserued effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the Word onely read vnto the. Besides, it seemeth that God would haue no man stand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall, as well to *lay euen the first foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the feare of God. And therefore the ^f Law saith, Thou shalt *reade* this Law before all Israel, that men, women, and *children* may heare, yea, euen that their children, which as yet *haue not knowne* it, may heare it, and by hearing it so read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our ^g Lord and Sauior was him selfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawne to amendment of life by the testimonie which *Moses* and the Prophets haue giuen, concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be perswaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead should haue rayfed them vp Preachers. Many

heare

a *Iohn* 5. 39.
If. 2. 20.

b T. C. lib. 2.
pag. 376, 377,
395.
c Pag. 378.
d Pag. 383.

e 2. *Cbro.* 34. 18.

2. *Cbro.* 34. 3.

f *Deut.* 31. 13.

g *Luke* 16. 29.

heare the Bookes of God, and beleue them not. Howbeit, their vnbeleefe in that case we may not impute vnto any weaknesse or vn sufficiency in the meane which is vsed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obstinate hearts against it. With mindes obdurate nothing preuaileth. As well they that preach, as they that reade vnto such, shall still haue cause to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will giue credit vnto our Teaching?* But with whom ordinarie meanes will preuaile, surely the power of the Word of God, euen without the helpe of Interpreters in Gods Church, worketh mightily, nor vnto their confirmation alone which are conuerted, but also to their conuersion which are not. It shall not boote them who derogate from reading, to excuse it, when they see no other remedy, as if their intent were onely to deny, that *Aliens* and strangers from the Family of God are wonne, or that beleefe doth vse to be wrought at the first in *them*, without Sermons. For they know it is our custome of simple reading, *not for conuersion of Infidels* estranged from the House of God, but for *instruction of men baptized*, bred and brought vp in the Bosome of the Church, which they despise as a thing vneffectuall to saue *such* Soules. In *such* they imagine that God hath no ordinarie meane to worke Faith without Sermons. The reason, why no man can attayne beleefe by the bare contemplation of Heauen and Earth, is, for that they neyther are sufficient to giue vs as much as the least sparke of Light concerning the very principall Mysteries of our Faith; and whatsoeuer we may learne by them, the same we can onely attaine to know, according to the manner of naturall Sciences, which meere discourse of Wit and Reason findeth out, whereas the things which wee properly beleue, be onely such, as are received vpon the credit of Diuine Testimonie. Seeing therefore, that he which considereth the creatures of God, findeth therein both these defects, and neyther the one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that readeth vnto vs the Scriptures, deliuereth all the Mysteries of Faith, and not any thing amongst them all more then the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in those two respects, that our consideration of Creatures and attention vnto Scriptures are not in themselves, and without Sermons, things of like disabilitie to *breede* or *beget* Faith. Small cause also there is, why any man should greatly wonder as at an extraordinarie worke, if without Sermons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by some speciall instance, what one Article of Christian Faith, or what dutie required necessarily vnto all mens saluation there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and strange, when they grow by vnlikely meanes. But did we euer heare it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth reade, should beleue and liue according to the will of Almighty God? ^a Reading doth conuey to the mind that Truth, without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath deriued from the holy Ghost. And the end of all Scripture is the same which ^b S. Iohn proposeth in the writing of that most Diuine Gospell, namely, *Faith*, and through Faith, *Saluation*. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect ^c *in it selfe* auailable, as they which wrote it were perswaded; vnlesse wee suppose, that the Euangelist, or others, in speaking of their owne intent to instruct and to saue by writing, had a secret conceit which they neuer opened vnto any, a conceit that no man

a Exod. 24. 7.

b Iohn 20. 31.

c Prou. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Rom. 1. 16.
2. Tim. 3. 15.

in the World should euer be that way the better for any Sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached vpon, or alleaged at the least in a Sermon. Otherwise, if he which writeth, doe that which is forceable in it selfe, how should he which readeth be thought to do that which in it selfe is of no force to worke beliefe, and to saue beleeuers? Now, although we haue very iust cause to stand in some ieaalousie and feare, lest by thus ouer- valuing their Sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall: neuertheless, so impatient they are, that being but requested to let vs know what causes they leaue for mens encouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to saue every one which beleueth; that which we moue for our better learning and instructions sake, turneth vnto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietnesse with it, they answer fumingly, that they are *ashamed to defile their Penes with making answeere to such idle questions*: yet in this their moode they cast forth somewhat, wherewith vnder paine of greater displeasure wee must rest contented. They tell vs, the profit of reading is singular, in that it serueth for a preparatiue vnto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of Faith, which Sermons haue once ingendred; it is some stay to his minde which readeth the Scripture, when hee findeth the same things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiueth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; besides, it keepeth Sermons in memorie, and doth in that respect, although not feed the Soule of man, yet helpeth the retentiu force of that stomach of the minde, which receiueth ghostly foode at the Preachers hand. But the principall cause of *writing* the Gospell was, *that it might be preached vpon or interpreted* by publique Ministers, apt & authorized thereunto. Is it credible, that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, should in such sort both darken their eyes, and yet sharpen their wits withall, that the onely true and weightie cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men haue euer till this present day acknowledged, this they should cleane exclude, as being no cause at all, and loade vs with so great store of strange concealed causes, which did neuer see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefeft cause of committing the sacred Word of God vnto Bookes, is surmized to haue bene, lest the Preacher should want a Text whereupon to scholie. Men of Learning hold it for a slip in iudgement, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing, which reason findeth common vnto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kinds of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yeeld directly some strong reason, why betweene *Sermons alone* and *Faith* there should be *ordinarily* that coherence which causes haue with their vsuall effects, why a Christian mans beliefe should so naturally grow from Sermons, and not possibly from any other kinde of teaching. In beliefe there being but these two operations, *Apprehension* and *Assent*, doe onely Sermons cause beliefe, in that no other way is able to explaine the mysteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceiue them as behooueth? Wee all know, that many things are beleued, although they be intricate, obscure, and darke, although they ex-

ceede

ceed the reach and capacitie of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way possible to bee vnderstood. Many things beleueed are likewise so plaine, that euery common person may therein bee vnto himselfe a sufficient expounder. Finally, to explaine euen those things which need and admit explanation, many other vsual wayes there are besides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we first come to apprehend the mysteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Gospell of Christ wee yeeld thereunto our vnfaigned assent as to a thing infallible true? They which rightly consider after what sort the heart of man hereunto is framed, must of necessitie acknowledge, that who so assenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authoritie* whose words they are. This is in mans conuersion vnto God $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\eta\ \delta\epsilon\phi\eta\ \tau\upsilon\varsigma\ \chi\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, the first step whereat his race towards Heauen beginneth. Vnlesse therefore, cleane contrary to our owne experience, wee shall thinke it a miracle if any man acknowledge the diuine authoritie of the Scripture, till some Sermon haue perswaded him thereunto, and that other wise neyther conuersion in the bosome of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens bookes, nor information receiued by conference, nor whatsoever paine and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the law, is so farre blest of God as to worke this effect in any man, how would they haue vs to grant, that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons*? ^a Faine they would haue vs to beleue the Apostle Saint Paul himselfe to bee the Author of this their paradox, only because he said, that it pleaseth God by the ^b foolishnes of preaching, to saue them which beleuee; and againe, ^c How shall they call on him in whom they haue not beleueed? How shall they beleuee in him of whom they haue not heard? How shall they heare without a Preacher? How shall men preach except they be sent? To answer therefore both allegations at once, the very substance of that they containe is in few but this. Life and saluation God will haue offered vnto all; his will is that *Gentiles* should be saued as well as *Iewes*. Saluation belongeth vnto none but such as call vpon the name of our Lord Iesus Christ. Which Nations as yet vnconuerted neyther doe nor possibly can doe till they beleuee. What they are to beleuee, impossible it is they should know till they heare it. Their hearing requireth our preaching vnto them. ^d Tertullian, to draw euen *Painimes* themselues vnto Christian beleefe, willeth the Bookes of the olde Testament to be searched, which were at that time in *Ptolomeis* Library. And men did not list to trauell so farre, though it were for their endlesse good, hee addeth, that in *Rome* and other places the *Iewes* had Synagogues, whereunto euery one which would might resort, that this kind of libertie they purchased by payment of a standing tribute, that there they did openly read the Scriptures; and whoeuer will heare (sayth Tertullian) hee shall find God, whoeuer will study to know, shall be also faine to beleuee. But sith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will seeke instruction at our hands, it remaineth that vnlesse we will suffer them to perish, saluation it selfe must seeke them, it behoueth GOD to send them Preachers as hee did his cleet Apostles throughout the World. There is ^a knowledge which GOD hath alwayes reuealed vnto them in the workes of nature. This they honor and esteeme highly as profound *wisedome*; howbeit this *wisedome* sa-

a T.C.lib.a.

pag.375.

b 1.Cor.1.21.

c Rom.10.14.

d Apologes.c.49.

18.in fine.

e This they did

in a tongue

which to all

learned men

amongst the

Heathens, and

to a great part

of the simplest

was familiarly

knowne: as ap-

peareth by a

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the Emperour

Iustinian, wher-

in the Iewes

make request

that it might

be lawfull for

them to reade

the Greeke

translation of

the 70. Inter-

preters in their

Synagogues,

as their cu-

stome before

had benee,

Authent. 146.

coll. 10. incipit

Aequum sanc.

ueth

ueth them not. That which must saue beleeuers, is *the knowledge of the crosse of Christ, the only subject of all our preaching.* And in their eyes what doth this seeme as yet but *folly*? It pleaseth God by the *foolishnesse of preaching* to saue. These words declare how admirable force those Mysteries haue, which the world doth deride as follies, they shew that the *foolishnes of the Crosse of Christ* is the *wisdom of true beleeuers*; they concerne the *object* of our faith, *the a matter preached of* and beleued in by Christian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account foolishnesse; but that they euer did thinke it a *fond* or vnlkely way to seek mens conuersion by *Sermons*, we haue not heard. Manifest therefore it is, that the Apostles applying the name of *foolishnesse* in such sort as they did, must needs, by the *foolishnesse of preaching*, meane the Doctrine of Christ, which wee learne that we may be saued, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaseth our Lord to saue, hee could not meane. In like sort, where the same Apostle proueth, that as well the *sending of the Apostles*, as their preaching to the *Gentiles*, was necessary, dare we affirme it was euer his meaning, that vnto their Saluation, who euen from their tender Infancie neuer knew any other Faith or Religion then only Christian, *no kind of teaching* can be auailable, *sauing that* which was so needfull for the first vniuersall conuersion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the *sending of any sort* allowable in the one case, except onely of such as had bene in the other also most fit and worthy Instruments? *Beliefe in all sorts* doth come by harkning and *attending to the Word of Life.* Which Word sometime propoeth and preacheth it selfe to the hearer; sometime they deliuer it, whom priuately Zeale and Pietie moueth to be Instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the publike, eyther reading thereof, or interpreting. All these tend vnto one effect, neyther doth that which Saint Paul or other Apostles teach, concerning the necessitie of *such teaching* as theirs was, or of *sending such* as they were, for *that purpose vnto the Gentiles*, preiudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publike instruction, or inforce the vtter disability of any other mens Vocation thought requisite in this Church for the sauing of soules, where meanes more effectually are wanting. Their only proper and direct proofe of the thing in question had bene to shew, in what sort, and how farre mans Saluation doth necessarily depend vpon the knowledge of the Word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby Sermons are distinguished from other kindes of administring the Word vnto that purpose; and what speciall propertie or qualitie that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectually to saue soules, and leaueth all other Doctrinall meanes besides destitute of vitall efficacie. These pertinent Instructions, whereby they might satisfie vs, and obtrayne the cause it selfe for which they contend, these things which onely would serue they leaue, (and which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselues with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their Opinion; sometime they ^b fall vpon their poore Brethren which can but reade, and against *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If wee alleage what the Scriptures themselues doe vsually speake for the sauing force of the Word of God, not with restraint to any one certaine kinde of deliuerie, but howsoeuer the same shall chance to bee made knowne,

yet

a The Apostle
vith the word
xopyia, and
not μαρτυρία.

b T.C. lib. 2.
pag. 173.
This style of
Readers. *
The Bishops
more then
beggery Pre-
sents.
Tho'te Rascall
Ministers.

yet by one tricke or other they alwaies ^a reſtraine it vnto Sermons. Our Lord and Sauior hath ſaid, ^b *ſerch the Scriptures, in them ye thinke to haue eternall life.* But they tell vs, hee ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peraduenture it was his minde they ſhould ſearce, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending, whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſhould happen to be alledged in Sermons. Furthermore, hauing received Apoſtolique doctrine, ^c the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught vs to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupream Rule, whereby all other doctrines muſt for ever bee examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of *that hee had preached*, hee flatly maketh (as they ſtrangely affirme) *his preachings* or Sermons *the Rule*, whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what Rule haue we thereby to iudge or examine any? For, if Sermons muſt be our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurditie) no rule at all be remaining for triall, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heavenly truth. Againe, let ^d the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteousnes. Still notwithstanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read, will auaille vnto any one of all theſe uſes; they teach vs the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can doe, if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they neuer heare ſentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forth-with their gloſes vpon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or deliuered vnto vs in Sermons. Sermons they euermore vnderſtand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequelle of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentiuely waigh. For ſith, ſpeech is the very image, whereby the minde and ſoule of the ſpeaker conueyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himſelfe very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrewes* noteth) liuely and mighty in operation, ſharper then any two-edged ſword. Now, if in this and the like places we did conceiue, that our owne Sermons are that ſtrong & forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart euen the moſt peculiar glorie of the Word of God, vnto that which is not his word? For, touching our ſermons, that which giueth them their very being, is the wit of man, and therefore they often-times accordingly taſte too much of that ouer-corrupt fountaine from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affections many times are bewraied. Wherefore, when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliuer to the people properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they neuer ſo ſound & perfect, his Word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is commonly the ſubiect whereof they treat, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they deriue vnto Sermons alone, whatſoeuer is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Againe, what ſeemeth to haue bene vttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacy or neceſſitie, *in regard of*

^a T.C.1.2.p.37.
^b Job.5.39.

^c Gal.1.9.

^d 1.Tim.3.16.

^c Hebr.4.12.

divine matter, & must consequently be verified in sundry other kinds of teaching, if *the matter* be the same in all, their use is to fasten every such speech vnto that one only manner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that still Sermons may be all in all. ^a Thus, because *Salomon* declareth that the people decay or *perish* for want of knowledge, where ^b no *prophecy* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and saluation is cut off, where Preachers are not which *prophecise* by Sermons, how many soeuer they be in number that reade daily the Word of God, and deliuer, though in other sort, the selfe same matter which Sermons doe. The people which haue no way to come to the knowledge of God, no *prophecy*, no teaching, perish. But that they should of necessitie perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of *Salomon* import. ^c Another vsuall point of their arte in this present question, is to make very large and plentifull discourses, how Christ is by sermons ^d lifted vp *higher*, and made more ^e apparent to the eye of Faith; how the ^f saour of the Word is more sweet being brayed, and more able to nourish being diuided by preaching, then by only reading propofed; how Sermons are the keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and doe open the Scriptures, which being but read, remaine *in comparifon* still clasped; how Gods ^g giueth richer increase of grace to the ground, that is planted and watered by preaching, then by bare and simple reading. Out of which premises declaring how attainement vnto life is easier where Sermons are, they conclude an ^h *impossibilitie* thereof where Sermons are not. *Acidimas* the Sophister hath many arguments, to proue that voluntary and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated speech. The like whereunto and in part the same are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as being (which all men, I thinke, will acknowledge) sundrie ⁱ peculiar and proper vertues, such as no other way of teaching belides hath. Aptuelfe to follow particular occasions, presently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and gesture, to preuaile mightily in the suddaine affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithstanding so eminent properties whereof lessons are happily destitute, yet lessons being free from some inconueniences, whereunto Sermons are more subiect, they may in this respect no lesse take, then in other they must giue the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not some way excell, euen by that which is doth excell. Sermons therefore and lessons may each excell other in some respects, without any preiudice vnto either, as touching that vitall force which they both haue in the worke of our saluation. To which effect when we haue endeouored as much as in vs doth lye, to find out the strongest causes, wherefore they should imagine that reading is it selfe so vnauaileable, the most wee can learne at their hands, is, that Sermons are ^k *the ordinance of God*; the Scriptures *darke*; and the labour of reading *ease*. First, therefore as we know that God doth ayde with his grace, and by his speciall prouidence euer more blesse with happy successe those things which him selfe appointeth, so his Church, wee persuade our selues, he hath not in such sort giuen ouer to a reprobate sence, that whatsoever it deuifeth for the good of the soules of men, the same he doth still accurse and make frustrate. Or if hee alwaies did defeat the ordinances or his Church, ^l is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherefore then should we thinke

a T. C. lib. 2.

pag. 371.

b Prov. 2. 18.

c T. C. lib. 2.

pag. 379.

d 2. Cor. 2. 16.

e 2. Tim. 2. 15.

f Mat. 16. 19.

g 1. Cor. 3. 6.

h T. C. lib. 2.

pag. 380.

No saluation

to be looked

for, where no

Preaching is.

i T. C. lib. 2.

pag. 395.

k T. C. lib. 2.

pag. 396.

l Deut. 31. 13.

thinke that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to blesse the labour of diuiding his Word, according vnto each mans priuate discretion in publike Sermons, and to with-draw it selfe from concurring with the publike deliuerie thereof by such selected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath solemnely appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinarie course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of speciall occasions? Reading (saith ^a *Isidore*) is to the hearers no small edifying. To them whose ^b delight and meditation is in the Law, seeing that happinesse and blisse belongeth, it is not in vs to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may presume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, euen for that very Word which is read to be both presently their ^c ioy, and afterwards their studie that heare it. ^d *S. Augustine* speaking of deuout men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentiu eare they gaue vnto the Lessons & Chapters read, how carefull they were to remember the same, and to muse thereupon by themselves. ^e *S. Cyprian* obserueth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their ioy and alacritie was to him an argument, that there is in this Ordinance a blessing, such as ordinarily doth accompanie the administration of the Word of Life. It were much if there should be such a difference betweene the hearing of Sermons preached & of Lessons read in the Church, that he which presenteth himselfe at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet ^f *Dauid*, *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes; direct me in the path of thy Commandements*, might haue the ground of vsuall experience wherupon to build his hope of preuailing with God, and obtrayning the grace he seeketh; they contrariwise not so, who craue the like assistance of his Spirit, when they giue eare to the reading of the other. In this therefore, preaching and reading are equall, that both are approoued as his Ordinances both assisted with his grace. And if his grace doe assist them both to the nourishment of Faith already bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yeelded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleaue to the one, and vtrly forsake the other. Touching ^g *hardnes*, which is the second pretended impedimēt, as against Homilies, being plaine & popular instructions, it is no bar, so neither doth it infringe the efficacie, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how small soeuer they would haue it, must of necessitie be granted sufficient to notifie that which is plaine or easie to bee vnderstood. And of things necessary to all mens saluation, wee haue bene hitherto accustomed to hold (especially sithence, the publishing of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, wherby the simplest hauing now a Key vnto knowledge, which the ^h *Eunuch* in the *Acts* did want, our children may of themselves by reading vnderstand that, which hee without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plaine and easie to bee vnderstood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and daily, when memorie hath laid them vp for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaneth them. Scripture therefore is not *so hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may giue life vnto willing hearers. The easie performance of which holy labour, is in like sort a very cold obiection, to preiudice the vertue thereof. For what though an *Infidell*, yea, though a *child* may be able to reade; there is no doubt, but the meanest and worst amongst the people vnder the

^a De Eccles.
offic. lib. 1. cap. 10.
^b Psal. 1. 2.

^c Psal. 119. 16
^d Aug. in Ps. 66

^e Cyprian. lib. 2.
Epist. 5. Lector
personal verba
sublimia, Euan-
gelium Christi
legit, à fratibus
conspicitur, cum
gaudio fraterni-
tatis audiuir.
^f Ps. 119. 33. 35.

^g T. C. l. 2. p. 383.
384. 392.

^h Acts 8. 31.

Law, had been as able as the Priests themselves were to offer Sacrifice. Did this make Sacrifice of no effect vnto that purpose for which it was instituted? In Religion some duties are not comended so much by the hardnesse of their execution, as by the worthinesse and dignitie of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodnesse of God in nature, when we consider how he hath provided, that things most needfull to preferue this life, should be most prompt and easie for all liuing creatures to come by. Is it not as euident a signe of his wonderfull providence ouer vs, when that food of eternall life, vpon the *vnter want* wherof our endlesse death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and alwayes set in such a readinesse, that those very means then which nothing is more easie may suffice to procure the same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lacke of Scribes and learned Expounders that can bee our iust excuse. The Word which saueth our soules is neere vs, we need for knowledge but ^a to reade and liue. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it selfe doth pronounce blessed, if hee also obserue the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall bee no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferencie on which part the good of the Church is most conueniently sought; whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath bene shewed, or else on ^b theirs, who leauing no ordinary way of saluation for them vnto whom the Word of God is but only read, doe seldome name them but with great disdain and contempt who execute that seruice in the Church of Christ. By meanes whereof it hath come to passe, that Churches, which cannot enioy the benefit of vsuall Preaching, are iudged, as it were euen forsaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwise, those places which euery day for the most part are at Sermons as the flowing Sea, doe both by their emptinesse at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens shew to the voice of the liuing God, this way sounding in the eares of men a great deale lesse reuerence then were meete. But if no other euill were knowne to grow thereby, who can choose but thinke them cruell which doe heare them so boldly teach, that ^c if God (as to him there is nothing impossible) doe happily saue any such as continue where they haue all other meanes of instruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more then the fitnesse of so poore instruments can giue any man cause to hope for; that, ^d Sacraments are not effectuell to saluation, except men be instructed by *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both ^e Sacraments and Prayers also, where Sermons are not, *Do not only not feed, but are ordinarily so further condemnation?* What mans hart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true that the weaknesse of our wits and the dulnesse of our affections doe make vs for the most part, euen as our Lords own Disciples were for a certaine time, hard and slow to beleue what is written. For helpe whereof expositions and exhortations are needfull, & that in the most effectuell manner. The principall Churches throughout the Land, and no small part of the rest being in this respect by the goodnesse of God so abundantly provided for; they which want the like furtherance vnto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that iustly any man should thinke the ordinarie meanes

of

^a Apoc. 1. 3.

^b T. C. l. 2. p. 363.
Page 373.

^c Pag. 364. 375.
380. 383. 384.

^d Pag. 392.
^e Pag. 364.

of eternall life taken from them, because their teaching is in publique for the most part but by reading. For which cause amongst whom there are not those helps that others haue to set them forward in the way of life, such to dishearten with fearefull sentences, as though their saluation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our vnderstanding so consonant with Christian Charitie. Wee hold it safer a great deale and better to giue them ^a incouragement; to put them in minde that it is not the deepnesse of their knowledge, but the ^b singleness of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which ^c hunger and thirst after righteoufnesse, shall bee satisfied; that no ^d imbecillitie of meanes can preiudice the truth of the promise of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their neede is to sharpen the edge of their owne ^e industrie; and that ^f painefulnesse by feeble meanes shall bee able to gaine that, which in the plentie of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost. As for the men, with whome we haue thus farre taken paines to conferre, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it selfe, or opened in Sermons; their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might giue vs very iust cause to thinke, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoeuer they haue bene driuen to deuise some odde kindes of blind vses, whereunto they may answer that reading doth serue, yet the reading of the Word of God in publique more then their Preachers bare text, who will not iudge that they deeme needlesse, when if wee chance at any time to terme it necessarie, as being a thing which God himselfe did institute amongst the Iewes for purposes that touch as well vs as them; a thing which the Apostles commend vnder the old, and ordaine vnder the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath euer sithence the first beginning reaped singular commoditie; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit? they onely are the men that euer were heard of, by whom this hath bene crost and gaine said; they onely the men which haue giuen their peremptory sentence to the contrary, & *It is vntrue that simple reading is necessary in the Church.* And why vntrue? *Because although it be very conuenient which is vsed in some Churches, where before preaching time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read in such order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeere runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which haue no such order of simple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods comandement, which they might be if simple reading were necessary.* A poore, a cold and an hungrie cauill. Shall wee therefore to please them change the word *Necessary*, and say that it hath bene a commendable order, a custome very expedient, or an ordinance most profitable (whereby they know right well that wee meane exceedingly behoofull) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it bee as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they preferre before vs? It is not this that will content or satisfie their mindes. They haue against it a marvellous deepe & profound axiome, ^h that *Two things to one and i the same end cannot but very improperly be said most profitable.* And therefore if preaching be most profitable to mans saluation, then is not reading; if reading bee, then preaching is not. Are they resolued then at the least wile, if preaching bee the onely ordinary meane whereby it pleaseth

a Ecclesi. 514
26,27.

Matth. 12.20.

b 1.Tim. 4.5.

Rom. 14.1.

1.Thes. 3.10.

c Matth. 5.6.

d Phil. 1.6.

1.Pet. 5.10.

Matth. 3.9.

e 1.Thes. 4.18.

Hebr. 10.24.

inde verse 20.

1.Pet. 4.10.

f Luke 11.31.

g T.C. lib. 20

pag. 381.

h T.C. lib. 20

pag. 372.

God to saue our soules, what kind of preaching it is which doth saue? Vnderstand they how or in what respect there is that force and vertue in preaching? We haue reason wherefore to make these demaunds, for that although their pennes run all vpon *Preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themselues doe practise that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and those words they shunne, as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phraze to say they *preach*, or to giue to their owne instructions and exhortations the name of *Sermons*; the paine they take, themselues in this kinde is either *opening* or *Lecturing*, or *Reading*, or *Exercising*, but in no case *preaching*.^a And in this present question they also warily protest that what they ascribe to the vertue of preaching, they still meane it of good preaching: Now one of them saith that a good Sermon^b must expound and apply a large portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giueth vs to vnderstand, that sound preaching^c is not to doe as one did at London, who spent most of his time in inuectiues against good men, and told his audience how the Magistrate should haue an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church. The^d best of them hold it for no good preaching, when a man endeuoureth to make a glorious shew of eloquence and learning, rather then to applie himselfe to the capacitie of the simple. But let them shape vs out a good Preacher by what patterne soeuer please them best, let them exclude and inclose whom they will with their definitions, we are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they haue of their owne waies, so that when once wee are agreed what Sermons shall currantly passe for good, wee may at the length vnderstand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of life vnto such as heare. If substance of matter, euidence of things, strength and validitie of arguments and proofes, or if any other vertue else which words and sentences may containe, of all this what is there in the best Sermons being vttered, which they lose by being read? But they vtterly denie that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can euer by the ordinarie grace of God saue any soule. So that although wee had all the Sermons word for word which *James*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which Sermons was of power to conuert thousands of the hearers vnto Christian faith; yea although wee had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe, and should reade them ten thousand times ouer, to faith and saluation, no man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it must of necessitie follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certaine accidents which are not in them but in their Maker; his vertue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his bodie, and the inflection of his voice who first vttereth them as his owne, is that which giueth them the forme, the nature, the very essence of instruments auailable to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their finall conclusion bee, *Sermons wee know are the onely ordinary means to saluation, but why or how wee cannot tell?* Wherefore to end this tedious controuersie, wherein the too great importunitie of our ouer-eager Aduersaries hath constraigned vs much longer to dwell, then the barrenesse of so poore a cause could haue seemed

a T.C.lib.2.pag. 385.

b Complaint of the comminallue.

c Doll Somes, Painter, pag. 210.

d T.C.lib.2. pag. 385.

seemed at the first likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and passions are accustomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to giue their sentence, shall here sit downe to receiue our Audit, and to cast vpon the whole reckoning on both sides, the summe which truth amounteth vnto will appeare to bee but this, that as medicines prouided of nature, and applied by arte for the benefit of bodily health, take effect sometime vnder and sometime above the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancie of the patient doth more or lesse concurre with them: So whether we barely reade vnto men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning matter of beliefe and conuersation seeke to lay before them the duties which they owe vnto God and man; whether wee deliuer them Bookes to reade and consider of in priuate at their owne best leasure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publicly in the house of God; albeit euery of these and the like vnto these meanes doe truely and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they haue in common being most sensible and most generally noted in one kinde about the rest, that one hath in some mens opinions drowned altogether the rest, and iniuriously brought to passe that they haue bene thought not lesse effectuell then the other, but without the other vneffectuall to saue soules. Whereas the cause why Sermons only are obserued to preuaile so much while all meanes else seeme to sleepe and doe nothing, is in truth but that singular affection and attention which the people sheweth euery where nothing towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other, the reason heereof being partly the arte which our Aduersaries vse for the credit of their Sermons to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching besides; partly a custome which men haue to let those things carelesly passe by their eares which they haue oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whensoever it pleaseth themselues; partly, the speciall aduantages which Sermons naturally haue to procure attention, both in that they come alwaies new, and because by the hearer it is still presumed that if they bee let slip for the present, what good soeuer they conteine is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cause of oddes betweene Sermons and other kindes of wholsome instruction. As for the difference which hath bene hitherto so much defended on the contrarie side, making Sermons the onely ordinary meanes vnto faith and eternall life, sith this hath neither euidence of truth, nor prooffe sufficient to giue it warrant, a cause of such qualitie may with farre better grace and conueniencie aske that pardon which common humanitie doth easily grant, then claime in challenging manner that assent which is as vnwilling when reason guideth it to be yeelded where it is not, as with-held where it is apparently due. All which notwithstanding, as wee could greatly wish that the rigor of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, so because we hold it the part of religious ingenuitie to honour vertue in whomsoever; therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall bee alwaies our prayer vnto Almighty God, that in the selfe same seruent zeale wherewith they seeme to effect the good of the Soules of men, and to thirst after nothing more then that all men might by all meanes be directed in the way
of

of life, both they and wee may constantly persist to the worlds end. For in this wee are not their aduerfaries, though they in the other hitherto haue beene ours.

Of Prayer.

23 Betweene the Throne of God in heauen, and his Church vpon earth heere militant, if it be so that Angels haue their continuall intercourse, where should we finde the same more verified then in those two ghostly exercises, the one *Doctrine*, the other *Prayer*? For what is the assembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels descended from aboue? What to pray, but the sending of Angels vpward? His heavenly inspirations and our holy desires are as so many Angels of entercourse and commerce betweene God and vs. As teaching bringeth vs to know that God is our supreme truth; so prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our soueraigne good. Besides, sith one God as the most high all inferiour causes in the world are dependant, and the higher any cause is, the more it coueteth to impart vertue vnto things beneath it, how should any kinde of seruice wee doe or can doe, finde greater acceptance then Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him, in desiring that wherewith his verie nature doth most delight? Is not the name of Prayer vsually signifye euen all the seruice that euer we doe vnto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in religion no acceptable dutie which deuout inuocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or inferre. Prayers are those ^a values of mens lips; those most gracious and sweete ^b odours; those rich presents and gifts, which being ^c carried vp into heauen, doe best testifie our dutifull affection, and are, for the purchasing of all fauour at the hands of God, the most vndoubted meanes we can vse. On others what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully bestowed then our Prayers? If we giue counsell, they are the simpler onely that neede it; if almes, the poorer onely are relieved; but by Prayer we doe good to all. And whereas euery other duty besides is but to shew it selfe as time and opportunitie require, for this ^d all times are conuenient: when we are not able to doe any other thing for mens behoofe, when through malicioufnesse or vkindnesse they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which wee alwaies haue in our power to bestow, and they neuer in theirs to refuse. Wherefore God forbid, saith ^e *Samuel*, speaking vnto a most vnthankfull people, a people weary of the benefite of his most vertuous government ouer them, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you. It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we haue on earth concerning things that are done in heauen. Notwithstanding thus much we knoweuen of Saints in heauen that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a worke common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels, what should wee thinke, but that so much of our liues is celestiall and diuine as we spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause wee see that the most comfortable ^f visitations, which God hath sent men from aboue, haue taken especially the times of Prayer as their most naturall opportunities.

24 This holy and religious dutie of seruice towards God concerneth vs
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^a *Ose* 14.3.
^b *Reue.* 5.8.
^c *Acts* 10.4.

^d *Rom.* 3.9.
1. Thef. 5.17.
Luke 18.1.

^e *1. Sam.* 12.23

^f *Dan.* 9.20.
Acts 10.13.

Of publike
Prayer.

one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are ioyned as parts to that visible mysticall bodie which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occasions in priuate: But the seruice, which we do as members of a publique bodie, is publique, and for that cause must needs be accompted by so much worthier then the other, as a whole societie of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration vnto Christian assemblies, there are^b most speciall promises made. ^c Saint Paul, though likely to preuaile with God as much as one, did not withstanding thinke it much more, both for Gods glorie and his owne good, if prayers might bee made and thanks yeilded in his behalfe by a number of men. The^d Prince and People of Niniueh assembling themselues as a mayne armie of Suppliants, it was not in the power of God to withstand them. I speake no otherwise concerning the force of publique Prayer in the Church of God, then before me ^e Tertullian hath done, *We come by troupes to the place of Assembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be supplicants enough to besiege God with our prayers. These forces are vnto him acceptable.* When we publicly make our prayers it cannot be but that we doe it with much more comfort then in priuate, for that the things we aske publicly are approoued as needfull and good in the iudgement of all, we heare them sought for and desired with common consent. Againe, thus much helpe and furtherance is more yeilded, in that if so be our zeale and deuotion to God-ward be slacke, ^f the alacritie and feruor of others serueth as a present spurre. ^g For euen prayer is *seife* (saith Saint Basil) when it hath not the consort of many voyces to strengthen it, is not *seife*. Finally, the good which we doe by publique prayer is more then in priuate can be done, for that besides the benefit which is here, is no lesse procured to our selues, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and consequently whereas secret neglect of our dutie in this kind is but only our owne hurt, one mans contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is most hurtfull vnto many. In which considerations the^h Prophet David so often voweth vnto God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the Congregation; so earnestly exhorteth others to sing prayes vnto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuarie, before the memoriall of his Holinesse, and so much complaineth of his owne vncomfortable exile, wherein although he sustained many most grieuous indignities, and indured the want of sundrie both pleasures and honors both before inioyed, yet as ifⁱ this one were his onely griefe and the rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of publique assemblies, and the happinesse of such as had free access thereunto.

25 A great part of the cause, wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they find that the very forme and reuerend solemnitie of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to helpe that imbecillitie and weaknesse in vs, by meanes whereof we are otherwise of our selues the lesse apt to performe vnto God so heavenly a seruice, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our soules as is requisite. To this end therefore all things here- vnto appertayning, haue beene euer thought conuenient to be done with the

most

a Psal. 55. 18.
Dan. 9. 3.
Act. 10. 9.

b Matt. 18. 20.
c 2. Cor. 1. 11.

d Ionah 4. 11.

e Aplog. 1. 39.
Ambros. lib. de
Poen. Multi
minimi dum
coner. gan. ur
inamines sunt
magis & mul-
torum preces im-
possibile est con-
temni.

f Psal. 122. 1.

g Καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ
προσευχὴ καὶ
ἤχρυσά τοῦ
συμπρωήτας
ἀναρροσέρας
πολλῶ ἑαυτῆς.

h Psal. 26. 12.
34. 18.
Psal. 30. 4. 96. 9.

i Psal. 27. 4.
42. 4. 84. 1.

Of the forme
of Common
Prayer.

most solemnitie and maiestie that the wisest could deuise. It is not with publique as with priuate Prayer. In this ^a rather secrecie is commanded then outward shew, whereas that being the publique act of a whole societie, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very assembling of men therefore vnto this seruice hath bene euer solempne. And concerning the place of assembly, although it serue for other vses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himselfe hath to this as to the chiefest of all other plainly sanctified his own Temple, by intituling it ^b *the house of Prayer*, what preeminence of dignitie foecer hath bene either by the ordinance, or through the speciall fauour, and prouidence of God annexed vnto his Sanctuarie, the principall cause thereof must needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the grauest of the ^c ancient Fathers seriously were perswaded, and doe oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the house of Praier is a Court, beautified with the presence of celestiall powers, that there we stand, we pray, we found forth Hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our Associates; and that with reference hereunto ^d the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decencie for the Angels sake; how can we come to the house of Prayer, and not be moued with the ^e very glory of the place it selfe, so to frame our affections praying, as doth best beseme them, whose sutes the Almighty doth there sit to heare, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the mindes of men, there needed no penall Statutes to draw them vnto publique Prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the ^f Churches were presently filled, the pauements couered with bodies prostrate, and waht with their teares of deuout ioy. And as the place of publique Prayer is a circumstance in the outward forme thereof, which hath moment to helpe deuotion; so the person much more with whom the people of God doe ioyne themselues in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authoritie of his place, the seruour of his zeale, the pietie and grauitie of his whole behauiour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the seruice he doth. The authoritie of his calling is a furtherance, because if God haue so farre receiued him into fauour, as to impose vpon him by the hands of men that office of blessing the people in his name, and making intercession to him in theirs, which office he hath sanctified with his owne most gracious ^g promise, and ratified that promise by manifest actuall performance thereof, when ^h others before in like place haue done the same, is not his very ordination a seale, as it were to vs, that the selfe-same diuine loue which hath chosen the instrument to worke with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in blessing his people, & accepting the Prayers which his seruant offereth vp vnto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable title which the ancients vsed to giue vnto Gods Ministers, terming them vsually ⁱ *Gods most beloued*, which were ordained to procure by their Prayers his loue and fauour towards all. Againie, if there be not zeale and seruencie in him which proposeth for the rest those sutes and supplications, which they by their ioyfull acclamations must ratifie; if hee praise not God with all his might; if hee powre not out his soule in prayer; if he take not their causes to heare, or speake not as

Moses

^a Matt. 6. 5, 6.^b Matt. 21. 13.^c Chryf. Hom. 15. ad Hebr. c. 24. in A.^d 1. Cor. 11. 10.^e Psal. 96. 6. Power and beautie in his Sanctuarie.^f Ad domos factum Dominicas currimus, coriora bini firmimus, mixta cum fletu gaudys supplicamus. Saluia de Prou. 17^g Num. 6. 23.^h 2. Chr. 30. 27.ⁱ Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3 de Episc. & Cler. 43. & 44. f. 1. p. 1.

Moses, Daniel, and Ezra, did for their people; how should there bee but in them frozen coldnesse, when his affections seeme benumbed from whom theirs should take fire? Vertue and godlinesse of life are required at the hands of the Minister of God, not only in that hee is to teach and instruct the people, who for the most part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholesome instruction of them, whose life swarueth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but also much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether wee respect the weakenesse of the people, apt to lothe and abhor the *Sanctuary*, when they which performe the seruice thereof are such as the sonnes of *Heli* were; or else consider the ^a inclination of God himselfe, who requireth the lifting vp of pure hands in prayer, and hath giuen the world plainly to vnderstand, that the wicked, although thy crie, shall not bee heard. They are no fit Supplicants to seeke his mercy in the behalfe of others, whose owne vn-repentet sinnes prouoke his iust indignation.

^b Let thy Priests therefore, O Lord, be euermore clothed with righteousness, that thy Saints may thereby with more deuotion reioyce and sing. But of all helps for due performance of this seruice, the greatest is that very set and standing order it selfe, which framed, with common aduise, hath both for matter and forme prescribed whatsoeuer is herein publikely done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by vs it must be acknowledged a worke of his singular care and providence, that the Church hath euermore held a prescript forme of Common Prayer, although not in all things euery-where the same, yet for the most part retayning still the same analogie. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world bee compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceiued they had all one original mold, and that the publike Prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly settled, did neuer vse to be voluntarie Dictates, proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which considereth the grieuous & scandalous inconueniences, whereunto they make themselves daily subiect, with whom any blind and secret corner is iudged a fit house of Comon Prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into, where euery mans priuate spirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to this ministerie; the irksome deformities whereby through endlesse and senselesse effusions of indigested prayers, they oftentimes disgrace in most vn-sufferable manner, the worst part of Christian dutie towards God, who herein are subiect to no certaine order, but pray both what and how they list; to him, I say, which waith duly all these things; the reasons cannot be obscure, why God doth in publike Prayer so much respect the ^c solemnitie of places where, ^d the authoritie and calling of persons by whom, and the ^e precise appointment euen with what wordes or sentences his name should be called on amongst his people.

26 No man hath hitherto beene so impious, as plainly and directly to condemne Prayer. The best stratagem that Sathan hath, who knoweth his Kingdome to be no one way more shaken, then by the publike deuout Prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme and manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all mens deuotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a strange conceit, that

^a 1. Tim. 2.8.
John 9. 31.
Ierem. 11. 11.
Ezech. 8. 18.

^b Psal. 132. 9.

^c 2. Cbro. 6. 20.
^d Joel. 2. 17.
^e 2. Cbro. 29. 30

Of them which like not to haue any set forme of Common Prayer.

that to serue God with any set forme of common Prayer, is superstitious. As though ^a God himselfe did not frame to his Priests the very speech, wherewith they were charged to blesse the people; or as if our Lord, euen of purpose to prevent this fancie of extemporall and voluntarie prayers, had not left vs of his owne framing one, which might both remaine as a part of the Church Lyturgie, and serue as a patterne whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacie, yet without superfluitie of words. If prayers were no otherwise accepted of God, then being conceiued alwaies new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagine that he doth lothe to haue the selie-same supplications often iterated, euen as we doe to be euery day sed without alteration or change of dyet; if prayers bee actions which ought to waste away themselues in the making; if being made to remaine that they may be resumed and vsed againe as prayers, they bee but instruments of superstition; surely, wee cannot excuse *Moses*, who gaue such occasion of scandall to the world, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God, according to the vsuall naked simplicitie of Gods Spirit, for that admirable victorie giuen them against *Pharao*, vnlesse so dangerous a precedent were left for the casting of prayers into certaine poeticall molds, and for the framing of prayers which might be repeated often, although they neuer had againe the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very Hymne of *Moses* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinarie Iewish Lyturgie; nor only that, but sundrie other sithence inuented. Their bookes of common Prayer contayned partly Hymnes taken out of the holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thankesgiuings, Supplications, penned by such as haue beene, from time to time, the Gouvernors of that Synagogue. These they sorted into their feuerall times and places, some to begin the seruice of God with, and some to end, some to goe before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced betweene the diuine readings of the Law and Prophets. Vnto their custome of finishing the Passeouer with certaine Psalmes, there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Euangelist doth evidently allude, saying, That after the cup deliuered by our Sauour vnto his Apostles, ^b they sung, and went forth to the Mount of Oliues. As the Iewes had their songs of *Moses*, and *David*, and the rest, so the Church of Christ from the very beginning bath both vsed the same, and besides them other also of like nature, the song of the Virgin *Mary*, the song of *Zachary*, the song of *Simeon*, such Hymnes as the Apostle doth often speake of, saying, ^c *I will pray and sing with the Spirit*. Againe, ^d *In Psalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melodie vnto the Lord, and that heartily*. Hymnes and Psalmes are such kindes of prayer as are not wont to bee conceiued vpon a suddaine; but are framed by Meditation before hand, or else by propheticall illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinarie gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of seruice necessarie for the edifying of his Church.

27 Now, albeit the admonitioners did seeme at the first to allow no prescript forme of prayer at all, but thought it the best that their Minister should alwaies be left at libertie to pray, as his owne discretion did serue, yet because this opinion vpon better aduice they afterwards retracted, their defendor and

his

^a Num. 6.23.

^b Mat. 26.30.
 ὑμνεσεντες,
 hauing sung
 the Psalmes
 which were
 vsuall at that
 feast, those
 Psalmes which
 the Iewes call
 the great Hal-
 leluia, begin-
 ning at the
 113. and con-
 tinuing to the
 end of the 118.
 See Paul. Bur-
 gens in Ps. 112.
 edit. 1. and
 Scalig. de emen-
 dat. tempo.
^c 1. Cor. 14.15.
^d Ephes. 5.19.

Of them who
 allowing a set
 forme of Pray-
 er, yet allow
 not ours.

his Associates haue since proposed to the World a forme, such as themselves like, and to shew their dislike of ours, haue taken against it those exceptions, which, whosoever doth measure by number, must needs be greatly out of loue with a thing that hath so many faults; whosoever by way, cannot choose but esteeme very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous Adversaries hath not hitherto obserued any defect which themselves can seriously thinke to be of moment. Grosse Errors and manifest Impietie they grant we haue taken away. Yet * many things in it they say are amisse, many instances they giue of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the Word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elsewhere reformed allow and obserue; or Attyre disgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor gestured as becometh; it requireth nothing to be done which a Childe may not lawfully doe; it hath a number of short cuts or shreadings, which may be better called wishes then Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings & Readings in such manner, as if Supplicants should vse in proposing their Sutes vnto mortall Princes, all the World would iudge them madde; it is too long, and by that meane abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to say after the Minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the *Psalmes* by course, from side to side; it vseth the Lords Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* it might very well spare; it hath the *Letanie*, the Creed of *Athanasius*, and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craueth earthly things too much; for deliuerance from those euils against which wee pray, it giueth no thanks; some things it asketh vnseasonably when they need not to be prayed for, as deliuerance from Thunder and Tempest when no danger is nigh; some in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would giue vs that which wee for our vnworthinesse dare not aske; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliuerance from suddaine death, riddance from all aduersitie, and the extent of sauing mercie towards all men. These and such like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of Common Prayer is thought to swerue from the Word of God. A great fauourer of that part, but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, a painfull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare sometime to vndertake, against Popish Detractors, the generall maintenance and defence of our whole Church-seruice, as hauing in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And euen they which would file away most from the largenesse of that offer, doe notwithstanding in more sparing termes acknowledge little lesse. For when those opposite iudgements which neuer are wont to conster things doubtfull to the better, those very tongues which are alwaies prone to aggravate whatsoever hath but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to saour of, or to sound towards any euill, doe by their owne voluntary sentence cleraely free vs from *grosse Errors*, and from *manifest Impietie* herein, who would not iudge vs to be discharged of all blame, which are confessed to haue no great fault, euen by their very word and testimonie, in whose eyes no fault of ours hath euer hitherto bene accustomed to seeme small. Neuerthelessse, what they seeme to offer vs with the one hand, the same with the

* T. C. L. p. 131
Afterwards pa.
135. Whereas
M. Doctor af-
firmeth that
there can bee
nothing shew-
ed in the whole
Booke which is
not agreeable
vnto the Word
of God: I am
very loth &c.
Notwithstand-
ing, my dutie
of defending
the truth and
loue whereto
I haue first to-
wards God, &
then towards
my Countrey,
constryneth
me being thus
prouoked, to
speake a few
words more
particularly of
the forme of
Prayer, that
when the ble-
mishes thereof
doe appeare, it
may please the
Queenes Ma-
iestie, and her
Honourable
Councell with
those of the
Parliament,
&c.

other they pull backe againe. They grant we erre not in palpable manner, wee are not openly and notoriously impious, yet Errors we haue, which the sharpe insight of their wisest men doe espye, there is hidden impietic, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilfull eares perceiue certayne harsh and vnpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the Rules of Diuine Harmony, such as the Lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

28 Touching our Conformitie with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference betwene some Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath bene already answered, may serue for answer to that exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the forme of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed, which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they doe, in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and Christian men somethings, somethings in that they are misse-led and blinded with Error. As farre as they follow Reason and Truth, wee feare not to tread the selfe-same steps wherein they haue gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better; others whom we much more affect leauing it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whom wee like not, then in defects resemble them whom wee loue. For although they professe they agree with vs touching ^a a prescript forme of Prayer to be vsed in the Church, yet in that very forme which they say, is ^b agreeable to Gods Word, and the use of Reformed Churches, they haue by speciall protestation declared, that their meaning is not it shall bee prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Minister. *It shall not (they say) be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with some like confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which ended, he either useth the Prayer for all States before mentioned, or prayeth as the Spirit of God shall mooue his heart.* Herein therefore we hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a Prescript forme which euery man shall bee bound to obserue, then with them to set downe a kind of direction, a forme for men to vse if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that publike Prayer is a dutie intyre in it selfe, a dutie requisite to be performed, much oftner then Sermons can possibly bee made. For which cause, as they, so we haue likewise a publike forme how to serue God both Morning and Euening, whether Sermons may bee had or no. On the contrary side, their forme of reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall be done ^c upon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the Word; with what words the Minister shall beginne, ^d when the houre appointed for Sermon is come; what shall be said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this forme of theirs, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, no Seruise.* Which ouersight, occasioned the French spitefully to terme Religion in that sort exercised, a meere Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse, in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to preferre their Reformed forme of Prayer before our owne, what Church soeuer we resemble therein.

a T.C.I. p. 135
b A Booke of the forme of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament, pag. 46

c Page 22.
d 24.

29 The Attire which the Minister of God is by order to vse at times of Diuine Seruice, being but a matter of meere formalitie, yet such as for comeliness sake hath hitherto been iudged by the wiser sort of men not vnecessary to concurre with other sensible notes, betokening the different kind or qualitie of persons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we thinke not our selues the holier, because wee vse it, so neyther should they with whom no such thing is in vse, thinke vs therefore unholy, because we submit our selues vnto that, which in a matter so indifferent the wisdom of authoritie and Law haue thought comely. To solemne actions of Royaltie and Iustice, their futable Ornaments are a beautie. Are they only in Religion a stayne? ^a *Diuine Religion*, saith Saint *Ierome* (he speaketh of the Priestly Attire of the Law) *hath one kind of habit wherein to minister before the Lord, another for ordinary vses belonging vnto comon life.* PELAGIVS hauing carped at the curious neatnesse of mens apparell in those dayes, and through the sownenesse of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that ^b *the glory of Clothes and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God & godlines*; S. *Ierome*, whose custome is not to pardon our-casily his Aduersaries, if any where they chance to trip, presseth him as thereby making all sorts of men in the world *Gods enemies. Is it enmity with God* (saith he) *if I weare my Coat somewhat handsome*? If a Bilhop, a Priest, a Deacon, and the rest of the Ecclesiasticall Order come to administer the vsuall Sacrifice in a white Garment, are they hereby Gods Aduersaries? *Clarke, Monks, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen then in foule & ragged clothes. Not to speak any thing of Secular men, which are proclaymed to haue war with God as oft as euer they put on precious & shining Clothes.* By which words of *Ierome* we may take it at the least for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by so general a speech euen the neatnesse of that very Garment it selfe, wherein the Clergie did then vse to administer publicly the holy Sacrament of Christs most blessed Bodie and Blood. For that they did then vse some such Ornament, the words of ^a *Chrysostome* giue plaine testimonie, who speaking to the Clergie of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did suffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord, and not put them by, it would be as heauily reuenged vpon them, as if themselves had shed his blood, that for this purpose God hath called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Christ, that this they should reckon was *their dignity, this their safetie, this their whole Crowne & glory*; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is administered, imagine themselves called only *to walke vp and downe in a white & shining Garment.* Now, whereas these speeches of *Ierome* and *Chrysostome* doe seeme plainly to allude vnto such Ministeriall Garments as were then in vse, to this they answer, that by *Ierome* nothing can be gathered, but only that the Ministers came to Church in handsome holiday apparell, and that him selfe did not thinke them bound by the Law of God to goe like Slouens; but the Weed which wee meane hee defendeth not; that ^c *Chrysostome* meaneth indeed the same which wee defend, but seemeth rather to reprehend then to allow it as we doe. Which answer wringeth out of *Ierome* and *Chrysostome* that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both speake of the same persons, namely, the Clergie; and of their Weed at the same time when they administer the

Attire belonging to the seruice of God. T. C. l. i. p. 71. We thinke the Surpise especially vnneere for a Minister of the Gospel to weare pa. 75. It is easily seen by *Salon. 2. Eccles. 8. 9.* that to weare a white Garment was greatly esteemed in the East parts, and was ordinary to those that were in any estimation, as blacke with vs, and therefore was no leuerall Apparell for the Ministers to execute their Ministry in. a *Hieron. 44. Ezech. b Hieron. aduer. Pel. lib. 1. ca. 9. c T. C. li. 1. p. 77.* By a white garment, is meant a comely Apparell, and not slovenly. d *Chrysost. ad papul. Antioch. To. 5. S. 7. nn. 60. e T. C. li. 1. p. 75.* It is true, *Chrysostome* maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignity of their Ministry was in taking heed that none vnmeet were admitted to the Lords Supper, not in going about the Church with a white Garment.

blessed Sacrament; and of the selfe-same kind of Weed, a white Garment, so farre as we haue wit to conceiue; and for any thing wee are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing it selfe to be different whereof they speake, or their iudgements concerning it different; although the one do only maintaine it against *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore vnlawful, because it was faire or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in it selfe, if they which weare it, do nothing else but ayre the Robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of white apparell in the Easterne part of the World, is a token of greater fitnesse for this Sacred vse, wherein it were not conuenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding, I am not bent to stand stiffely vpon these probabilities, that in *Jeromes* and *Chrystomes* time any such Attyre was made feuerall to this purpose. Yet surely the words of *Salomon* are very impertinent to proue it an Ornament, therefore not feuerall for the Ministers to execute their Ministerie in, because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinarie apparell white. For we know that when *Salomon* wrote those words, the feuerall Apparell for the Ministers of the Law, to execute their Ministerie in was such. The^a Wiseman which feared God from his heart, and honoured the Seruice that was done vnto him, could not mention so much as the Garments of holinesse, but with effectuall signification of most singular reuerence and loue. Were it not better that the loue which men beare to God, should make the least things that are employed in his Seruice amiable, then that their ouerferupulous dislike of so meane a thing as a Vestment, should from the very Seruice of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I terme it rather a meane thing, a thing not much to be respected, because euen they so account now of it, whose first Disputations against it were such, as if Religion had scarcely any thing of greater waight. Their^b allegations were then, that *if a man were assured to gaine a thousand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or be vnto him a cause of falling, he ought not to doe it; that this Popish apparell, the Surplice especially hath bin by Papists abominably abused; that it hath bin a mark a and very Sacrament of abomination; that remaying, it serueth as a Monument of Idolatry, and not onely edifieth not, but as a dangerous and scandalous Ceremonie, doth exceeding much harme to them of whose good we are commanded to haue regard; that it causeth men to perish & make shipwrack of conscience, for so themselves professe they meane, when they say the weake are offended herewith that it hardeneth Papists, hindereth the weake from profiting in the knowledge of the Gospell, grieveth godly mindes, and giueth them occasion to thinke hardly of their Ministers; that if the Magistrate may command, or the Church appoint Rites and Ceremonies, yet seeing our abstinence from things in their owne nature indifferent, if the weake Brother should bee offended, is flat Commandement of the Holy Ghost, which no Authoritie eyther of Church or Commonwealth can make voyd, therefore neyther may the one nor the other lawfully ordayne this Ceremonie, which hath great incommoditie and no profit, great offence and no edifying; that by the Law it should haue bene burnt and consumed with fire as a thing infected with Leprosie; that the Example of *Ezechias*, beating to powder the Brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating those abused Feasts of Charity, inforceth vpon vs the duty of abolishing altogether a thing*

^a *Ezech.* 45. 7.

^b *T. C. l. 1. p. 79.*

71.

75.

72.

T. C. l. 2. p. 403.
lib. 1. p. 73.

Page 71.

Page 76.

Lib. 1. p. 403.

Lib. 1. p. 76.

Page 81.

which

which hath bene and is so offensiuē; Finally, that God by his Prophet hath giuen *an expresse Commandement*, which in this case toucheth vs, no lesse then of old it did the Iewes, *Ye shall pollute the covering of the Images of Silver, and the rich Ornament of your Images of Gold, and cast them away as a stained ragge, thou shalt say vnto it, Get thee hence.* These and such like were their first Discourses, touching the Churches Attire, which with vs for the most part is vsuall in publicke Prayer; our Ecclesiasticall Lawes so appointing, as well because it hath bin of reasonable continuance, and by speciall choise was taken out of the number of those holy Garments, which (ouer and besides their mysticall reuerence) serued for *comelinesse* vnder the Law, and is in the number of those Ceremonies, which may with choice and discretion bee vsed to that purpose in the Church of Christ; as also for that it suteth so fitly with the lightsome affection of *ioy*, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praise him; and so liuely resembleth the glorie of his Saints in Heauen, together with the beautie wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appear for men in the presence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their owne choice, and would choose, could any not easily deuise a Garment of more decencie for such a Seruice. As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against it, shall wee giue them credit, when the verie Authors from whom they come, confesse they beleue not their owne sayings? For when once they beganne to perceiue how many, both of them in the two Vniuersities, and of others, who abroad hauing Ecclesiasticall charge, doe fauour mightily their cause, and by all meanes set it forward, might by persisting in the extremitie of that opinion hazard greatly their owne estates, and so weaken that part, which their places doe now giue them much opportunitie to strengthen, they asked counsell as it seemeth from some abroad, who wisely considered, that the bodie is of farre more worth then the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconueniences, it hath bene thought good to adde, *that sometimes authoritie must and may with good conscience bee obeyed, euen where Commandement is not giuen vpon good ground; that the dutie of preaching is one of the absolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to bee forsaken, for the bare inconuenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent; that one of the foulest spots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giueth in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickednesse, yet hereby there is no vnlawfulness prooued, but onely an inconuenience, that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconuenience neither, as may not bee borne with; that when God doth flat command vs to abstaine, from things in their owne Nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not wee should obey his Commandement heerein, vnlesse wee may doe it, and not leaue vndone that which the Lord hath absolutely commanded.* Alwayes provided, that whosoever will inioy the benefit of this Dispensation, to weare a scandalous Badge of Idolatrie, rather then forsake his Pastorall charge, doe (as occasion serueth) teach neuertheless still the incommoditie of the thing it selfe, admonish the weak Brethren, that they be not, and pray vnto God so to strengthen them that they may not be offended thereat. So that whereas before, they which had authoritie to institute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to haue power to institute this, it is

Page 78.

a Exod. 30. 27.

b Exod. 28. 2.

c Exod. 39. 27.

d Psal. 149. 2.

Apoc. 15. 6.

Marke 16. 5.

e T. C. lib. 1.

pag. 74. &c.

lib. 2. p. 250.

Index. l. 3. c. 8. &c.

3. p. 262. p. 263.

Lib. 3. p. 263.

Page 273.

now confest that this they may also lawfully, but not so conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in vtter detestation and harr'd as a thing abominable, they now doe well, which thinke it may bee both borne and vsed with a verie good conscience; before, hee which by wearing it were sure to winne thousands vnto Christ, ought not to doe it if there were but one which might bee offended; now, though it bee with the offence of thousands, yet it may bee done rather then that should bee giuen ouer, whereby notwithstanding wee are not certaine wee shall gaine one; the Examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*, the charge which was giuen to the Iewes by *Esay*, the strict Apostolicall prohibition of things indifferent, whensoever they may bee scandalous, were before so forcible Lawes against our Ecclesiasticall Attyre, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could possibly make void, which now one of farre lesse authoritie, then either hath found how to frustrate by dispensing with the breach of inferiour Commandements, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not, thus to soder vp a broken Cause, whereof their first and last Discourses will fall asunder doe what they can. Let them ingeniously confesse that their Inuectiues were too bitter, their Arguments too weake, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alledged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concerne the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should inferre were vnlawfulnesse, because they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concerne. If they prouoe not our Attyre vnlawfull, because in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they prouoe not any thing against it, and consequently, not so much as vncomelinesse or inconueniencie. Vnlesse therefore they bee able throughly to resolue themselues, that there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God, which doth controule the wearing of it in such manner, and to such purpose as the Church of *England* alloweth; vnlesse they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselues the onely competent Iudges of decencie in these cases, and to despise the solemne iudgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their owne conceit, grounded onely vpon vncertaine suspitions and feares, whereof if they were at the first some probable cause, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it selfe worne that out also; vnlesse, I say, thus resolued in mind they hold their Pastorall charge with the comfort of a good Conscience, no way grudging at that which they doe, or doing that which they thinke themselues bound of durie to reprocue, how should it possibly helpe or further them in their course, to take such occasions as they say

“ are requisite to be taken, and in pensue manner to tell their Audience, *Brethren,*
 “ *our hearts desire is, that wee might inioy the full libertie of the Gospel, as in other*
 “ *Reformed Churches they doe else-where, vpon whom the beauiie band of Au-*
 “ *thoritie hath imposed no grieuous burthen. But such is the miserie of these our daies,*
 “ *that so great happinesse we cannot looke to attaine vnto. Were it so, that the equitie*
 “ *of the Law of MOSES could preuaile; or the zeale of EZECHIAS be found in*
 “ *the hearts of those Guides and Governours vnder whom we liue, or the voyce of Gods*
 “ *owne Prophets be duely heard; or the Example of the Apostles of CHRIST bee*
 “ *followed, yea or their Precepts be answered with full and perfect obedience, these*

ab-

abominable ragges, polluted garments, markes and Sacraments of Idolatrie, which ,,
 Power as you see constraineth vs to weare, and conscience to abhorre, had long ere ,,
 this day beene remooued both out of sight, and out of memorie. But as now things ,,
 stand, behold, to what narrowe straights wee are driuen; On the one side wee feare ,,
 the words of our Sauour Christ, Woe be to them by whom scandall and offence ,,
 commeth: on the other side, at the Apostles speech, we cannot but quake and trem- ,,
 ble, If I preach not the Gospell, woe be vnto me. Being thus hardly beset, we ,,
 see not any other remedie but to hazard your soules the one way, that we may the o- ,,
 ther way endeauour to saue them. Touching the essence of the weake therefore, wee ,,
 must aduenture it. If they perish, they perish. Our Pastorall charge is Gods absolute ,,
 commandement. Rather then that shall bee taken from vs, wee are resolu'd to take ,,
 this filth, and to put it on, although wee iudge it to bee so vsfit and inconuenient, ,,
 that as oft as euer wee pray or preach so arrayed before you, wee doe as much as ,,
 in vs lieth, to cast away your soules that are weake-minded, and to bring you ,,
 vnto endlesse perdition. But wee beseech you brethren haue care of your owne ,,
 safetic, take heede to your steppes, that yee be not taken in those snares which ,,
 wee lay before you. And our prayer in your behalfe to Almightye God is, that ,,
 the poyson which we offer you, may neuer haue the power to doe you harme. Ad- ,,
 uice and counsell is best sought for at their hands, which either haue no part at ,,
 all in the cause whereof they instruct, or else are so farre ingaged, that themselues ,,
 are to beare the greatest aduenture in the successe of their owne counsels. ,,
 The one of which two considerations maketh men the lesse respectiue, and ,,
 the other the more circumspect. Those good and learned men which gaue the ,,
 first direction to this course, had reason to wish that their owne proceedings at ,,
 home, might bee fauoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as ,,
 inclined towards them might be kept aliuie. But if themselues had gone vnder ,,
 those sailes which they require to be hoised vp, if they had beene themselues to ,,
 execute their owne Theorie in this Church, I doubt not but easily they would ,,
 haue seene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they tooke ,,
 of aduising men, first, to weare the apparell, that thereby they might bee free to ,,
 continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them so to preach as they ,,
 might be sure they could not continue, except they imagine that Lawes which ,,
 permit them not to doe as they would, will endure them to speake as they list, ,,
 euen against that which themselues doe by constraint of Lawes; they would ,,
 haue easily seene that our people being accustomed to thinke euermore that ,,
 thing euill which is publikely vnder any pretence reprobued, and the men them- ,,
 selues worse which reprobue it and vse it too, it should bee to little purpose for ,,
 them to salue the wound, by making protestations in disgrace of their owne ,,
 actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are scandalous, or by vsing ,,
 faire intreatie with the weake Brethren; they would easily haue seene how ,,
 with vs it cannot bee indured, to heare a man openly professe that hee putteth ,,
 fire to his Neighbours house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer that ,,
 he hopeth it shall not burne. It had beene therefore perhaps safer and better for ,,
 ours to haue obserued * Saint Basils aduice, both in this and in all things of like ,,
 nature. Let him which approoueth not his Gouerour's ordinances either plainly ,,
 (but priuately alwayes) shew his dislike if he haue *λογον βιβειον*, strong and inuincible

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

reason against them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or else let him quietly with silence doe that which is inioyned. Obedience with profert vn-willingnesse to obey, is no better then manifest disobedience.

30 Having thus disputed, whether the Surplice be a fit garment to be vsed in the seruice of God, the next question whereinto we are drawne, is, whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Minister should say seruice in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before seruice ended, remooue from the place where it was begunne? By them which trouble vs with these doubts, we would more willingly be resolued of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kind of taking Gods name in vaine, to debase Religion with such friuolous disputes, a sinne to bestow time and labour about them? Things of so meane regard and qualitie, although necessarie to be ordered, are notwithstanding very vsauorie when they come to be disputed of; because disputation presupposeth some difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple or very forward, who need to be taught by disputation what is meet. When we make profession of our Faith, we stand; when wee acknowledge our sinnes, or seeke vnto God for fauour, wee fall downe, because the gesture of constancie becommeth vs best in the one, in the other the behauour of humilitie. Some parts of our Lyurgie consist in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclayming of his Law, that the people may thereby learne what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiuing, whereby wee acknowledge vnto God what his blessings are towards vs; some are such, as albeit they serue to singular good purpose, euen when there is no Communion administred; neuertheless, being deuised at the first for that purpose, are at the Table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are vttered as from the people, some as with them vnto God, some as from God vnto them, all as before his sight, whom we feare, and whose presence to offend with any the least vnseemlinesse, wee would be surely as loth as they, who most reprehend or deride that wee doe. ^a Now, because the Gospels which are weckely read, doe all historically declare something which our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe either spake, did, or suffered in his owne person, it hath bene the custome of Christian men then especially in token of the greater reuerence to stand, to vtter certaine words of acclamation, and at the name of Iesus to bow. Which harmelesse Ceremonies, as there is *no man constrained to vse*, so wee know no reason wherefore any man should yet imagine it an vn-sufferable euill. It sheweth a reuerend ^b regard to the Sonne of God about other Messengers, although speaking as from God also. And against Infidels, Jewes, Arrians, who derogate from the honour of Iesus Christ, such ceremonies are most profitable. ^c As for any erroneous estimation, aduancing the Sonne *about the Father and the holy Ghost*, seeing that the truth of his equalitie with them, is a mysterie so hard for the wits of mortall men to rise vnto, of all Heresies, that which may giue him superioritie about them, is least to bee feared. But to let goe this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where iustly found, Law hath referred the whole disposition & redresse thereof to the Ordinarie of the place; ^d they which elswhere complaine, that disgrace and *in-iurie* is offered euen to the meanest Parish-Minister, when the Magistrate appoint-

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Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.

T. C. l. 3. p. 134.

^a T. C. l. 3. p. 203.

^b Mark 12. 6.

^c T. C. l. 3. p. 215.

^d T. C. l. 1. p. 74.

pointeth him what to weare, and leaueth not so small a matter as that to his owne discretion, being presumed a man discrete and trusted with the care of the peoples soules, doe^a thinke the grauest Prelates in the Land no competent Iudges, to discern and appoint where it is fit for the Minister to stand, or which way conuenient to looke praying. From their Ordinarie therefore they appeale to themselves, finding great fault that wee neither reforme the thing against the which they haue so long sithence giuen sentence, nor yet make answer vnto that they bring, which is, that ^b Saint Luke declaring, how PETER stood up in the midst of his Disciples, did thereby deliuer an ^c vncchangeable rule, that *what soeuer* is done in the Church, *ought to be done* in the midst of the Church, and therefore not Baptisme to be administr'd in one place, Marriage solemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord receiued in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift Prayers to be made; that the custome which we vse is Leuiticall, absurd, and such as hindreth the vnderstanding of the people; that if it be meet for the Minister, at some time to looke towards the people, if the bodie of the Church be a fit place for some part of Diuine Seruice, it must needs follow that whensoeuer his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other-where, it hath absurditie. *All these reasons*, they say, haue beene brought, and were hitherto neuer answered; beside a number of merriments and iests vnanswered likewise, wherewith they haue pleasantly moued much laughter at our manner of seruing God. Such is their euill hap to play vpon dull-spirited men. Wee are still perswaded that a bare denyall, is answer sufficient to things which meere fancie obiecteth; and that the best Apologie to words of scorne and petulancie, is *Isaacks* Apologie to his brother *Ismael*, the Apologie which patience and silence maketh. Our answer therefore to their reasons, is no; to their scoffes, nothing.

31 When they obiect that our Booke requireth ^d nothing to be done, which a child may not doe as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Booke contenteth it selfe*, is it their meaning that the Seruice of God ought to be a matter of great difficultie, a labour which requireth great learning and deepe skill, or else that the Booke containing it, should teach what men are fit to attend vpon it, and forbid either men vnlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In setting downe the forme of Common Prayer, there was no need that the Booke should mention either the learning of a fit, or the vnfitnesse of an ignorant Minister, more then that he which describeth the manner how to pitch a field, should speake of moderation and sobrietie in diet. And concerning the dutie it selfe, although the hardnesse thereof bee not such as needeth such Art, yet surely they seeme to bee verie farre carryed besides themselves, to whom the dignitie of publique Prayer doth not discover somewhat more fitnesse in men of grauitie and ripe discretion, then in children of *ten yeeres of age*, for the decent discharge and performance of that office. It cannot bee that they who speake thus, should thus iudge. At the boord and in priuate it verie well becommeth childrens innocencie to pray, and their elders to say, *Amen*. Which being a part of their vertuous education, serueth greatly both to nourish in them the feare of God, and to put vs in continuall remembrance of that powerful grace, which openeth the mouthes of Infants to sound his praise. But publique

^a T.C.L. p. 134.
^{L.b.} 3. pag. 187.

^b Actes 1. 15.

^c T.C.L. p. 124.
^{Lib.} 3. pag. 187.

Easinesse of praying after our to me.
^d T.C.L. p. 133.
^e *ib.* 3. p. 184.
Another fault in the whole Seruice or Liurgie of England, is, for that it maintaineth an vnpreaching Ministerie, in requiring nothing to be done by the Minister, which a child of ten yeeres old can not doe as well, and as lawfully as that man, wherewith the Booke contenteth it selfe.

publike Prayer, the seruice of God in the solemne assembly of Saints, is a worke though easie, yet withall so waightie and of such respect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a slender argument to prouue it may bee as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeeres, howfoeuer their abilitie of learning be but only to doe that in decent order wherewith the Booke contenteth it selfe. The Booke requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what should any prescript forme of Prayer framed to the Ministers hand, require, but onely so to be read as behooueth? We know that there are in the world certaine voluntarie ouer-seers of all Bookes, whose censure in this respect would fall as sharpe on vs as it hath done on many others, if deliuering but a forme of Prayer, wee should either expresse or include any thing, more then doth properly concerne Prayer. The Ministers greatnesse or meanenesse of knowledge to doe other things, his aptnesse or insufficiencie otherwise then by reading to instruct the Flocke, standeth in this place as a stranger, with whom our forme of Common Prayer hath nothing to doe. Wherein their exception against easinesse, as if that did nourish ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needlesse ielousie. I haue often heard it inquired of by many, how it might bee brought to passe, that the Church should euery-where haue able Preachers to instruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the speediest way to remooue them. In which consultations the multitude of Parishes, the paucitie of Schooles, the manifold discouragements which are offered vnto mens inclinations that way, the penurie of the Ecclesiasticall estate, the irrecoverable losse of so many Liuinges of principall value, cleane taken away from the Church long sithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that spirituall promotions vse to take by often falling, the want of somewhat in certaine statutes which concerne the state of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Bishops, the stonie hardnesse of too many Patrones hearts not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought vpon by them that enter into any discourse concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergie. But whosoever bee found guiltie, the Communion Booke hath surely deserued least to be called in question for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themselves are that most complaine of ignorance in others, yet our Booke of Prayer might remaine the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a let vnto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be Gods good gift, howbeit no such necessarie element, that euerie act of Religion should bee thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able Preacher.

The length of
our seruice.
c T. C. l. v. p. 133.
e l. 3. p. 184.

32 Two faults there are, which our Lord and Saviour himselfe especially reprobued in prayer; the one, when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when superstition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faultie, not whensoever they bee openly made, but when hypocrisie is the cause of open praying: so the length of prayer is likewise a fault, howbeit not simply, but where errour and superstition causeth more then conuenient repetition or continuation of speech to bee vsed. It is not as some doe imagine (saith
a Aug. Ep. 121. b Saint *Augustine*) that long praying is that fault of much speaking in prayer
which

which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not hee himsele in prayer haue continued a whole nights. Vse in prayer no vaine superfluitie of words as the Heathens doe, for they imagine that their much speaking wil cause them to bee heard: whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how vertuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they thinke, and not how long they talke who come to present their supplications before him. Notwithstanding for as much as in publike prayer wee are not onely to consider what is needfull in respect of God, but there is also in men that which wee must regard; wee somewhat the rather incline to length, lest ouer-quickie dispatch of a dutie so important, should giue the world occasion to deeme, that the thing it selfe is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length therefore is a thing which the grauitie and waight of such actions doth require. Besides, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest lets and impediments doe often hinder from being partakers of the whole, haue yet through the length of Diuine Seruice, opportunitie left them, at the least for accessse vnto some reasonable part thereof. Againe, it should bee considered, how it doth come to passe that wee are so long. For if that verie seruice of God in the Iewish Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctifie with the presence of his owne person, had so large portion of the Law and the Prophets, together with so many Prayers and Psalmes read day by day, as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was neuer thought to deserue blame, is it now an offence that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things wherupon so much time was then well spent, haue sithence that lost their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Psalmes bee a part of the Seruice of God, as needfull vnder Christ as before and the adding of the New Testament, as profitable as the Ordaining of the Old to bee read; if therewith in stead of Iewish prayer it bee also for the good of the Church to annexe that varietie which ^b the Apostle doth commend; seeing that the time which wee spend is no more then the orderly performance of these things necessarily required, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, bee they neuer so few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But hee which speaketh no more then edifieth, is vnderstandedly reprehended for much speaking. That as ^c the

Deuill vnder colour of long prayer draue preaching out of the Church heretofore, so we in appointing so long prayers and reading, whereby the lesse can be spent in preaching, maintaine an vnpreaching Ministerie, is neither aduisedly nor truly spoken. They proue long prayer, and yet acknowledge it to bee in it selfe a thing commendable. For so it must needs be, if the Deuill haue vsed it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would worke that which is euill, and in working auoid the suspition of an euill intent, the colour wherewith it ouercasteth it selfe, is alwaies a faire and plausible pretence of seeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retaine that good which Satan hath pretended to seeke, and auoid the euill which his purpose was to effect, haue wee not better preuented his malice, then if as hee hath vnder colour of long prayer, driuen preaching out of the Church, so we should take the quarrel

^a Luke 6. 12.

^b 1. Tim. 2. 1.

^c T. C. 3. p. 184.

of

of Sermons in hand, and reuenge their cause by requitall, thrusting Prayer in a manner out of doores vnder colour of long preaching? In case our Prayers being made at their full length, did necessarily inforce Sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to vphold and maintaine an *unpreaching* Ministerie, vnlesse we will say that those ancient Fathers, *Chrysostome, Augustine, Leo*, and the rest, whose Homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part then our Sermons are, did then not preach when their speeches were not long. The necessitie of shortnesse causeth men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprize much matter in few words. But neither did it maintaine inability, nor at all preuent opportunitie of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose. *An houre and a halfe* is, they say, in reformed Churches ordinarily thought reasonable, for *their whole Liturgie or Seruice*. Doe we then continue as ^a *Exra* did in reading the Law from morning till midday? ^b or as the Apostle *Saint Paul* did in prayer and preaching, till men through wearinesse be taken vp dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make such complaint, is but this, that if our whole forme of Prayer be read, and besides an houre allowed for a Sermon, wee spend ordinarily in both more time then they doe by halfe an houre. Which halfe houre being such a matter, as the *age of some, and infirmities of other some are not able to beare*; if we haue any sense of the *common imbecillitie*, if any care to preferue mens wits from being broken with the verie bent of *so long attention*, if any loue or desire to prouide that things most holy be not with hazzard of mens soules abhord and lothed, this halfe houres tediousnesse must bee remedied, and that onely by cutting off the greatest part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedie will serue to helpe so dangerous an inconuenience.

^a *Nehem. 8. 3.*
^b *Act. 10. 9.*

In stead of such Prayers as the Primitive Churches haue vsed, and those that be reformed now vse, we haue (they say) diuers short curses or shreadings, rather wishes then prayers. *T. C. l. 1. p. 138.*
Ch. 1. 3. p. 210.
 211.

33 The Brethren in Egypt (saith *Saint Augustine, Epist. 121*) are reported to haue many prayers, but euerie of them verie short, as if they were Darts throwne out with a kind of suddaine quicknesse, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind, which in prayer is verie necessarie, should bee wasted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which *Saint Augustine* doth allow, they condemne. Those prayers whereunto deuout mindes haue added a piercing kinde of breuitie, as well in that respect which we haue alreadie mentioned, as also thereby the better to expresse that quicke and speedie expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the verie wings of prayer, are delighted to present our suites in heauen, euen sooner then our tongues can deuise to vtter them; they in their mood, of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base termes as doe verie ill beseme men of their grauitie. Such speeches are scandalous, they saour not of God in him that vseth them, and vnto vertuously-disposed mindes they are grievous corrosiues. Our case were miserable, if that wherewith wee most indeuour to please God, were in his sight so vile and despicable, as mens disdainfull speech would make it.

Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.

34 Againe, for as much as effectuall prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferiour powers of the soule, which cannot therein long continue without paine, it hath bene therefore thought good so by turnes to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the mind, the vnderstanding to worke

worke vpon, that both being kept in continuall exercise with varietie, neyther might feele any great wearinesse, and yet each be a spurre to other. For Prayer kindleth our desire to behold God by speculation; and the minde delighted with that contemplatiue sight of God, taketh euery-where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Mysteries of heavenly Wisedome continually stirring vp in vs correspondent desires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due sort, is thereby made the more attentiuē to heare, and he which heareth, the more earnest to pray, for the time which wee bestow as well in the one as the other. But for what cause soeuer we doe it, this intermingling of Lessons with Prayers is * in their taste a thing as vsfauourie, and as vnseemely in their sight, as if the like should be done in Sutes and Supplications before some mightie Prince of the World. Our speech to worldly Superiors we frame in such sort as serueth best to informe and perswade the mindes of them, who otherwise neyther could nor would greatly regard our necessities:

Whereas, because wee know that God is indeed a King, but a great King; who vnderstandeth all things before-hand which no other King besides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what wee lacke, a King readier to grant then wee to make our requests; therefore in Prayer wee doe not so much respect what Precepts Arte deliuereth touching the method of perswasive vtterance in the presence of great men, as what doth most auayle to our own edification in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary side doe thinke that the same rules of decencie

which serue for things done vnto terrene Powers, should vniuersally decide what is fit in the seruice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church must deliuer her publike Supplications vnto God in no other forme of speech then such as were decent, if sute should bee made to the great Turke, or some other Monarch, let them apply their owne rule vnto their own forme of Common Prayer. Suppose that the people of a whole Towne with some chosen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a Week resort to their King, and every time they come, first acknowledge themselves guiltie of rebellions and treasons, then sing a Song, after that explaine some Statute of the Land to the Standers by, and therein spend at the least an houre, this done, turne themselves againe to the King, and for every sort of his Subiects craue somewhat of him, at the length sing him another Song, and so take their leaue: Might not the King well thinke; that eyther they knew not what they would haue, or else that they were distracted in mind, or some other such like cause of the disorder of their supplication? This forme of suing vnto Kings were absurd. This forme of praying vnto God they allow. When God was serued with Legall Sacrifices, such was the miserable and wretched disposition of some mens minds, that the best of euery thing they had being culled out for themselves, if there were in their Flockes any poore starued or diseased thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the Altar of God, pretending (as wise Hypocrites doe when they rob God to enrich themselves) that the fatnesse of

* We haue no such formes in the Scripture as that we should pray in two or three lines, and then after hauing read awhile some other thing, come and pray as much more, and so the 20. or 30. time, with pauses betweene. If a man should come to a Prince, and hauing verie many things to demand, after hee had demanded one thing, would stay a long time, and then demand another, and so the third, the Prince might well thinke that eyther hee came to aske before he knew what he had need of, or that hee had forgotten some piece of his Sute, or that hee were distracted in his vnderstanding, or some other such like cause of the disorder of his Supplication. T.C.L.I. p. 138. This kind of reason the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth vs. T.C.L.I. p. 210.

Calues doth benefit him nothing, to vs the best things are most profitable, to him all as one if the minde of the Offerer bee good, which is the only thing hee respecteth. In reproofe of which their deuout fraud, the Prophet *Malachie* allegeth, that gifts are offered vnto God not as a supplies of his want indeed, but yet as testimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatnesse. For which cause, sith the greater they are whom wee honour, the more regard wee haue to the qualitie and choice of those presents which we bring them for honours sake, it must needs follow, that if wee dare not disgrace our worldly Superiors with offering vnto them such refuse as we bring vnto God himselfe, we shew plainly that

our acknowledgement of his Greatnesse is but fained, in heart wee feare him not so much as we dread them. ^b *If yee offer the Blind for Sacrifice, it is not euil. Offer it now vnto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy person, saith the Lord of Hostes? Cursed be the Deceiuer which hath in his Flocke a Male, and hauing made a Vow, sacrificeth vnto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King, saith the Lord of Hostes.* Should we hereupon frame a Rule, that what forme of speech or behauiour soeuer is fit for Suters in a Princes Court, the same and no other beleeemeth vs in our Prayers to Almighty God?

35 But in vaine we labour to perswade them that any thing can take away the tediousnesse of Prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and forme which themselves assigne. Whatsoeuer therefore our Liturgie hath more then theirs vnder one deuised pretence or other they cut it off. Wee haue of Prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; so oft to rehearse the Lords Prayer in so small a time, is as they thinke a losse of time;

the peoples praying after the Minister, they say, both wasteth time, and also maketh an vnpleasant sound; the *Psalmes* they would not haue to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, not to be sung or said by turns, nor such Musick to be vsed with them; those Euangelicall *Hymnes* they allow not to stand in our Liturgie; the *Letanie*, the *Creed of Athanasius*, the Sentence of Glorie, wherewith we vse to conclude *Psalmes*, these things they cancell, as hauing bene instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of olde, and as being therefore now superfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, wee ought not to thinke that the Church hath set downe so many of them without cause. They peradventure, which find this fault, are of the same affection with *Salomon*, so that if God should offer to grant them whatsoeuer they aske, they would neither craue riches, nor length of dayes, nor yet victorie ouer their

Enemies, but only an vnderstanding heart, for which cause themselves hauing Eagles wings, are offended to see others flie so neere the ground. But the tender kindnesse of the Church of God it very well befeemeth, to helpe the weaker

fort

^a Μέρι τιμῆς
τὰ δῶρα, τὰ
πᾶρ ἐκείνους
τίμια, καὶ γὰρ
τὸ δῶρον ἐστὶ κλημάτος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον
διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρημαστοὶ καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐτίθεισαν
αὐτῶν. Ἀποστέρεις γὰρ τὴν χεῖρ σου δέξασθαι. Καὶ
γὰρ κήρυμα ἐστὶν εὐ ἐτίθεισαι οἱ φιλοχρημαστοὶ, καὶ
τιμῶν ἔχει οὐ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet.

lib. i. cap. 5.

^b Mal. i. 8, 14.

The number
of our Prayers
for earthly
things, and
our oft rehear-
sing of the
Lords Prayer.

I can make no Geometrical and exact measure, but verily I beleue there shall be found more then a third part of the Prayers, which are not: *Psalmes* and Texts of Scripture, spent in praying for, and praying against the commodities and in commodities of this life, which is contrary to all the Arguments or Contents of the Prayers of the Church set downe in the Scripture, and especially of our Sauiour Christs Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. *T.C. lib. p. 136.* What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lords Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in halfe an houre, and one in the neck of another? Our Sauiour Christ doth not there giue a precript forme of Prayer wherunto hee bindeth vs: but giueth vs a Rule and Squire to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. I know also that in a few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and I confesse that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lords Prayer: but I stand vpon this, that there is no necessity layd vpon vs to vse these very words and no more. *T.C. lib. p. 213.*

Sort which are by so great oddes moe in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may bee therewith for a time displeas'd. Ignorant wee are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Chrlst being present on earth, there came not any vnto him with better successe for the benefit of their soules euermore lasting happinesse, then they whose bodily necessities gaue them the first occasion to seeke reliefe, where they saw willingnes and abilitie of doing euery way good vnto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious then worldly benefits; our ghostly euils of greater importance then any harme which the bodie feeleth. Therefore our desires to Heauen ward should both in measure and number no lesse exceed, then their glorious Obiect doth euery way excell in value. These things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect Iudgement. But yet it must be with all considered, that the greatest part of the World are they which be farthest from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, then by spirituall capacitie to apprehend things about sense, which tend to their happines in the World to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their mindes euen with heartie affection and zeale at the least vnto those branches of publike Prayer, wherein their owne particular is moued. And by this meane there stealeth vpon them a double benefit; first, because that good affection, which things of smaller account haue once set on worke, is by so much the more easily rayled higher; and secondly, in that the very custome of seeking so particular ayde and reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts, which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whose assistance their Prayer seeketh. These multiplied Petitions of worldly things in Prayer haue therefore, besides their direct vse, a Service whereby the Church vnder-hand, through a kind of heauenly fraud, taketh therewith the soules of men as with certaine bayts. If then their calculation be true (for so they reckon) that a full third of our Prayers be allotted vnto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platforme hath appointed but one Petition amongst seuen, the difference is without any great disagreement; wee respecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can bee in mens desires, the very highest marke whereat wee are able to ayme. For which cause also our custome is both to place it * in the front of our Prayers as a Guide, and to adde it in the end of some principall limes or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoeuer may bee defectiue in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftner as occasion requireth more solemnitie or length in the forme of Diuine Service, not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang vp, that euer any man would thinke our labour herein misse-spent, the time wastfully consumed, & the office it selfe made worse, by repeating that which otherwise would more hardly bee made familiar to the simpler sort, for the good of whose soules there is not in Christian Religion any thing of like continuall vse and force throughout euery houre and moment of their whole liues. I meane not only because Praier, but because this very Praier is of such efficacie and necessitie: For that our Saviour did but set men a bare Example how to contriue or deuise Prayers of their owne, and no way binde

* *Promissale-
gitiu a & ordi-
naria oratione
qua summen-
to, accidentum
ius est desiderium,
ius est sum-
pe struendi ex-
trinsicus petiti-
ones, Tertul. de
Orat.*

a Luke 11.1

them to vse this, is no doubt an Error, ^a *John* the *Baptists* Disciples, which had beene alwayes brought vp in the bosome of Gods Church from the time of their first Infancie, till they come to the Schoole of *John*, were not so brutish, that they could be ignorant how to call vpon the Name of God, but of their Master they had received a forme of Prayer amongst themselves, which forme none did vse sauing his Disciples, so that by it as by a marke of speciall difference they were knowne from others. And of this the Apostles hauing taken notice, they request that as *John* had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and Saint *Augustine* doe for that cause terme it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Praier which Christs own Law hath tied his Church to vse in the same prescript forme of words wherewith he himselfe did deliuer it, and therefore what part of the World soeuer wee fall into, if Christian Religion haue beene there received, the ordinary vse of this very Prayer hath with equall continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principall and most materiall duties of honor done to Iesus Christ. Seeing ^b that we haue (saith Saint *CYPRIAN*) an *Advocate* with the Father for our sinnes, when we that haue sinned come to seeke for pardon, let vs alleage vnto God the words which our *Advocate* hath taught. For sith his promise is our plaine warrant, that in his Name what wee aske we shall receiue, must we not needs much the rather obtayne that for which we sue, if not only his Name doe countenance, but also his speech present our requests? Though men should speake with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the eares of God, as those which the Sonne of God himselfe hath composed, were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made vs to liue, hath also taught vs to pray, to the end that speaking vnto the Father in the Sonnes owne prescript forme without scholy or glosse of ours, wee may bee sure that we vtter nothing which God will eyther disallow or deny. Other Prayers we vse many besides this, and this oftner then any other, although not tyed so to doe by any Commandement of Scripture, yet moued with such considerations as haue beene before set downe: the causelesse dislike whereof which others haue conceiued, is no sufficient reason for vs, as much as once to forbear in any place: a thing which vttered with true deuotion and zeale of heart, affordeth to God himselfe that glorie, that ayde to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect, that solid comfort which is vnspokeable.

The peoples saying after the Minister. Another fault is that all the people are appointed in diuers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is vnprofitably wasted, and a confused noyse of the people one speaking after another caused, but an Opinion bred in their heads, that those onely bee their Prayers which they pronounce with their owne mouthes after the Minister, otherwise then the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1. *Cor.* 14. 16, and otherwise then *Iustin Martyr* sheweth the custome of the Churches to haue beene in his time, *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 139. and lib. 3. page 211. 212. 213.*

36 With our Lords Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might perswade vs to vse it before or after Sermons onely (because so their manner is) and not (as all Christian people haue beene of old accustomed) insert it so often into the Liturgie. But the peoples custome to repeate any thing after the Minister, they vtterly mislike. Twice wee appoint that the wordes which

the Minister first pronounceth, the whole Congregation shall repeat after him. As first in the publike Confession of sinnes, and againe in reheartfall of our Lords Prayer, presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Bodie and Bloud receiued. A thing no way offensive, no way vnfit or vnseemely to bee done, although

though it had beene so appointed oftner then with vs it is. But surely with so good reason it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not in all respects so well. Could there be any thing deuised better, then that wee all at our first access vnto God by Prayer, should acknowledge meekely our sinnes, and that not only in heart but with tongue, all which are present being made eare-witnesses, euen of euery mans distinct and deliberate assent vnto each particular branch of a common Indictment drawne against our selues? How were it possible, that the Church should any way else with such ease and certaintie provide, that none of her Children may as *Adam* dissemble that wretchednes, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a Preamble, especially to Common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did euer deuise a thing fit and conuenient, what more then this, that when together wee haue all received those heauenly Mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himselfe vnto vs, and giueth visible testification of our blessed Communion with him, wee should in hatred of all Heresies, Factions and Schismes, the Pastor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him step by step, declare openly our selues vnited as Brethren in one, ^a by offering vp with all our hearts and tongues that most effectuall Supplication, wherein hee vnto whom we offer it, hath himselfe not only comprehend all our necessities, but in such sort also framed euery Petition, as might most naturally serue for many, and doth though not alwayes require, yet alwayes import a multitude of speakers together? For which cause Communicants haue euer vsed it, and we at that time by the forme of our very vtterance doe shew we vse it, yea, euery word and syllable of it as Communicants. In the rest we obserue that custome whereunto *Saint Paul* alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to shew indefinitely what was done, but not vniuersally to binde for euer all Prayers vnto one onely fashion of vtterance. The reasons which we haue alleaged, induce vs to thinke it still a *good worke*, which they in their pensie care for the well bestowing of time account *waste*. As for vnpleasantnesse of sound if it happen, the good of mens Soules doth eyther deceiue our eares that wee note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. We are not so nice as to cast away a sharpe Knife, because the edge of it may sometimes grate. And such subtile opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, wee in this Clymate doe not greatly feare.

37 The complaint which they make about *Psalmes* and *Hymnes*, might as well be ouer-past without any Answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them if it may bee, and to yeeld them a iust reason euen of the least things wherein vnderstandedly they haue but as much as dreamed or suspected that wee doe amisse. They seeme sometimes so to speake, as if it greatly offended them, that such *Hymnes* and *Psalmes* as are Scripture, should in Common Prayer bee otherwise vsed then the rest of the Scripture is wont; sometime displeas'd they are at the artificiall Musicke which wee adde vnto *Psalmes* of this kinde or of any nature else; sometime the plainest and the most intelligible rehearfall of them yet they fauour not, because it is done by Interlocation, and with a mutuall returne of Sentences from side to side. They are not ignorant what difference there is betweene

n Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι
ἐχθρὸν ἡσίοθας
δουατος μεθ'
οἱ ἰδανῶσιν
πρὸς θεοῦ τῷ
πρωτῷ. Basil.
Præf. in Psal.

o 1. Cor. 14. 16.

Our manner
of reading the
Psalmes other-
wise then the
rest of the
Scripture.
They haue al-
wayes the same
profit to bee
studied in, to
bee read and
preached vpon
which other
Scriptures
haue, and this
about the rest,
that they are
to bee sung.

But to make daily Prayers of them hand-
 over-head, or otherwise then
 the present e-
 gree wherein
 we bee, doth
 agree with the
 matter contain-
 ed in them is
 an abusing of
 them.

T. C. l. 3. p. 206.
 * ἡ περιεχτικὴ
 τῶν πνευματικῶν
 ὑμολογιῶν.
 Dionys. Hierar.
 Eccles. c. 2.

other parts of Scripture and *Psalmes*. The choice and flower of *all things profitable in other Bookes, the *Psalmes* doe both more briefly contayne, and more movingly also expresse, by reason of that Poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient, when they speake of the Booke of *Psalmes*, vse to fall into large Discourses, shewing how this part about the rest doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of diuine men, it is of things heauenly an vniuersall declaration, working in them, whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of minde whereby they are made fit Vessels both for receipt and for deliuey of whatsoeuer spirituall perfection. What is there necessary for man to know which the *Psalmes* are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easie & familiar Introduction, a mighty augmentation of all Vertue and Knowledge in such as are entred before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others. Heroicall Magnanimitie, exquisite Iustice, graue Moderation, exact Wisdome, Repentance vn-
 fayned, vnwearied Patience, the Mysteries of God, the Sufferings of Christ, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Workes of Prouidence ouer this World, and the promised Ioyes of that World which is to come, all good necessarily to be eyther knowne or done or had, this one Celestiall Fountayne yeeldeth. Let there be any grieue or disease incident to the soule of man, any wound or sicknesse named, for which there is not in this Treasure-house a present comfortable remedie at all times readie to be found. Hereof it is that wee couet to make the *Psalmes* especially familiar vnto all. This is the verie cause why wee iterate the *Psalmes* oftner then any other part of Scripture besides, the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their Minister, and not the Minister alone to reade them as other parts of Scripture hee doth.

Of Musicke
 with *Psalmes*.

38 Touching Musicall Harmonie, whether by Instrument or by Voyce, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most diuine, that some haue bene thereby induced to thinke that the Soule it selfe by nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages and becometh all States; a thing as seasonable in grieue as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greatest waight and solemnitie, as being vsed when men most sequester themselues from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facilitie which Musicke hath to expresse and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible meane, the very standing, rising and falling, the very steps and inflections euery way, the turnes and varieties of all passions whereunto the minde is subiect: yea, so to imitate them, that whether it resemble vnto vs the same state wherein our mindes alreadie are, or a cleane contrarie, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In Harmony the very Image and Character euen of Vertue and Vice is perceiued, the mind delighted with their Resemblances, and brought, by hauing them often iterated, into a loue of the things themselues. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent then some kindes of Harmonie; then some nothing more strong
 and

and potent vnto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another, we need no prooffe but our owne experience, in as much as wee are at the hearing of some more inclined vnto sorrow and heauinesse; of some, more mollified and softened in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle vs, another to moue and stirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and sober mediocritie, there is also that carryeth as it were into extasies, filling the mind with an heauanly ioy, and for the time in a manner, seuering it from the bodie. So that although we lay altogether aside the consideration of Dittie or Matter, the verie harmonie of sounds being framed in due sort, and carryed from the care to the spirituall faculties of our soules, is by a natiue puissance and efficacie greatly auailable to bring to a perfect temper whatsoeuer is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits, as to allay that which is too eager, soueraigne against melancholy and despaire, forcible to draw forth teares of deuotion, if the mind bee such as can yeeld them, able both to moue and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *Dauid* hauing therefore singular knowledge not in Poetrie alone but in Musique also, iudged them both to be things most necessarie for the house of God, left behind him to that purpose a number of diuinely indited Peemes, and was farther the Author of adding vnto Poetrie melodie in publique prayer, melodie both vocall and instrumentall for the raising vp of mens hearts, and the sweetning of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retaine it as an ornament to Gods seruice, and an helpe to our owne deuotion. They which vnder pretence of the Law Ceremoniall abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumentall Musique, approouing neuerthelesse the vse of vocall melodie to remaine, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a Legall Ceremonie and not the other. In Church-Musique curiositie and ostentation of Art, wanton, or light, or vsfuteable harmonie, such as only pleaseth the eare, and doth not naturally serue to the verie kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leauerth, or is apt to leaue in mens minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that wee doe, then adde either beautie or furtherance vnto it. On the other side, these faults preuented, the force and efficacie of the thing it selfe, when it drowneth not vtterly, but fitly futeth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edifie if not the vnderstanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must haue hearts verie drie and tough, from whom the melodie of Psalmes doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as *Rabanus Maurus* obserueth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plaine then we are, that their singing was little more then onely a melodious kind of pronounciation, that the custome which wee now vse was not instituted so much for their cause which are spirituall, as to the end that into grosser and heauier minds whom bare words doe not easily moue, the sweetnesse of melodie might make some entrance for good things. *S. Basil* himselfe acknowledging as much, did not thinke that from such inuentions the least iota of estimation and credit thereby should bee derogated:

^a For

ἄ Επειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διαγινώσκων ἀπὸς τὸ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπὸς ἡδονῶν ἐπὶ ῥηπέτις τῶ ὀρθῶ βίῃ ἡγαμολογίας ἡμῶς, ἢ ποιεῖ: τὸ ἐκ πῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τῶς δόξασαν ἰκατέμειξεν ἵνα τῶ ἀεστολεῖ καὶ λείω τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶ λόγων ἀφέλιμον λαοθαρότης ἕσποδὲξώμεθα. Διὰ τῶτο τὸ εὐαριστία τῶτα μέλη τῶ ψαλμῶν ἡμῶν ἐπαρενόηται, ἵνα οἱ πῶδες τῶ ἡλικίας ἢ καὶ ὄλος οἱ νεαρὸ τὸ ἦδῶ τῶ ῥῶ δὲκῶν μελωδίας τῆ δὲ ἀληθείας τῶς ψυχῆς ἐκπαυδύονται. Ὡ τῆς σοφῆς δανείας τῶ διδασκαλία ὁμῶ τῶ ἀδιν ἡμῶς καὶ τῶ λυσταλῆ μυσθάνων μηχανομῆν, Basil. in Psal.

For (saith he) whereas the holy Spirit saw that mankind is unto vertue hardly drawne, and that righteoufnes is the lesse accounted of, by reason of the pronenesse of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which mingled with heavenly mysteries, causeth the smoothnesse & softnesse of that which toucheth the eare, to conuey as it were by stealth the treasure of good things into mans mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalmes deuised for vs, that they which are either in yeeres but young, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not growne to ripenesse, might, when they thinke they sing, learne. O the wise conceit of that heavenly teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein wee delight, wee may also learne that whereby we profit!

Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common Prayer, wherein the People and Minister answer one another by course.

39 And if the Prophet David did thinke that the very meeting of men together, & their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their loue insoluble, and tye them in a league of inuiolable amitie, Psal.

54. 14. how much more may we iudge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards euerie of them, betweene whom there daily

and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Prouocations, Petitions, Songs of comfort, Psalmes of praise and thanksguiuing, in al which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their sutes, and they with one voyce testifie a generall assent thereunto; or when hee ioyfully beginneth, and they with like alacritie follow, diuiding between them the sentences wherwith they striue, which shall most shew his owne, and stir vp others zeale to the glorie of that God whose name they magnifie; or when he propoeth vnto God their necesseties, & they their owne requests for reliefe in euery of them; or when he lifteth vp his voice like a trumpet, to proclaime vnto them the Lawes of God, they adioyning, though not as Israel did, by way of generalitie a cheerful promise, All that the Lord hath commanded we will doe, yet that which God doth not lesse approue, that which fauoreth more of meekenesse, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillitie, vnto the seueral branches therof, seuerally, lowly, & humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happines; or when he by exhortation raiseh them vp, & they by protestation of their readinesse declare, he speaketh not in vaine vnto them; these interlocutorie formes of speech what are they else but most effectually, partly testifications, and partly inflammations of all pietie? When and how this custome of singing by course came vp in the Church, it is not certainly known. c Socrates maketh Ignatius the

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b Exod. 19. 8.
24. 3.
Deut. 5. 27, 26.
17.
Iosh. 24. 16.

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c Socras. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 8.

Bishop

Bishop of Antioch in Syria the first beginner thereof, euen vnder the Apostles themselves. But against *Socrates* they set the authoritie of ^a *Theodoret*, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as *Socrates* doth; howbeit ascribing the inuention to others, *Flavian*, and *Diodore*, men which constantly stood in defence of the Apostolike Faith, against the Bishop of that Church, *Leontius*, a fauourer of the Arrians. Against both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, ^b *Platina* is brought as a witnesse, to testifie that *Damasus* Bishop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which *Platina* saith. And therefore the eldest of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is ^c Saint *Ambrose*, Bishop of Millan at the same time when *Damasus* was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians ^d Saint *Basil* hauing brought it into his Church before they of Neocesarea vsed it, *Sabellius* the Heretike and *Marcellus* tooke occasion thereat to incense the Churches against him, as being an author of new deuices in the seruice of God. Whereupon, to auoid the opinion of noueltie and singularitie, hee alledgeth for that which himselfe did, the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, Tharabians, Phoenicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and in a manner all that reuerenced the custome of singing of Psalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before *Basil*, Antioch the Mother-Church of those parts must needs haue vsed it before *Basil*, and consequently before *Damasus*. The question is then how long before, and whether so long that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may be probably thought the first Inuenters. *Ignatius* in *Traianes* dayes suffered Martirdome. And ^e of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia to *Traiane* the Emperor his owne Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the onely crime hee knew of them, was, they vsed to meete together at a certaine day, and to praise Christ with Hymnes as a God, *secum inuicem*, one to another amongst themselves. Which for any thing we know to the contrarie, might be the selfe-same forme which *Philo Iudeus* expresseth, declaring how the Essence were accustomed with Hymnes and Psalmes to honour God, sometime all exalting their voyces together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein, as hee thought, they swarued not much from the patterne of *Moses* and ^f *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time heare the Angels praising God after that sort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which must be with vs of greater authoritie, did ^g *I saw the Lord* (saith the Prophet *Esay*) *on an high Throne, the Seraphims stood vpon it*, one cryed to another, saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole world is full of his glory*. But whofoeuer were the Author, whatfoeuer the Time, whencefoeuer the Example of beginning this custome in the Church of Christ, sith we are wont to suspect things onely before triall, and afterwards either to approue them as good, or if we find them euill, accordingly to iudge of them, their counsell must needs seeme verie vnseasonable, who aduise men now to suspect that wherewith the world hath had by their owne account twelue hundred yeeres acquaintance and vpwards, enough to take away suspicion and ieaousie. Men know by this time if euer they will know, whether it be good or euill which hath been so long retayned. As for the Deuill, which way it should greatly benefit him to haue this manner of singing Psalmes accounted an inuention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation

^a Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.

^b Plat. in vita Damasi.

^c Bene mari ple-
runque compa-
ratur Ecclesia,
que primo in-
gredientis populi
agnine totis ve-
sibus undas
vomit; deinde
in oratione toti-
us plebis tanquã
undis resuenti-
bus stridet, tum
responsorij Psal-
morum, cantu
virorum, pulcie-
rum, virginum,
parvulorum con-
sonus undarum
fragor resultat.
Hexam. l. 2. c. 5.

^d Basil. Epist. 63.

^e Plin. secund.
Epist.

^f Exod. 15. 1. 2. 3.

^g Esay 6. 3.

imitation of the Angels of heauen wee doe not well vnderstand. But wee very well see in them who thus plead, a wonderfull celeritie of discourte. For perceiuing at the first but onely some cause of suspicion, and feare lest it should be euill, they are presently in one and the selfe-same breath resolued, that *what*

beginning soeuer it had, there is no possibilitie it should be good. The potent arguments which did thus suddainly breake in vpon them and overcome them are the first, that it is not vnlawfull for the people all ioynly to praise God in singing of Psalmes; secondly, that they are not any-where forbidden by the Law of God to sing euerie Verse of the whole Psalm, both with heart and voice quite and cleane throughout: thirdly, that it cannot be vnderstood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulnessse to sing one way, proueth not another way inconuenient,

the former two are true allegations, but they lacke strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong that it might perswade, if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And shall this inforce vs to banish a thing which all Christian Churches in the world haue received; a thing which so many ages haue held; a thing which the most approved Councils and Lawes haue so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was neuer found to haue any inconuenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the best men and wisest Governours of Gods people did thinke they could neuer commend enough; a thing which as *Basil* was perswaded, did both strengthen the Meditation of those holy words which were vttered in that sort, and serue also to make attentiu, and to raise vp the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did resort with hope and thirst, that thereby especially their soules might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heauenly delight, stirreth vp flagrant desires and affections correspondent vnto that which the words containe, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driueth away those euill secret suggestions which our inuisible Enemie is alwayes apt to minister, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimitie and courage, serueth as a most approoued remedie against all dolesfull and heauie accidents which befall men in this present life; to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostles own exhortation, **Speake to your selues in Psalmes and Hymnes, and spirituall Songs, making melodie, and singing to the Lord in your hearts,* that surely there is more cause to feare lest the want thereof be a mayme, then the vse a blemish to the seruice of God? It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Psalmes, should be thought to depend altogether on that onely forme of singing or reading them by course, as with vs the manner is; but the end of our speech is to shew, that because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the selfe-same custome was so many Ages agoe in vse, haue vttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reape, obseruing that and no other forme, it may bee iustly auouched that wee our selues retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuised,

^a *Ephes. 5. 19.*

devised, doe neither want that good which the latter inuention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the Ancient so oft and so highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endlesse contradictions, and let ancient custome preuaile.

40 We haue alreadie giuen cause sufficient for the great conueniencie and vse of reading the Psalmes oftner then other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner then the rest of the Psalmes, the causes are no whit lesse reasonable, so that if the one may verie well monethly, the other may as well euen daily be iterated. They are Songs which concerne vs so much more then the Songs of *Dauid*, as the Gospel toucheth vs more then the Law, the New Testament then the Old. And if the Psalmes for the excellencie of their vse, deserue to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what disorder is it if these few Euangelicall Hymnes which are in no respect lesse worthy, and may bee by reason of their paucitie imprinted with much more ease in all mens memories, be for that cause euerie day rehearsed? In our owne behalfe it is conuenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day prayers and supplications the very same; why not as fit and conuenient to magnifie the name of God day by day with certaine the verie selfe-same Psalmes of praise and thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprooue the other. For the ancient received vse of intermingling Hymnes and Psalmes with diuine readings, enough hath bene written. And if any may fitly serue vnto that purpose, how should it better haue bene devised, then that a competent number of the Old being first read, these of the New should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place notwithstanding there is ioyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Psalm; with *Magnificat*, the ninetie eight; the sixtie seuenth with *Nunc dimittis*, and in euerie of them the choice left free for the Minister to vse indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrell at other Psalmes, which are in like manner appointed also to bee daily read, why doe these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Sauiour was ioyfully receiued at his entrance into the World, by such as in their hearts, armes, and verie bowels imbraced him; being propheticall discoueries of Christ alreadie present, whose future comming the other Psalmes did but fore-signifie; they are against the obstinate incredulitie of the Iewes, the most luculent testimonies that Christian Religion hath; yea the onely sacred Hymnes they are that Christianitie hath peculiar vnto it selfe, the other being Songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but Songs wherewith as wee serue God, so the Iew likewise. And whereas they tell vs these Songs were fit for that purpose, when *Simeon* and *Zacharie*, and the blessed *Virgin* vntered them, but cannot so bee to vs which haue not receiued like benefit; should they not remember how expressely *Ezechias* amongst many other good things is commended for this also, * that the praises of God were through

Of *Magnificat*,
Benedictus, and
Nunc dimittis.

These thanksgivings were made by occasion of certain particular benedictions, and are no more to be vsed for ordinary prayers, then the *Aue Maria*. So that both for this cause and the other before alleaged of the Psalmes, it is not conuenient to make ordinary prayers of them.
T. C. l. 3. p. 208.

* 1. Chron. 19. 30.

in

in ours, namely, that without some inconuenience and disorder hee could not appoint those Psalmes to be vsed as ordinary Prayers, seeing that although they were Songs of thanksgiving, such as *Dauid* and *Asaph* had speciall occasion to vse, yet not so^t the whole Church and People afterwards whom like occasions did not befall: or else *Ezechias* was perswaded as we are, that the prayers of God in the mouthes of his Saints, are not so restrained to their owne particular, but that others may both conueniently and fruitfully vse them; first, because the mysticall communion of all faithfull men is such as maketh euerie one to be interessed in those precious blessings, which any one of them receiuet at Gods hands: secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extoll the goodnesse of God whose mercie indureth for euer, albeit the verie particular occasion whereupon it riseth doe come no more, yet the Fountaine continuing the same, and yeelding other new effects which are but onely in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance betwene the benefits which we and others haue receiued, may serue to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit for both, a cleere demonstration whereof wee haue in all the ancient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations vpon the Psalmes: last of all, because euen when there is not as much as the shew of any resemblance, neuertheless by often vsing their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letanie.

41 The publike estate of the Church of God amongst the Iewes hath had many rare and extraordinarie occurrents, which also were occasions of sundrie

Wee pray for the auoiding of those dangers which are nothing neere vs, as from Lightning and Thundring in the midde of Winter, from Storme and Tempest when the weather is most faire and the Seas most calme. It is true that vpon some vrgent calamitie a prayer may and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commo-ditie for want whereof the Church is in distresse, or the turning away of that mischiefe which either approacheth or is already vpon it: but to make those prayers which are for the present time and danger, ordinarie and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture or example of the Primitiue Church. And here for the simples sake I will let downe after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus* Bishop of Vienna, which in the time of great earth-quakes, which were in France, instituted certaine supplications, which the Grecians, and we of them, call the Letanie, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt, but as other discommodities ro/e in other Countries, they likewise had prayers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregorie* either made himselfe, or gathered the supplications that were made against the calamities of euery Country, and made of them a great Letanie or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gaue it to be vsed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might doe for the time, in respect of the case of the calamitie which the Churches suffered, yet there is no cause why it should be perpetuall that was ordained but for a time, and why all Lands should pray to be deliuered from the incommodities that some Land hath bene troubled with. *T. C. lib. 1. cap. 137.* a *Exod. 15. 20. Wisd. 10. 20.* 2. *Salm. 6. 2.* 1. *Chron. 13. 5.* 2. *Chron. 20. 3.* *Isa. 2. 15.* b *Tertull. 1. 2. ad P. xor.* c *Tertull. And.*

* open solemnities & offices, wherby the people did with general cōsent make shew of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appeare vsuall in the ancient Church of Christ, by that which ^b *Tertullian* speaketh of Christian women matching themselves with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his discipline, that hath at her side a vassal whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to crosse whatsoeuer the faithfull should doe. If her presence be required at the time of Statio or standing prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to bee with him in his bathes; if a fasting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the Church to goe forth in solemne Procession, his whole family haue such businesse come vpon them that no one can be spared.* These Processions, as it seemeth, were first begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it selfe applied by ^c Heathens vnto the office of exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the
ancient

ancient deliuered concerning ^a Christian processions, partly also the very drosse which superstition thereunto added, I meane, the custome of inuocating Saints in processions heretofore vsuall, doe strongly insinuate. And as things inuented to one purpose are by vse easily conuerted to ^b more, it grew that supplications with this solemnitie for the appeasing of Gods wrath, and the auerting of publique euils, were of the Greeke Church termed ^c *Litanies*, *Rogations*, of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna*, (*Marmereus* being their Bishop about 450. yeeres after Christ) there befell many things, the sodainnesse and strangenesse whereof so amazed the hearts of all men, that the Citie they began to forsake as a place which heauen did threaten with imminent ruine. It befemed not the person of so graue a Prelate to bee either vterly without counsell as the rest were, or in a common perplexitie to shew himselfe alone secure. Wherefore as many as remayned, he earnestly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, vsing those vertuous and holy meanes wherewith others in like case haue preuailed with God. To which purpose hee perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in vse, and addeth vnto them that which the present necessitie required. Their good successe moued ^d *Sidonius* Bishop of *Auerna* to vse the same so corrected *Rogations* at such time as hee and his people were after afflicted with famine, and besieged with potent aduersaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to be settled in *Charles* the great, the fall of the Romans huge dominion concurring with other vniuersall euils, caused those times to be dayes of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very strength, stay and comfort of Gods Church. Wherupon in the yeere siue hundred and six it was by the ^e Council of *Aurelia* decreed, that the whole Church should beltow yeerely at the feast of Pentecost three dayes in that kind of processionarie seruice. About halfe an hundred yeeres after, to the end that the Latine Churches which all obserued this custome, might not varie in the order and forme of those great *Litanies* which were so solemnly euery where exercised, it was thought conuenient by *Gregorie* the first and the best of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather rust. Which thing the ^f *Synod* of *Colen* saw, and in part redrest within that Prouince, neither denying the necessarie vse for which such *Litanies* serue, wherein Gods clemencie and mercie is desired by publique suite, to the end that plagues, destructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like aduersities which for our manifold sinnes wee haue alwaies cause to feare, may be turned away from vs and preuented through his grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse whereunto as sundrie other things, so this had growne by mens improbitie and malice, to whom that which was deuised for the appeasing of Gods displeasure, gaue oportunitie of committing things which iustly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that these and all other supplications or processions should be no where vsed but only within the walles of the house of God, the place sanctified vnto prayer. And by vs not onely such inconueniences being remedied, but also whatsoeuer was other wise amisse in forme or matter, it now remaineth a worke, the absolute perfection whereof vprayedeth with error or somewhat worse, them whom in all parts it doth not satisfie.

^a Hieron. Epist. 22. ad Eust. Martyres tibi querantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deuit procedendi si semper quando necesse est progr. sicut a. s. ^b Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 1. 6. lib. 30. lib. 3. cap. 10. Nouel. 68. 51. ^c B. Hist. Epist. 63. Niccep. lib. 14. cap. 3. c. d. v. in Theodol. ^d Sion. lib. 7. Epist. 1.

^e Concil. to. 2. pa. 513.

^f Concil. to. 5. an. 536.

As therefore Letanies haue beene of longer continuance then that wee should make either *Gregorie* or *Mamercus* the authour of them, so they are of more permanent vse then that now the Church should thinke it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what euils hang ouer our heads, God doth know and not we. We find by daily experience, that those calamities may be neereft at hand, readiest to breake in sodainely vpon vs, which we in regard of times or circumstances may imagine to be farthest off. Or if they doe not in deed approach, yet such miseries as being present all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wise by their prayers should rather preuent. Finally if wee for our felues had a priuiledge of immunitie, doth not true Christian Charitie require that whatsoeuer any part of the world, yea any one of all our brethren elsewhere doth either suffer or feare, the same we accout as our own burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole *Letanie*, whereof we shall euer be able at any time to spie that no man liuing needeth the grace or benefit therein craued at Gods hands? I am not able to expresse how much it doth grieue mee, that things of principall excellencie should bee thus bitten at, by men whom God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purposes.

Of *A. basilius* Creede, and *Gloria Patri*.
 a *Irene*. l. i. c. 3.
 b *Tertulde* *proscr. aduers.* *heret.* & *aduers.* *Prax.*
 c The like may be said of the *Gloria patri* and the *Athanasius* Creede. It was first brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby should make an open profession in the Church of the Diuinitie of the Sonne of God against the detestable opinion of *Arius* & his disciples, wherewith at that time maruellously swarmed almost the whole Christendom. Now that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why these things should bee vsed in the Church, at the least why that *Gloria patri* should be so often repeated. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 137.*

42 We haue from the Apottles of our Lord Iesus Christ received that brieue Confession of faith, which hath beene alwaies a badge of the Church, a marke whereby to discerne Christian men from Infidels and Iewes. ^a *This faith receiued from the Apostles and their Disciples (sayth Irenaus) the Church though dispersed throughout the world, doth notwithstanding keepe as safe as if it dwelt within the walls of some one house, and as vniformely hold, as if it had but one only heart and soule; this as consonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and deliuereth, as if but one tongue did speake for all. As one Sunne shiness to the whole world, so there is no faith but this one published, the brightnesse whereof must enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth.* ^b *This rule (sayth Tertullian) Christ did institute, the streame and current of this rule haue gone as farre, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Gospell.* ^c Vnder *Constantine* the Emperour, about three hundred yeeres and vward after Christ, *Arrius* a Priest in the Church of *Alexandria*, a suttle-witted and a maruellous faire-spoken man, but discontented that one should be placed before him in honour, whose superiour hee thought himselfe in desert, became through enuy and stomacke prone vnto contradiction, and bold to broch at the length that heresie wherein the deitie of our Lord Iesus Christ conteyned, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie and coeternitie of the Sonne with the Father was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Bishop of the same Church, the punishment which should haue reformed him, did but increase his obstinacie, and giue him occasion of labouring with greater earnestnesse elsewhere, to intangle vnwarie minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. *Arrius* in short time had won to himselfe a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much disquietnesse on all sides ensued. The Emperour, to reduce the Church of Christ vnto the vnitie of sound beliefe, when other meanes, whereof triall was first made, tooke no effect, gathered that famous assemblie of 318. Bishops

in the Council of *Nice*, where besides order taken for many things which seemed to neede redresse, there was with common consent for the setting of all mens mindes, that other Confession of faith set downe which wee call the *Nicene Creede*, whereunto the *Arrians* themselves which were present subscribed also: not that they meant sincerely, and indeed to forsake their error, but onely to escape deprivation and exile which they saw they could not avoide, openly persisting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded against them, and that with the Emperours royall assent. Reserving therefore themselves vnto future oportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to stirre againe in a matter so composed, vnlesse they could draw the Emperour first, and by his meanes the chiefeest Bishops vnto their part, till *Constantines* death and somewhat after they alwaies professed loue and zeale to the *Nicene* faith, yet ceased not in the meane while to strengthen that part which in heart they fauored. and to inuest by all meanes vnder colour of other quarrels their greatest aduerfaries in this cause: amongst them *Athanasius* especially, whom by the space of 46. yeeres, from the time of his consecration to succede *Alexander* Arch-bishop in the Church of *Alexandria*, till the last houre of his life in this world, they neuer suffered to inioy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Constantine* stolne from him. *Constantius* *Constantines* successor, his scourge and torment by all the wayes that malice armed with soueraigne authoritie could deuise and vse. Vnder *Iulian* no rest giuen him. And in the dayes of *Valentinian* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the least whereof being iust had bereaued him of estimation and credite with men while the world standeth. His Judges euermore the selfesame men by whom his accusers were suborned. Yet the issue alwaies on their part shame; on his, triumph. Those Bishops and Prelates, who should haue accompted his cause theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watred cheekes behold a person of so great place and woorth constrained to indure so foule indignities, were sure by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring vpon themselves those molestations, whereby if they would not be drawne to seeme his aduerfaries, yet others should be taught how vn safe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to passe in the end, that (very few excepted) all became subiect to the sway of time; other oddes there was none amongst them, sauing onely that some fell sooner away, some later from the soundnesse of beliefe; some were leaders in the host of impietie, and the rest as common souldiours, either yeelding through feare, or brought vnder with penurie, or by flatterie insnared, or else beguiled through simplicitie, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) *Osius* the ancientest Bishop that *Christendome* then had, the most forward in defence of the *Catholique* cause, and of the contrarie part most feared, that very *Osius* with whose hand the *Nicene* Creed it selfe was set downe and framed for the whole *Christian* world to subscribe vnto, so farre yeelded in the end, as euen with the same hand to ratifie the *Arrians* confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part euer feared, till with amazement they saw it done. Both were perswaded, that although there had beene for

a 2. Mac. 6. 24.
 b Maior centu-
 nario, Sulpit.
 Sever. Hist. lib. 2.

Osims no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choise would have bene the same that ^a Eleazars was, *I doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might thinke, that* ^b *OSIVS* *an hundred yeres old and upward, were now gone to another Religion, and so through mine hypocrisie [for a litle time of transitorie life] they might be deceived by mee, and I procure malediction and reprech so my old age. For though I were now delivred from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almightye, neither alive nor dead.* But such was the streame of those times, that all men gaue place vnto it, which wee cannot but impute partly to their owne oversight. For at the first the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the *Arrians* hands to that Councell. So great aduantages are neuer changed so farre to the contrarie, but by great errour. It plainly appeareth that the first thing which weakened them, was their securitie. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards *Arrianisme*, they suffered by continuall neerenesse to possesse the mindes of the greatest about the Emperour, which themselves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Constantines* life-time to haue settled *Constantius*, the same way had bene a dutie of good seruice towards God, a meane of peace and great quietnesse to the Church of Christ, a labour easie, and how likely wee make coniecture, when after that so much paine was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrarie course, after that so much was done by himselfe to the furtherance of heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieued him then the memorie of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which hee now foresaw in *Iulian*, the next Physician into whose hands the bodie that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this wee may somewhat excuse, in as much as euery mans particular care to his owne charge was such, as gaue them no leasure to heede what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what should wee thinke? *Constantius* by the *Arrians* suggestion had deuised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole world about this controuersie, but in two severall places, the Bishops of the West at Arimine in Italie, the Easterne at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great adoe, gaue their sentence against heresie, excommunicated some chiefe maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperour word what was done. They had at Arimine about foure hundreth which held the truth, scarce of the aduerser part fourescore, but these obstinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the Emperour such as might informe him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement.

c Ex parte no-
 stra leguntur ho-
 mines adolescen-
 tes, paruum docti
 & paruum auri.
 Ad Arrianis
 autem missi
 sunt callidi,
 & ingenio va-
 lentes veteris perfidiam imbui, qui apud regem faciles superiores extiterunt. Sulpit. lib. 1.

There are chosen ^c for the Catholique side such men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldnesse, neither grauitie, nor learning, nor wisdom. The *Arrians* for the credite of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most warie and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperour coniecturing of the rest on either part by the qualitie of them whom hee saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certaine Confession of

faith ambiguously and subtilly drawne by the *Arrians*, whereunto vnlesse they all subscribed, they should in no case bee suffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceiued, that there had not bene in the *Catholiques* either at *Armine*, or at *Seleucia* so much foresight, as to prouide that true intelligence might passe betweene them what was done. Vpon the aduantage of which error, their aduersaries abusing each with perswasion that other had yeelded, surprized both. The Emperour the more delirous and glad of such euents, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindred themselues, the gall and bitterneffe of certaine mens writings, who spared him little for honours sake, made him for their sakes the lesse inclinable to that truth, which bee himselfe should haue honoured and loued. Onely in *Athanasius* there was nothing obserued throughout the course of that long tragedie, other then such as very wel became a wiseman to doe, and a righteous to suffer. So that this was the plaine condition of those times, the whole world against *Athanasius*, and *Athanasius* against it; halfe an hundred of yeeres spent in doubtfull tryall which of the two in the end would preuaile, the side which had all, or else the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defender of his innocencie, the other a finisher of all his troubles. Now although these contentions were cause of much euill, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explaine such things as heresie went about to deprauce. And in this respect the Creed of *Athanasius* first exhibited vnto *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) sent to the Emperour *Iouinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which *Arrianisme* so mightily did impugne, was both in the East and the West Churches accepted as a treasure of inestimable price,^b by as many as had not giue vpeuen the very ghost of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanasius* written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publicly vsed as now in the Church of God, because while the heat of diuision lattereth, truth it selfe induring opposition, doth not so quietly and currantly passe throughout all mens hands, neither can bee of that accompt which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiueth the vertue thereof not only in it selfe, but also by the conquest which God hath giue it ouer heresie. That which heresie did by sinister interpretations goe about to peruert in the first and most ancient Apostolike Creed, the same being by singular dexteritie and plainnesse cleared from those hereticall corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanasius*, written about the yeere three hundred and forty, and partly by^c that other set downe in the Synod of *Constantinople* forty yeeres after, comprehending together with the *Nicene* Creed an addition of other articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, because the controuersie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; these *Catholique* declarations of our beliefe deliuered by them which were so much neerer then wee are vnto the first publication thereof, and continuing needfull for all men at all times to know, these Confessions as testimonies of our continuance in the same faith to this present day, wee rather vse then any other glosse or paraphrase deuised by our selues, which though it were to the same effect, notwithstanding could not bee of the like authoritie and credit. For that of^d *Hillary* vnto *S. Augustine* hath bene euer, and is like-

Eiusdemque
conscripta ab
improbis sed in
traditu ruis
fallit ut bus in-
uolutum que
ca holicam disci-
plina in perfici-
cia a ente lo-
quuntur.
Ibid.

b Ταύτην μὲν
δοκίμην αὐ-
θηνάσιου τῆς
ἐκκλησίας δι-
ὰ τῆς ἐπι-
σκοπίας, ἣ ἴσως
ἦν ἡ ἀρχαία βίβ-
λος τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας.
Ναξ. de Act. an.

c That Creed
which in the
booke of con-
imon Prayer
followeth im-
mediately after
the reading of
the Gospell.

d *Hilar. Arola.*
Ep. ad August.

ly to be alwaies true, *Your most religious wisdome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authoritic of mens names doth keepe in that opinion which they hold alreadie, or draw vnto that which they haue not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our vsuall conclusion to Psalmes, the ^a glory of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist: and the glorie of God that diuine excellencie whereby hee is eminent aboue all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, ^b which Angels and glorified Saints doe intuitiuelly behold, wee on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part also by that kinde of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatnesse whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in heauen and earth. God is ^c glorified when such his excellencie aboue all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgement of Gods excellencie by occasion of speciall effects, being the very proper subiect and almost the onely matter purposedly treated of in all Psalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of *Glorie* haue any vse in the Church of God, whose name wee therewith extoll and magnifie, can wee place it more fitly then where now it serueth as a gloze or conclusion to Psalmes? Neyther is the forme thereof newly or vnnecessarily inuented. *Wee must* (sayth ^d Saint Basil) *as wee haue receiued enen so baptize, and as wee baptize enen so beleene, and as wee beleene enen so giue glorie.* Baptizing wee vse the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost; Confessing the Christian faith wee declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the holy Ghost; ascribing glorie vnto God, we giue it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the holy Ghost. It is *αὐτῶν ἐστὶν τὸ ὄρθῳ ὁρῶναι*, *the token of a true and sound vnderstanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in ministring Baptisme, and making confession, and giuing glorie, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three seuered from the other two. Against the *Arrians* affirming the Father to bee greater then the Sonne in honour, excellencie, dignitie, maiestie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begunne, but receiued long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. ^e *If* (sayth *Fabadius*) *there bee that inequalitye which they affirme, then doe wee euery day blaspheme God, when in thanksgiuings and offerings of sacrifice wee acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The *Arrians* therefore, for that they perceived how this did preiudice their cause, altered the Hymne of *Glorie*, whereupon ensued in the Church of *Antioch* about the yeere 349. that iarre which ^f *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires while they praised God together as the manner was, at the end of the Psalmes which they sung, it appeared what opinion euery man held, for as much as they glorified some the Father, And the Sonne, And the holy Ghost, some the Father By the Sonne In the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselues to embrace the Sonnes equalitye with the Father, as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other sort against the Councell of Nice his inequalitye.* LEONTIUS their Bishop, although an enimie to the better part, yet warie and subtle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arrians* faction were, could at no time bee plainly heard to vse either forme, perhaps lest his open contradiction of them whom hee fauoured

a 1. Cor. 15. 40.
E. xod. 33. 18.
Hebr. 1. 3.
b Matth. 18. 13.

c Ios. 7. 19.
Psal. 22. 23.

d Basil. Epist. 78

e Fabad. lib.
contr. Arrian.

f Theod. lib. 2.
cap. 24.
Sozomen. lib. 4.
cap. 19.

uoured not might make them the more eager, and by that meane the lesse apt to bee priuately wonne; or peraduenture for that though hee ioyned in opinion with that sort of *Arrians*, who denyed the Sonne to bee equall with the Father, yet from them hee dissented, which thought the Father and the Sonne not onely vnequall, but vnlike, as *Actius* did vpon a friuolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath sayd, ^a *one God of whom, one Lord by whom,* ^b *one Spirit in whom,* his different manner of speech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he speaketh: out of which blinde collection, it seemeth that this their new deuised forme did first spring. But in truth euen that very forme which the *Arrians* did then vse (sauiug that they chose it to serue as their speciall marke of recognisance, and gaue it secretly within themselues a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the shew of any thing which soundeth towards impietie. For albeit if wee respect Gods glorie within it selfe, it be the equall right and possession of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifestation thereof vnto vs by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof vnto him likewise by vertuous offices, doth not euery tongue both wayes confesse, that the brightnesse of his glorie hath spred it selfe through-out the world *By* the Ministerie of his onely begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit euery way maruellous; againe, that whatsoeuer wee doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the holy Ghost, and made acceptable *By* the merite and mediation of Iesus Christ? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, sauiug onely where euill mindes doe abuse and peruert most holy things, are not else the voyces of errour and schisme, but of sound and sincere Religion. It hath bene the custome of the Church of Christ to end sometimes prayers, and Sermons alwayes, with words of glorie, wherein, as long as the blessed Trinitie had due honour, and till *Arrianisme* had made it a matter of great sharpnesse and subtiltie of wit to bee a sound beleeuing Christian, men were not curious what syllables or particles of speech they vsed. Vpon which confidence and trust notwithstanding, when Saint *Basil* began to practise the like indifferencie, and to conclude publike prayers, glorifying sometime the Father with the Sonne and the holy Ghost, sometime the Father by the Sonne in the Spirit, whereas long custome had enured them vnto the former kinde alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and strange in their eares, this needlesse experiment brought afterwards vpon him a necessarie labour of excusing himselfe to his friends, and maintayning his owne act against them, who because the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an authour of suspicious innouation. How hath the world forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the iudgements, hearts and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of *S. Basils* authoritie and qualitie an Arch-bishop in the house of God, should haue his name farre and wide cald in question, and be driuen to his painefull apologies, to write in his owne defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtaine with all his endeouour a pardon, the crime layd against him being but onely a change of some one or two syllables in their vsuall Church-liturgie? It was thought

^a 1. Cor. 8. 6.
^b 1. Cor. 12. 3.
 4. 13.

thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in vs as intolerable, that wee suffer any thing to remaine vnaltered. The very Creed of *Athanasius* and that sacred Hymne of glorie, then which nothing doth sound more heauenly in the eares of faithfull men, are now reckoned as superfluities, which wee must in any case pare away, lest wee cloy God with too much seruice. Is there in that confession of faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and instruct the attentue hearer? Or is our faith in the blessed Trinitie a matter needlesse to be so oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that dutie which wee owe to God, our publique prayer? Hath the Church of Christ from the first beginning, by a secret vniuersall instinct of Gods good Spirit, alwaies tied it selfe to end neither Sermon nor almost any speech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without some speciall words of honor and glorie to that Trinitie which we all adore; and is the like conclusion of Psalmes become now at the length an eye-sore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Those flames of *Arrianisme* they say are quenched, which were the cause why the Church deuiled in such sort to confesse and praise the glorious Deitie of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the fore is whole, why retaine wee as yet the plaister? When the cause why any thing was ordained doth once cease, the thing it selfe should cease with it, that the Church beeing eased of vnprofitable labours, needfull offices may the better bee attended. For the doing of things vnnesseary, is many times the cause why the most necessarie are not done. But in this case so to reason will not serue their turnes. For first the ground whereupon they build, is not certainly their owne, but with speciall limitations. Few things are so restrained to any one end or purpose, that the same being extinct they should forthwith vterly become frustrate. Wisedome may haue framed one and the same thing to serue commodiously for diuers ends, and of those ends any one bee sufficient cause for continuance, though the rest haue ceased, euen as the tongue, which nature hath giuen vs for an instrument of speech is not idle in dumbe persons, because it also serueth for taste. Again, if time haue worne out, or any other meane altogether taken away what was first intended, vses not thought vpon before may afterwards spring vp, and be reasonable causes of retaying that which other considerations did formerly procure to be instituted. And it commeth sometime to passe, that a thing vnnesseary in it selfe as touching the whole direct purpose whereto it was meant or can bee applied, doth notwithstanding appeare conuenient to be still held euen without vse, lest by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessarie, the remouall of the one should indamage the other, and therefore men which haue cleane lost the possibilitie of sight, keepe still their eyes neuerthelesse in the place where nature set them. As for these two branches whereof our question groweth, *Arrianisme* was indeed some occasion of the one, but a cause of neyther, much lesse the onely intire cause of both. For albeit conflict with *Arrians* brought forth the occasion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgie, as Hymnes and sentences of glorie were a part thereof before; yet cause sufficient there is why both should remaine in vse, the one as a most diuine explication of the chiefest articles of our Christian

Christian believe, the other as an heavenly acclamation of ioyfull applause to his praises in whom wee beleue, neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard sounding as they are in the Church of Christ, whether Arrianisme liue or die. Against which poyson likewise if we thinke that the Church at this day needeth not those ancient preferuatiues, which ages before vs were so glad to vse, we deceiue our selues greatly. The weedes of heresie being growne vnto such ripeness as that was, doe euen in the verie cutting downe scatter oftentimes those seedes which for a while lie vnseene and buried in the earth, but afterward freshly spring vp againe no lesse pernicious then at the first. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will easly confesse, who liue to their great, both toile and grieffe, where the blasphemies of *Arrians*, *Samo-*
satenians, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians* are renewed by them, who to hatch their heresie, haue chosen those Churches as fittest nests where *Athanasius* Creed is not heard; by them I say renewed, who following the course of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the rooffe, and *Zwinglius* batter but the wallles of Popish superstition, the last and hardest worke of all remained, which was, to raze vp the very ground and foundation of Poperie, that doctrine concerning the deitie of Christ, which *Satanasius* (for so it pleased those impious forsaken miscreants to speake) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifestly true is that which one of the ^aancients hath concerning Arrianisme, *Mortuis auctoribus huius ueneni, scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, the authours of this venome being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithstanding continueth.

a Tabar. con. va
Art.

43 Amongst the heapes of these excesses and superfluities there is espied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thanksgiuings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our Booke of Prayer. This they haue thought a point materiall to be objected. Neither may wee take it in euill part to be admonished what speciall duties of thankfulness we owe to that mercifull God, for whose vnspokeable graces the onely requitall which wee are able to make, is a true, heartie, and sincere acknowledgement, how precious we esteeme such benefits receiued, and how infinite in goodness the Authour from whom they come. But that to euery petition we make for things needfull there should be some answerable sentence of thanks prouided particularly to follow such requests obtained, either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend; or if it bee, wherefore haue they not then in such order framed their owne Booke of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Sauour taught vs a forme of prayer conteyning so many petitions of those things which we want, and not deliuered in like sort as many severall formes of thanksgiuing, to serue when anything we pray for is granted? What answer soeuer they can reasonably make vnto these demands, the same shall discover vnto them how causelesse a censure it is, that there are not in our Booke thanksgiuings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the blessings of God, whether they tend vnto this life or the life to come, there is
great

Our want of particular thankgiuing. As such prayers are needfull whereby wee begge reliefe from our distrests, so there ought to be as necessary prayers of thankgiuing, when we haue receiued those things at the Lords hand which we asked. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 138. I doe not simply require a solemn and expresse thankgiuing for v. h. benefits, but onely vpon a supposition, which is, that if it be expedient that there should be expresse prayers against so many of their earthly miseries that then also it is meet that vpon the deliuerance there should be an expresse thankgiuing. T.C. li. 3. p. 209.

The default of the booke, for that there are no formes of thanksgiuing for the releafe from those common calamities, from which we haue petitions to be deliuered.
T.C.lib.3.p.208.

a Eph. 5.9.
Colus. 3.16.

T.C.lib.1.p.138.

great cause why we should delight more in giuing thanks, then in making requests for them, in as much as the one hath penituenesse and feare, the other alwaies ioy annexed: the one belongeth vnto them that seeke, the other vnto them that haue found happinesse; they that pray doe but yet sowe, they that giue thanks declare they haue reaped. Howbeit, because there are so many graces whereof wee stand in continuall need, graces for which wee may not cease daily and hourelly to sue, graces which are in bestowing alwaies, but neuer come to be fully had in this present life, and therefore when all things here haue an end, endlesse thanks must haue their beginning in a state which bringeth the full and finall satisfaction of all such perpetuall desires; againe, because our common necessities, and the lacke which wee all haue, as well of ghostly as of earthly fauours is in each kinde so easily knowne, but the gifts of God according to those degrees and times which hee in his secreter wisdom seeth meete, are so diuersly bestowed, that it seldome appeareth what all receiue, what all stand in need of it seldome lieth hid, wee are not to maruell though the Church doe ofner concurre in suits then in thanks vnto God for particular benefits. Neuerthelesse, lest God should bee any way vnglorified, the greatest part of our daily seruice they know consisteth according to ^a the blessed Apostles owne precise rule, in much varietie of Psalmes and Hymnes, for no other purpose, but only that out of so plentifull a treasure there might be for euery mans heart to chuse out his owne sacrifice, and to offer vnto God by particular secret instinct, what fitteth best the often occasions which any severall either partie or congregation may seeme to haue. They that would cleane take from vs therefore the daily vse of the very best meanes we haue to magnifie and praise the name of Almighty God for his rich blessings, they that complaine of our reading and singing so many Psalmes for so good an end, they I say that finde fault with our store, should of all men be least willing to reprove our scarcitie of thanksgiuings. But because peraduenture they see it is not either generally fit or possible that Churches should frame thanksgiuings answerable to each petition, they shorten somewhat the reynes of their censure, there are no formes of thanksgiuing they say for releafe of those common calamities, from which wee haue petitions to be deliuered. *There are prayers set forth to be said in the common calamities and vniuersall scourges of the Realme, as plague, famine, &c. And indeed so it ought to be by the word of God. But as such prayers are needfull, whereby we beg releafe from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessarie prayers of thanksgiuing, when we haue received those things at the Lords hand which we asked in our prayers. As oft therefore as any publique or vniuersall scourge is remooued, as oft as wee are deliuered from those either imminent or present calamities, against the storme and tempest whereof wee all instantly craued fauour from aboue, let it bee a question what wee should render vnto God for his blessings vniuersally, sensibly, and extraordinarily bestowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inserted into some part of our Church liturgie? No, wee are not perswaded that when God doth in trouble inioyne vs the dutie of inuocation, and promise vs the benefit of deliuerance, and professe that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Sauour, the Church can discharge in manner conuenient*

a worke of so great importance by fore-ordeyning some short Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our custome therefore whensoever so great occasions are incident, is by publike authoritie to appoint throughout all Churches set and solemne formes as well of supplication as of thanksgiving, the preparations and intended complements whereof may stirre vp the minds of men in much more effectuell sort, then if only there should be added to the Booke of prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any such matter. For albeit their words to our vnderstanding be very plaine, that in our Booke *there are prayers set forth to bee sayd when common calamities are felt, as plague, famine, and such like; againe, that indeed so it ought to be by the word of God; that likewise there ought to be as necessarie prayers of thanksgiving when wee haue receiued those things; finally, that the want of such formes of thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which wee haue petitions to be deliuered, is the default of the Booke of Common-prayer:* yet all this they meane but only by way of supposition if expresse prayers against so many earthly miseries were conuenient, *that then in deed as many expresse and particular thanksgivings should be likewise necessarie.* Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one superfluous, they would not haue it so vnderstood as though their minds were that any such addition to the Booke is needfull, whatsoeuer they say for arguments sake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they waue in and out, no way sufficiently grounded, no way resolued what to thinke, speake or write, more then onely that because they haue taken it vpon them, they must (no remedie now) be opposite.

44 The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amisse. In a song of praise to our Lord Iesus Christ wee haue these words, *When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnesse of death, thou didst open the Kingdome of heauen to all beleeuers.* Which maketh some shew of giuing countenance to their error, who thinke that the faithfull which departed this life before the coming of Christ, were neuer till then made partakers of ioy, but remayned all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the Fathers*. In our *Liturgie* request is made that wee may be preserued from sodaine death. This seemeth friuolous, because the Godly should alwaies bee prepared to die. Request is made that God would giue those things which we for our vnworthinesse dare not aske. This they say, *carrieth with it the note of Popish seruile feare, and sauoreth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Christ with their heauenly Father.* Request is made that we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie. For this *there is no promise in Scripture, and therefore it is no prayer of faith, or of the which we can assure our selues that wee shall obtaine it.* Finally, request is made that God would haue mercie vpon all men. This is impossible, because some are the vessels of wrath, to whom God will neuer extend his mercie.

45 As Christ hath purchased that heauenly Kingdome, the last perfection whereof is *glorie in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath opened to the world in such sort, that whereas none can possibly without him attaine saluation, by him all that beleeuers are saued. Now whatsoever hee did or suffered, the end thereof was to open the doores of the Kingdome of heauen which our iniquities had *shut vp*. But because by *ascending*

In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, vnfound.

When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnesse of death, thou didst open the kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers. after

after that the sharpnesse of death was ouercome, he tooke the very *locall possession* of glorie, and that to the use of all that are his, euen as himselfe before had witnessed, ^a *I goe to prepare a place for you*, and againe, whom thou hast giuen me, O Father, ^b *I will that where I am, they be also with me*, that my glorie which thou hast giuen me they may behold: it appeareth that *when Christ did ascend*, hee then most *liberally opened* the Kingdome of heauen, to the end that with him and by him all beleeuers might raigne. In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All we can rightly gather is, that as touching their soules what degree of ioy or happiness hee soeuer it pleased God to bestow vpon them, *his ascension* which succeeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the bodie must needs be *not onely of*, but after his. As therefore ^c *Heluidius*, against whom *S. Ierome* writeth, abused greatly those words of *Matthew* concerning *Ioseph* and the mother of our Sauiour Christ, *He knew her not till shee had brought forth her first borne*, thereby gathering against the honour of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with speciall circumstance, doth import an opposite affirmation when once the circumstance is expired: after the selfe-same manner it should be a weake Collection, if whereas we say that *when Christ had ouercome the sharpnesse of death*, he *then opened* the Kingdome of heauen to all beleeuers, a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance were taken as insinuating an opposite denyall before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently, that because when the sharpnesse of death was ouercome, he then opened heauen *as well to beleeuing Gentiles as Iewes*, heauen till then was no receptacle to the soules of cyther. Wherefore be the Spirits of the iust and righteous before Christ truly or falsely thought excluded out of heauenly ioy, by that which wee in the words alleaged before doe attribute to Christs ascension, there is to no such opinion, nor to the ^d fauourers thereof any countenance at all giuen. Wee cannot better interpret the meaning of these words then Pope *Leo* himselfe expoundeth them, whose speech concerning our Lords ascension may serue in stead of a marginall glosse, ^e *Christs exaltation is our promotion, and whither the glorie of the head is alreadie gone before, thither the hope of the bodie also is to follow. For as this day we haue not onely the possession of Paradise assured vnto vs, but in Christ we haue entred the highest of the heauens*. His opening the Kingdome of heauen and his entrance thereinto was not onely to his owne use, but for the benefit of all beleeuers.

46 Our good or euill estate after death dependeth most vpon the qualitie of our liues. Yet somewhat there is why a vertuous minde should rather wish to depart this world with a kinde of treatable dissolution, then to bee so dainely cut off in a moment; rather to be taken then snatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men suffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessitie a thing common, it is through the manifold perswasions, dispositions and occasions of men, with equal deserts both of praise and dispraise shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely wee cannot discommend, wee cannot absolutely approue either willingnesse to liue or forwardnesse to die. And concerning the wayes of death, albeit the choise thereof be onely in the hands, who alone hath power ouer all flesh, and vnto whose appointment wee ought with patience

^a Iohn 14.2.

^b Iohn 17.24.

^c Hieron. contr. Helu.
Aug. her. 84.

^d Lyr. sup. Gen. 29.
Th. p. 3. q. 52.

^e Leo Ser. 1. de Ascens.

Touching prayers for deliverance from sodaine death.

tience, meekely to submit our selues (for to be agents voluntarily in our owne destruction, is against both God and nature) yet there is no doubt but in so great varietie, our desires will and may lawfully preferre one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not instructed in the Schoole of Christ, or euer taught what the soundnesse of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the dayes of this transitorie life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato* *Socrates* are described, then to sinke downe with them of whom ^a *Elibu* hath said *Memento moriuntur*, there is scarce an instant betweene their flourishing and their not being? But let vs which know what it is to dye as *Absalon* or *Ananias* and *Saphira* dyed, let vs beg of God that when the houre of our rest is come, the patternes of our dissolution may be ^b *Iacob*, *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Dauid*, who leifureably ending their liues in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come vpon their Posteritie; replenished the hearts of the neereft vnto them with wordes of memorable Consolation; strengthened men in the feare of God, gaue them wholesome Instructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion, in summe, taught the World no lesse vertuously how to dye, then they had done before how to liue. To such as iudge things according to the sense of naturall men and ascend no higher, suddainnesse because it shorneth their griefe should in reason bee most acceptable. That which causeth bitternesse in death, is the languishing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants vse what Art they can to increase the slownesse of death. Quicke riddance out of life is often both requested and bestowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous considerations, that Wisedome so farre preuaileth with men as to make them desirous of slow and deliberate death against the streame of their sensuall inclination, content to indure the longer griefe and bodily paine, that the Soule may haue time to call it selfe to a iust accompt of all things past, by meanes whereof Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exercise patience, the ioyes of the Kingdome of Heauen haue leifure to present themselues, the pleasures of sinne and this Worlds Vanities are censured with vncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make aduised choice of the soyle wherein her last Seed may most fruitfully bee bestowed, the minde is at libertie to haue due regard of that disposition of worldly things which it can neuer afterwards alter, and because ^c the neerer wee draw vnto God, the more wee are oftentimes inlightened with the shining beames of his glorious presence as being then euen almost in sight, a leifurable departure may in that case bring forth for the good of such as are present, that which shall cause them for euer after from the bottome of their hearts to pray, *O let vs dye the death of the righteous, and let our last end be like theirs*. All which benefits and oportunities are by suddaine death preuented. And besides, for as much as death howsoeuer is a generall effect of the wrath of God against sinne, and the suddainnesse thereof a thing which happeneth but to few, the World in this respect feareth it the more as being subiect to doubtfull constructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, so they whose happie estate after life is of all mens the most certaine, should especially wish that no such accident in their death may giue vncharitable mindes occasion of rash, sinister, and suspicious verdicts,

a Job. 34. 20.

b Heb. 11. 21.
Deut. 33.
Iosh. 24.
1. Reg. 2.c Cyr. de
mortal.

whereunto they are ouer-prone, so that whether euill men or good be respected, whether wee regard our selues or others, to be preserued from suddaine death is a blessing of God. And our Prayer against it importeth a two-fold desire, first, that death when it commeth may giue vs some conuenient respite, or secondly, if that be denyed vs of God, yet we may haue wisdom to provide alwayes before-hand, that those euils ouertake vs not, which death vnexpected doth vse to bring vpon carelesse men, and that although it bee suddaine in it selfe, neuertheless in regard of our prepared mindes it may not be suddaine.

Prayer that those things which wee for our vnworthynesse dare not aske, God for the worthynesse of his Sonne would vouchsafe to grant. This request carryeth with it still the note of the Popish seruile feare, and fauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the Children of God haue through Christ with their heauenly Father. T. C. lib. 1. page 136.

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne vnworthynesse to obtaine, and in that respect our professed fearefulnesse to aske any thing otherwise then onely for his sake to whom GOD can deny nothing, that this should be noted for a Popish Errour, that this should be termed baseness, abiection of mind, or *seruilitie*, is it credible? That which wee for our vnworthynesse are afraid to craue, our

Prayer is, that God for the worthynesse of his Sonne would notwithstanding vouchsafe to grant. May it please them to shew vs which of these words it is that carryeth the note of Popish and seruile feare? In reference to other Creatures of this inferior World mans worth and excellencie is admired. Compared with God, the truest Inscription wherewith we can circle so base a Coyne is that of DAVID, *a Vniuersa vanitas est omnis homo*, whosoeuer hath the name of a mortall man, there is in him whatsoeuer the name of vanitie doth comprehend.

a Psal. 39. 5.

And therefore what we say of our owne *vnworthynesse*, there is no doubt but Truth wil ratifie. Alleged in Prayer it both becommeth and behoueth Saints. For as humilitie is in Suters a decent vertue, so the testification thereof by such

b Μεμνημένος γάρ τῆς ἰσθίας ἀπὸ πάντων οὐδενίας μεμνήσομαι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. Philo. de sacrif. Abel. & Cain.

effectuall acknowledgements not onely ^b argueth a sound apprehension of his supereminent Glory and Maiesty before whom we stand, but putteth also into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for securitie against our vnthankefulnesse, the verie naturall Roote whereof is alwayes eyther Ignorance, Dissimulation, or Pride; Ignorance, when we know not the Author from whom our good commeth; Dissimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes vpon that we receiue; Pride, when we thinke our selues *worthie* of that which meere grace and vnderferued mercie bestoweth. In Prayer therefore to abate so vaine imaginations with the *true conceits of vnworthynesse*, is rather to prevent then commit a fault. It being no Error thus to thinke, no fault thus to speake of our selues when we pray, is it a fault that the consideration of our vnworthynesse maketh vs *fearefull* to open our mouthes by way of Suite? While *Iob* had prosperitie and liued in honour, men feared him for his authorities sake, and in token of their feare when they saw him they ^c hid themselues. Betweene *Elibu* and the rest of *Iobs* Familiars the greatest disparitie was but in yeeres. And he, though riper then they in iudgement, doing them reuerence in regard of age, stood long ^d *doubtfull*, and very loth to aduenture vpon speech in his Elders hearing. If so small inequalitye betweene man and man make their modestie a commendable vertue, who respecting superiors *as superiors*, can neither speak

c Iob 29. 8. Amongst the parts of honor Aristotle reckonech προσκυνησεις and ἐκδουσεις, Rhet. 1. 1. c. 5. d Iob 32. 6.

nor stand before them without feare: that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercie draweth neere to *Peter*, bee in humilitie and feare craueth distance; that being to stand, to speake, to sue in the presence of so great Maiestie wee are afraid, let no man blame vs. ^a In which consideration notwithstanding, because to flye altogether from God, to despair that creatures vnworthy shall be able to obtaine any thing at his hands, and vnder that pretence to surcease from Prayers as bootlesse or fruitlesse offices, were to him no lesse iniurious then pernicious to our owne soules, euen that which we tremble to doe we doe, we aske those things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne vnworthinesse is not without beliefe in the merits of Christ. With that true feare which the one causeth there is coupled true boldnesse, and encouragement drawne from the other. The very silence which our vnworthinesse putteth vs vnto, doth it selfe make request for vs, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward wee are stricken dumbe, looking vpperward wee speake and preuayle. O happie mixture wherein things contrary doe so qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others excesse, that neyther boldnesse can make vs presume as long as we are kept vnder with the sence of our owne wretchednesse; nor, while we trust in the mercie of God through Christ Iesus, feare be able to tyrannize ouer vs! As therefore our feare excludeth not that ^b boldnesse which becommeth Saints; so if their *familiaritie* with God doe not fauour of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreuerend confidence wherewith true Humilitie can neuer stand.

48 Touching continuall deliuerance in the World from all aduersitie, their conceit is, that we ought not to aske it of God by Prayer, for as much as in Scripture there is no promise that wee shall bee euermore free from vexations, calamities and troubles. Mindes religiously affected are woont in euery thing of waight and moment which they doe or see, to examine according vnto rules of Pietie what dependencie it hath on God, what reference to themselves, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the World should leade, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their mindes sometime to admire God, sometimes to blesse him and giue him thanks, sometime to exult in his loue, sometime to implore his mercie. All which different eleuations of spirit vnto God are contained in the name of Prayer. Euery good and holy desire though it lacke the forme, hath notwithstanding in it selfe the substance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groanes and sighes of the heart of man. Petitionarie Prayer belongeth only to such as are in themselves impotent, and stand in need of reliefe from others. Wee thereby declare vnto God what our owne desire is that hee by his power should effect. It presupposeth therefore in vs first the want of that which we pray for; secondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earnest willingnesse of minde to bee eased therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God, not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities, but because we this way shew that wee honour him as our God, and are verily perswaded that no good thing can come to passe which hee by his Omnipotent power effecteth not. Now because there is no mans Prayer acceptable, whose person is odious, neyther any mans person gracious without

^a The Publican did indeed not lift vp his eyes: So that if by his Example wee should say wee dare aske nothing, we ought also to aske nothing otherwise in stead of teaching true humilitie, we open a Schoole to hypocrisie, which the Lord detesteth.
T. C. l. 3. p. 203.

^b Rom. 5. 2, 8, 15
Heb. 10. 19.

Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie. For as much as there is no promise in the Scripture that we should be free from all aduersitie, and that euermore it seemeth that this Prayer might haue in better conceit being no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure our felues that wee shal obtaine it.
T. C. l. 1. p. 136.

faith, it is of necessitie required that they which pray doe beleue. The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his owne worthinesse accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with ^a beleife in Christ. The Prayers of the Iust are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes those things granted for which they pray. For in Prayer if faith and assurance to obtayne were both one and the same thing, seeing that the effect of not obtayning is a plaine testimonie that they which prayed were not sure they should obtayne, it would follow that their Prayer being without certaintie of the euent, was also made vnto God without faith, and consequently that God abhorred it. Which to thinke of so many Prayers of Saints as we find haue fayled in particular requests how absurd were it? His faithfull people haue this comfort, that whatsoever they rightly aske, the same no doubt, but they shall receiue, so farre as may stand with the glorie of God, and their owne euerlasting good, vnto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpose to seeke or desire to obtayne any thing prejudiciall, and therefore that clause which our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his Agonie did expresse, we in petitions of like nature doe alwayes imply, *Pater, si possibile est*, if it may stand with thy will and pleasure. Or if not, but that there be secret impediments and causes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied vs, yet the Prayer it selfe which we make is a pleasing Sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners in very truth are denied when they ^b seeme to preuaile in their Supplications, because it is not for their sakes or to their good that their Sutes take place; the faithfull contrariwise, because it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions doe not take place, preuaile euen then when they most seeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted some impatient mens requests, as on the other side the Apostles sure he hath of fauour and mercie not granted*, sayth S. Augustine. To thinke we may pray vnto God for nothing but what he hath promised in holy Scripture we shall obtayne, is perhaps an error. For of Prayer there are two vses. It serueth as a meane to procure those things which God hath promised to grant when wee aske; and it serueth as a meane to expresse our lawfull desires also towards that, which whether wee shall haue or no wee know not till we see the euent. Things in themselves vnholly or vnseemely wee may not aske; wee may whatsoever being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace shall reasonably moue vs to wish as importing the good of men, albeit God himselfe haue no where by promise assured vs of that particular which our Prayer craueth. To pray for that which is in it selfe and of it owne nature apparently a thing impossible, were not conuenient. Wherefore though men doe without offence with daily that the affaires which with euill successe are past might haue fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may haue beene any other then they are, this beeing a manifest impossibilitie in it selfe, the Rules of Religion doe not permit. Whereas contrariwise when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the secret determination of God appointed one way, though wee the other way make our Prayers, and consequently aske those things of God which are by *this supposition* impossible, we notwithstanding doe not hereby in Prayer transgresse our lawfull bounds. That Christ, as the only begotten Sonne of God,

hauing

^a *Oratio que non fit per Christum, non solum non potest del. re peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum.*
Aug. en. 7. in Psal. 108.

^b *Nim. 11. 33. 1. Sam. 8. 7. Job 12. 2. 6. Luke 8. 52.*

^c *2. Cor. 12. 7. 1. 9. Aug. E. 1. 12. 1. ad probam viduam.*

having no Superior, and therefore owing honour vnto none, neither standing in any need, should eyther giue thanks, or make petition vnto God, were most absurd. As man what could beseeeme him better, whether wee respect his affection to God-ward, or his owne necessitie, or his charitie and loue towards men? Some things hee knew should come to passe and notwithstanding prayed for them, because he also knew that the necessarie meanes to effect them, were his Prayers. As in the Psalmes it is sayd, ^a *Aske of me, and I will giue thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy possession.* Wherefore that which heere God promiseth his Sonne, the same in the 17. of *Iohn* hee prayeth for, ^b *Father, the houre is now come, glorifie thy Sonne, that thy Sonne also may glorifie thee, according as thou hast giuen him power ouer all flesh.* But had Christ the like promise concerning the effect of euery particular for which hee prayed? That which was not effected could not be promised. And wee know in ^c what sort hee prayed for remouall of that bitter cup, which cup he tasted notwithstanding his Prayer. To shift off this Example they answer first that ^d *as other children of God, so Christ had a promise of deliuerance, as farre as the glorie of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer.* And if we our selues haue not also in that sort the promise of God to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie, what meaneth the Sacred Scripture to speake in so large termes, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in ^e euery worke of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy Cattell, and in the fruit of the Land for thy wealth.* Againe, *Keepe his Lawes, and thou shalt be blest above all people; the Lord shall take from thee ^f all infirmities.* The man whose delight is in the Law of God, ^g *whatsoeuer he doth it shall prosper.* For the vngodly there are great plagues remayning; but whosoever putteth his trust in the Lord, mercie imbraceth him ^h *on euery side.* Not onely that mercie which keepeth from being ouerlaid or oppressed, but mercie which saueeth from being touched with grieuous miseries, mercie which turneth away the course of ⁱ *the great water-floods,* and permitteeth them not to *come neere.* Neuerthelesse, because the Prayer of Christ did concerne but one calamitie, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our Prayer for deliuerance out of all, yea, though wee pray with the same exception that hee did, *If such deliuerance may stand with the pleasure of ^j Almighty God and not otherwise.* For they haue secondly found out a Rule that Prayer ought onely to be made for deliuerance ^k *from this or that particular aduersitie, whereof we know not but upon the euent what the pleasure of God is.* Which quite ouerthroweth that other principle wherein they require vnto euery Prayer which is of Faith an assurance to obtayne the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all aduersitie was vnlawfull, because wee cannot assure our selues that this will be granted. Now wee haue licence to pray against any particular aduersitie, and the reason giuen, because wee know not but vpon the euent what God will doe. If wee know not what God will doe, it followeth that for any assurance wee haue, hee may doe otherwise then wee pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which wee cannot assuredly presume that God will grant. Seeing therefore neyther of these two Answeres will seruethe turne, they haue a third, which is, that to pray in such sort is but idly misse-spent labour, because God hath already reuealed his Will touching

a Psal. 2. 8.

b Iohn 17. 1. 2.

c Matth. 26. 39.
Marke 14. 36.

d Luke 22. 42.

e Neyther did

our Sauour

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T. c. lib. 3. p. 200.

f Deut. 7. 15.

g Psal. 1. 4.

h Psal. 31. 11.

i 7.

k T. c. lib. 3.

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1 We ought

not to desire

to be free from

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lib. 3. p. 201.

this request, and wee know that the sure we make is denied before we make it. Which neyther is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himselfe should suffer? To say ^a *hee knew not what waight of sufferances his heauenly father had measured vnto him*, is somewhat hard, harder that although *he knew them*, notwithstanding for the present time they were *forgotten, through the force of those vnspeakeable pangs which he then was in*. The one against the plaine expresse words of the holy Euangelist, ^b *He knew all things that should come vpon him*; the other lesse credible, if any thing may bee of lesse credit then what the Scripture it selfe gaynesayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings, make report that memorie sayled them? Is there in his wordes and speeches any signe of defect that way? Did not himselfe declare before whatsoeuer was to happen in the course of that whole Tragedie? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his owne mouth eyther in the place of publique iudgement, or vpon the Altar of the Crosse, that through the brusing of his Bodie, some part of the treasures of his soule were scattered and slipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did faile at this only middle instant, there must appeare some manifest cause how it came to passe. True it is, that the pangs of his heauinesse and griefe were *vnspeakeable*; and as true, that because the minds of the afflicted doe neuer thinke they haue fully conceiued the waight or measure of their owne woe, they vse their affection as a whetstone both to wit and memory, these as nurces doe feed griefe, so that the weaker his conceit had bin touching that which hee was to suffer, the more it must needs in that houre haue helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish wee see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deepe apprehension euen to the last drop of the gaulle which that Cup containd, and of euery circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heauinesse, but about all things, the resolute determination of God, and his owne vnchangeable purpose which hee at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer which plainly testifieth so great willingnesse to auoyd death? Will, whether it bee in God or man, belongeth to the Essence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diuers wils, although the God-head be in diuers persons, because the power of willing is a naturall not a personall proprietie. Contrariwise, the person of our Sauiour Christ being but one, there are in him two wils, because two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both doe imply this facultie and power. So that in Christ there is a diuine and there is an humane will, otherwise hee were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretiques, for holding that Christ had but one will. The workes and operations of our Sauiours humane will were all subiect to the will of God, and framed according to his Law, ^c *I desired to do thy will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart*. Now as mans will, so the will of Christ hath two seuerall kinds of operation, the one naturall or necessarie, whereby it desireth simply whatsoeuer is good in it selfe, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when wee therefore imbrace things as good, because the eye of vnderstanding iudgeth them good to that end which we simply desire. Thus in

^a T.C. lib. 3.
page 201.

^b Iohn 18.4.

^c Psal. 40.8.

it selfe we desire health, physicke onely for healths sake. And in this sort special reason oftentimes causeth the will by choise to preferre one good thing before another, to leaue one for anothers sake, to forgoe meaner for the attainment of higher desires, which our Sauour likewise did. These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easie how in Christ there might grow desires seeming, but being not indeed opposite either the one of them vnto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his speech be weighed, ^a *My soule is now troubled, and what should I say? Father, saue me out of this houre. But yet for this very cause am I come into this houre.* His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrarie objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were neuer presented in that manner to any but onely to the Soule of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearefull houre on the one side Gods heauie indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet vnappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet neuer mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more then is either possible or needfull for the wit of man to find out, finally himselfe flesh and blood * left alone to enter into conflict with all these; on the other side, a world to be saued by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest ouer death through the power of that Deity which would not suffer the Tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an vtter disappointment of all the forces of infernall powers, through the puritie of that soule which they should haue in their hands and not bee able to touch. Let no man maruaile that in this case the soule of Christ was much troubled. For what could such apprehensions breed but (as their nature is) inexplicable passions of mind, desires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhorre? In which agonie *how should the tongue go about to expresse what the soule indured?* When the griefes of *Iob* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, still vnto his seeming they were vndiscovered, ^b *Though my talke (saith Iob) be this day in bitterness, yet my plague is greater then my groning.* But heere to what purpose should words serue, when nature hath more to declare then grones and strong cryes, more then streames of bloudie sweates, more then his doubled and tripled prayers can expresse, who thrise putting forth his hand to receiue that cup, besides which there was no other cause of his comming into the world, he thrise pulleth it backe againe, and as often euen with teares of bloud craueth, *If it be possible, O Father, Or if not, euen what thine owne good pleasure is,* for whose sake the passion that hath in it a bitter and bloudie conflict euen with wrath and death and hell is most welcome. Whereas therefore wee find in God a will resolu'd that Christ shall suffer; and in the humane will of Christ two actual desires, the one auoyding, and the other accepting death; is that desire which first declareth it selfe by prayer, against that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them against his mind to whom prayer in this case seeketh? We may iudge of these diuersities in the will, by the like in the vnderstanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not crosse it selfe, by conceiuing man to be iust and vniust, when it meaneth not the same man, nor by imagining the same man learned and vnlearned,

^a Ioh 12. 27.

^b Matth. 27. 46.
Non potuit diuinitas humanitatem, & secundum aliquod deseruisse, & secundum aliquid non deseruisse?

Subtrahit protectionem, sed non separavit unum.

Sic ergo de reliquit ut non adiunget, sed non dereliquit ut recederet.

Sic ergo humanitas a diuinitate in passione derelicta est.

Quam tamen mortem quae non pro sua iniquitate, sed pro nostra redemptione sustinuit, quare sit derelicta?

quasi aduersus Deum de qua mihi mirans, sed nobis innocentiam suam in se non amittens.

Hug. de Sacra. li. 2. par. 1. c. 10.

Deus meus, ut quid dereliquit me? Non est nec ignorantie, nec dissidentie, nec querelae, sed admirationis tantum, quae alijs inuestigandae causae audentem & diligentiam accit.

^b Iob 23. 2.

learned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning vnskilfull, because the parts of euerie true opposition doe alwayes both concerne the same subiect, and haue reference to the same thing, sith otherwise they are but in shew opposite and not in truth: So the will about one and the same thing may in contrarie respects haue contrarie inclinations, and that without contrarie-
 tie. The minister of iustice may for publique example to others, vertuously will the execution of that partie, whose pardon another for consanguinities sake as vertuously may desire. Consider death in it selfe, and nature teacheth Christ to shun it; Consider death as a meane to procure the saluation of the world, and mercie worketh in Christ all a willingnesse of mind towards it. Therefore in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be onely betwene his appointment of Christs death, and the former desire which wisheth deliuerance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the will of God. The will of God was that Christ should suffer the paines of death. Not so his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it selfe please and delight God, but such was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was necessarie that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in it selfe therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtaine life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner the Sonne of man indureth willingly to that purpose those grieuous paines, which simply not to haue shunned had bin against nature, and by consequent against God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Christ either knew not what himselfe was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew. The roote of which error was an ouer-restrained consideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawfull vse but onely to serue for a chosen meane, whereby the will resoluieth to seeke that which the vnderstanding certainly knoweth it shall obtaine: whereas prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well sometime a presentation of meere desires, as a meane of procuring desired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by this example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadfull objects euen in minds most perfect, may as cloudes ouer-cast all sensible ioy; that no assurance touching future victories can make present conflicts so sweet and easie, but nature will shun and shrinke from them, nature will desire ease and deliuerance from oppressiue burthens; that the contrarie determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection it selfe, because it is naturally in vs; that in such case our prayers cannot serue vs as meanes to obtaine the thing wee desire; that notwithstanding they are vnto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testifie we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be ouerruled by his will, and in generall they are not repugnant vnto the naturall will of God, which wisheth to the workes of his owne hands, in that they are his owne handie-workes, all happinesse, although perhaps for some speciall cause in our owne particular, a contrarie determination haue seemed more conuenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effect as wee specifie, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure vs his heavenly grace, euen as this verie prayer of Christ obtained ^b Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agonie. And according to
 this

^a *Ex. 53. 10.*
John 10. 15.

^b *Luke 22. 43.*

this example wee are not afraid to present vnto God our prayers for those things, which that hee will performe vnto vs wee haue no sure nor certaine knowledge. ^a Saint Pauls prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not doe any euill, although hee knew that no man liueth which sinneth not, although hee knew that in this life we alwayes mult pray, ^b *Forgiue vs our finnes.* It is our frailtie that in many things we all doe amisse, but a vertue that we would doe amisse in nothing, and a testimonie of that vertue, when we pray that what occasion of sinne soeuer doe offer it selfe, wee may be strengthened from above to withstand it. They pray in vaine to haue sinne pardoned which seeke not also to preuent sinne by prayer, euen euery particular sinne by prayer against all sinne, except men can name some transgression wherewith wee ought to haue truce. For in verie deed although wee cannot be free from all sinne collectiue in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in vs, yet distributiue at the least all great and grieuous actuall offences, as they offer themselues one by one, both may and ought to bee by all meanes auoyded. So that in this sense to bee preserued from all sinne is not impossible. Finally, concerning deliuerance it selfe from all aduersitie, wee vse not to say men are in aduersitie whensoever they feele any small hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when some notable affliction or crosse, some great calamitie or trouble befallerh them. Tribulation hath in it diuers circumstances, the mind sundrie faculties to apprehend them: It offereth sometime it selfe to the lower powers of the soule as a most vnpleasant spectacle to the higher, somerimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconueniences, sometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of sundrie euils, as Gods instrument of reuenge and furie sometime, sometime as a rod of his iust yet moderate ire and displeasure, sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate vs to exercise their poysoned malice, sometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to shew it selfe, and through conflict to obtaine glorie. Which different contemplations of aduersitie doe worke for the most part their answerable effects. Aduersitie either apprehended by sense as a thing offensiu and grieuous to nature; or by reason conceiued as a snare, an occasion of many mens falling from God, a sequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan desireth, and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus considered being present causeth sorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affectiōs growing from the very naturall bitterness and gall of aduersitie, ^c the Scripture much alleageth contrarie fruits, which affliction likewise hath whensoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apostle Saint Paul teacheth, that ^d euery one which will liue godly in Christ Iesus must suffer persecution, and by many tribulations wee must enter into the kingdome of heauen, because in a Forrest of many woolues, sheepe cannot choose but feede in continuall danger of life; or when ^e Saint Iames exhorterh to account it a matter of exceeding ioy when we fall into diuers temptations, because by the triall of faith patience is brought forth; was it suppose wee their meaning to frustrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that yee enter not into temptation?* when him selfe pronounceth them blessed that should for his name sake bee subiect

^a 2. Cor. 12.7.

^b We may not pray in this life to be free from all sinne, because we must alwayes pray, Forgiue vs our sinnes. T.C. l. b. 3. f. d. 200.

^c Psal. 119. 71.
^d 2. Tim. 3. 12.
 To pray against persecution is contrarie to that word which Iust, that curie one which will liue godly in Christ Iesu, must suffer persecution. T.C. l. 3. f. d. 200.
^e Iames 1. 3.

Psal. 119. 22.
 a August. epist.
 121. ca. 14.

to all kinds of ignominie and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that no man should euer pray with DAVID, ^a Lord, remoue from me shame and contempt? In those tribulations, saith ^b S. AUGUSTINE, which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should aske as we ought, we know not, yet because they are tough, because they are grieuous, because the sense of our weaknesse flieth them, we pray according to the generall desire of the will of man, that God would turne them away from vs, owing in the meane while this deuotion to the Lord our God, that if he remooue them not, yet we doe not therefore imagine our selues in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of euils, expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weaknesse perfected. To the the flesh (as the Apostle himselve granteth) all affliction is naturally grieuous. Therefore nature which causeth to feare, teacheth to pray against all aduersity. Prosperitie in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almighty God, doth prooue for the most part a thing dangerous to the soules of men. Verie ease it selfe is ^c death to the wicked, and the prosperitie of fooles slayeth them; their table is a snare, and their felicitie their vtter ouerthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sinne not. Howbeit euen as these ill effects, although they be verie vsuall and common, are no barre to the heartie prayers, wherby most vertuous minds with peace & prosperity alwayes where they loue, because they consider that this in it selfe is a thing naturally desired: so because all aduersitie is in it selfe against nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the prouidence of God turne it often vnto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be deliuered from all aduersitie, are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of mens mindes towards death, much lesse to that blessed patience and meeke contentment which Saints by heauenly inspiration haue to indure, what crosse or calamitie foecer it please God to lay vpon them, then our Lord and Sauours own prayer before his passion was repugnant vnto his most gracious resolution to dye for the sinnes of the whole world.

Prayer that all men may find mercie, and of the wil of God that all men might be saued.
 d 1. Tim. 2. 3.

49 In praying for deliuerance from all aduersitie, we seeke that which nature doth wish to it selfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian Charitie thirsteth after the good of the whole world, wee discharge that dutie which ^d the Apostle himselve doth impose on the Church of Christ as a commendable office, a sacrifice acceptable in Gods sight, a seruice according to his heart, whose desire is, to haue all men saued, a worke most suteable with his purpose, who gaue himselfe to be the price of redemption for all, and a forcible meane to procure the conversion of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must saue their soules. Against it there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all mens saluation, and many mens eternall condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to passe; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whom God will neuer extend mercie, and therefore that wittingly wee aske an impossible thing to bee had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere vnderstanding or knowledge, all mens saluation and some mens endlesse perdition are things so opposite, that whosoever doth affirme the one, must necessarily

family deny the other, God himselfe cannot effect both, or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this cernainty, that life and death haue diuided betweene them the whole bodie of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himselfe knoweth ; for vs he hath left no sufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cause neither giuen any leaue to search in particular who are infallibly the heires of the kingdome of God, who cast-awayes. Howbeit concerning the state of all men with whom we liue (for onely of them our prayers are meant) we may till the worlds end, for the present, alwayes presume, that as farre as in vs there is power to discern what others are, and as farre as any dutie of ours dependeth vpon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest axiomes for charitie to rest it selfe vpon are these, *He which beleueneth alreadie, is*; and *He which beleueneth not as yet, may be the child of God.* ^a It becommeth not vs during life altogether to condemn any man, seeing that (for any thing we know) there is hope of every mans forgiveness, the possibilitie of whose repentance is not yet cut off by death. And therefore Christie which ^b hopeth all things, prayeth also for all men. Wherefore to let go personall knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercie, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not, for vs there is cause sufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our prayers vnto God in their behalfe. For whatsoener the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charitie and loue is to haue it enlarged in the verie vtermoost extent, that all may inioy it to whom it can any way adde perfection. Because therefore the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier wee reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no lesse then for our owne, the Apostle with verie fit termes commendeth as being *καλόν*, a worke commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth, euen as theirs, ^c which haue requested at Gods hands the saluation of many with the losse of their owne soules, drowning as it were and ouerwhelming themselues in the abundance of their loue towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rarenesse of such affections *υπερκάλον*, more then excellent. But this extraordinarie height of desire after other mens saluation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth vnto all and preuaileth with God daily: For as it is in it selfe good, so God accepteth and taketh it in verie good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men doe include both them that shall find mercie, and them also that shall find none. For them that shall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we craue that mercie which is not to be obtained, let vs not thinke that ^d our Sauour did misinstruct his Disciples, willing them to pray for the peace euen of such as should be vncapable of so great a blessing; or that the prayers of the ^e Prophet *Jeremy* offended God, because the answer of God was a resolute denyall of fauour to them for whom supplication was made. And if any man doubt how God should accept such prayers in case they be opposite to his will, or not grant them if they be according vnto that which himselfe willet, our answer is, that such sutes God accepteth in that they are conformable vnto his generall inclination, which is that all men might be saued, yet alwayes he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God sometimes a more priuate occasioned will which

^a *Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epist.*

^b *1. Cor. 14. 7.*

^c *Rom. 9. 3; 10. 1.*

^d *Matth. 10. 11; 12.*

^e *Jer. 15. 1.*

which determineth the contrarie. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requests for things opposite to this will of God are not therefore the lesse gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we doe we sinne. For of our selues being so apt to erre, the only way which we haue to streighten our paths, is by following the rule of his will, whose foote-steps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foote doe that which the will commandeth, though they serue as instruments to sinne, yet is sinne the commanders fault and not theirs, because nature hath absolutely and without exception made them subiects to the will of man which is Lord over them. As the bodie is subiect to the will of man, so mans will to the will of God; for so it behooueth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subiection of the bodie to the will is by naturall necessitie, the subiection of the will vnto God voluntarie; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wills and desires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwayes the selfe-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpose is sometime the speedie death of them, whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were vnnaturall. When the obiect or matter therefore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of it selfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is vertuous & apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charitie; pietie that which wee doe in declaring our desire by prayer; yea ouer and besides all this, sith we know that to pray for all men liuing is but to shew the same affection which towards euerie of them our Lord Iesus Christ hath borne, who knowing onely as God who are his, did as man taste death for the good of all men, surely to that will of God which ought to bee and is the knowne rule of all our actions, we doe not herein oppose our selues, although his secret determination happily be against vs, which if we did vnderstand as wee doe not, yet to rest contented with that which God will haue done, is as much as hee requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our selues what we earnestly craue in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, wee meekely submit vnto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we haue cause sufficient why to thinke the practice of our Church allowable in this behalfe, so neither is ours the first which hath bene of that mind. For to end with the words ^b of Prosper, *This law of supplication for all men* (saith he) *the deuout zeale of all Priests and of all faithfull men doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world where Christian people do not vse to pray in the same manner. The Church euery where maketh prayers vnto God not onely for Saints and such as already in Christ are regenerate, but for all Infidels and enemies of the crosse of Iesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Iewes to whose blindness the light of the Gospel doth not yet shine, for Heretiques and Schismaticques, who from the vnitie of faith and charity are estranged. And for such what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leauing their errors they may be conuerted vnto him, that faith & charity may be giuen him, and that out of the darkenes of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? Which because they cannot themselves do in their owne behalfe,*

a Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpsit aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem diuinam, in qua cum patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse presciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietatem moueretur, & hoc ad veram diuinitatem ut à sua dispositione non moueretur.
 Hug. de quat. Chryf. voluit.
 b Prosper de vocat. Gen. lib. 1. ca. 4. inter opera Ambrosij.

. as long

as long as the sway of euill custome ouer-beareth them, and the chaines of Satan detaineth them bound, neither are they able to breake thorow those errors wherein they are so determinately settled, that they pay vnto falsitie the whole summe of whatsoeuer lone is owing vnto Gods Truth, our Lord mercifull and iust requireth to haue all men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawne vp from the depth of so bottomlesse euils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requested, nor despayre, but that being thankfull for them towards whom already he hath shewed mercy, the rest which are not as yet inlightened, shall before they passe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which saueth [for so we see it falleth out] ouer-passe some, so that the Prayer of the Church for them be not receiued, this we may leaue to the hidden Iudgements of Righteousnesse, and acknowledge that in this secret there is a Gulfe, which while we liue we shall neuer sound,

50 Instruction and Prayer, whereof wee haue hitherto spoken, are duties which serue as Elements, Parts or Principles to the rest that follow, in which number, the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to vs that very * Mother of our new Birth, in whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we receiue nourishment. As many therefore as are apparently to our iudgment borne of God, they haue the Seed of Regeneration by the Ministerie of the Church, which vseth to that end and purpose not onely the Word, but the Sacraments, both hauing generatiue force and vertue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly vnderstood (for in the Writings of the ancient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Christian Faith, all duties of Religion containing that which sense or natural reason cannot of it selfe discern, are most commonly named Sacraments) our restraint of the Word to some few principall diuine CEREMONIES, importeth in euery such Ceremonie two things, the substance of the Ceremonie it selfe which is visible, and besides that somewhat else more secret, in reference whereunto we conceiue that Ceremonie to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the seruice which we doe vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignitie of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receiue from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernaturall, as onely God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obserued their force and their forme of administration. Vpon their force their necessitie dependeth. So that how they are necessary wee cannot discern, till wee see how effectually they are. When Sacraments are said to be visible Signes of inuisible Grace, we thereby conceiue how grace is indeed the very end for which these heauenly Mysteries were instituted, and besides sundry other properties obserued in them, the matter wherof they consist, is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end. But still their efficacie resteth obscure to our vnderstanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what grace in particular, that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they haue towards it. The vse of Sacraments is but onely in this life, yet so, that here they concerne a farre better life then this, and are for that cause accompanied with

Of the name,
the Authour,
and the force
of Sacraments,
which force
consisteth in
this, that God
hath ordayned
them as means
to make vs
partakers of
him in Christ,
and of life
through Christ.
* Gal. 4. 26.
Eph. 5. 4-3.

grace which worketh Saluation. Sacraments are the powerfull Instruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life consisteth in the vnion of the bodie with the Soule; so our life supernaturall in the vnion of the Soule with God: And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man, without that a meane betwene both which is both, it seemeth requisite that wee first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in vs, and how the Sacraments doe serue to make vs partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more briefe, but the waight of the se requireth largeness.

51 The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuisible vnitie notwithstanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himselfe, we glorifie that Consubstantiall Word which is the Sonne, wee blesse and magnifie that Coessentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their seuerall properties really distinguishable each from other. For the substance of God with this proprietie to be of none, doth make the person of the Father; the very selfe-same substance in number with this proprietie to be of the Father, maketh the person of the Sonne; the same substance hauing added vnto it the proprietie of proceeding from the other two, maketh the person of the Holy Ghost. So that in euery person there is implied both the substance of God which is one, and also that proprietie which causeth the same person really and truly to differ from the other two.

Euery person hath his owne substance which no other besides hath, although there be others besides that are of the same substance. As no man but Peter can bee the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the selfe-same Nature which Peter. Againe Angels haue euery of them the nature of pure and inuisible Spirits, but euery Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a Dreame to Ioseph. Now when God became man, lest wee should erre in applying this to the person of the Father, or of the Spirit, Saint Peters Confession vnto Christ was,

Thou art the Sonne of the Liuing God, and Saint Iohns Exposition thereof was made plaine, and that it is the Word which was made flesh. The Father and the Holy Ghost (saith DAMASCEN) haue no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwise then onely by

a Oorticht
Dum carnem
fieri ut in semet-
ipso concordiam
confidat. xct. tr-
teorum periter
atq; cael. sum.
dum ut. usque

That God is in Christ by the person. In Incarnation of the Sonne who is very God. I say 7. 6. Ie. 23. 6. Ro. 9. 5. Ioha 16. 15. Iohn 5. 21. Coloss. 2. 9. I. Ioha. 5. 20.

b Προσωπον η-
γουου υποστασις
εστὶ κατὰ τοὺς
αγγέλους παύλος
τὸ ἰδιόν παρά
τὸ κοινόν. Κοι-
νότης γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ
οὐσία κατ' ἐαυτὴν
ἐκ υφίσταται, ἀλλὰ
ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσει
διαιρέται. τὸ δὲ
κοινὸν μετὰ τῆ
ἰδία ζῶντος ἐχει
ἢ πρόσσει καὶ τὸ
κατ' ἐαυτὴν ὑπόστα-
σε. Damasc.

de Orthod. fide lib. 3. cap. 6.

c Mat. 16. 16.

d Iohn. 1. 14.

Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. Ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸ λόγος οὐ ἴσθες ἀλλ' ἐπιστάθεις. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ καλῶς ἐνάρθρη ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεοῦ ἐστὶ ζωοποι-
τικῆ κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κοινοῦνται οὐ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῆ σαρκώσε τῶ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐυ-
δοκίαν καὶ βουλήσιν. Damasc.

apobation and assent. Notwithstanding, for as much as the Word and Deitie are one subiect, we must beware we exclude not the Nature of God from incarnation, and so make the Sonne of God incarnate not to be very God. For vndoubtedly euen the Nature of God it selfe in the onely person of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it selfe flesh. Wherefore, incarnation may neither be granted to any person but onely one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common vnto all three. Concerning the cause of which incomprehensible Mystery, for as much as it seemeth a thing vnconsonant, that the World should honour any other as the Sauour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creatour

f In illo diuini-
tas est unigeniti
filiu patris
m. v. al. a. u. s. o-
s. t. v. i. & nos
ja. r. i. c. i. p. e. s. u.
i. m. m. o. r. t. a. l. i. t. a. t. i. s.
e. s. s. e. m. u. s.
Epist. 17.

a An. Do. 381. then ^a at Constantinople in a generall famous Assembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, sevenscore Bishops and tenne agreeing in that Confession which by them set downe, remayneth at this present houre, a part of our Church-Liturgie, a Memoriall of their fidelitie and zeale, a soueraigne preferuatiue of Gods people from the venemous infection of Heresie. Thus in Christ the veritie of God, and the complete substance of man, were with full agreement established throughout the World, till such time as the Heresic of *Nestorius* broched it selfe, ^b diuiding Christ into two persons, the Son of God, and the Son of man, the one a person begotten of God before all Worlds, the other also a person borne of the Virgin *MARY*, and in speciall fauour chosen to be made intyre to the Son of God above all men, so that whosoer will honour God, must together honour Christ, with whose person God hath vouchsafed to ioyne himselfe in so high a degree of gracious respect and fauour. But that the selfe-same person which verily is man, should properly be God also, and that, by reason not of two persons linked in amitie, but of two natures, Humane and Diuine, conioyned in one and the same person, the God of glory may be said as well to haue suffered death, as to haue raised the dead from their graues, the Son of man as well to haue made as to haue redeemed the World, *Nestorius* in no case would admit. That which deceiued him, was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The Word, saith *S. Iohn*, was made flesh and dwelt ^c in vs. The Euangelist vseth the plurall number, Men for Manhood, *Vs* for the nature whereof we consist, euen as the Apostle denying the Assumption of *Angelicall nature*, saith likewise in the plurall number, he tooke not ^d Angels but the seed of *Abraham*. It pleased not the Word or Wisdome of God to take to it selfe some one person amongst men, for then should that one haue bene advanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdome, to the end She might faue many, built her House of that nature which is common vnto all. She made not *this* or *that* man her Habitation, but dwelt in vs. The Seedes of Herbes and Plants at the first are not in act, but in possibilitie that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himselfe a man now made and alreadie perfected, it would of necessitie follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming and the other assumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not assume a mans person vnto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne person, and therefore tooke *semen*, the seed of *Abraham*, the very first originall Element of our nature, ^e before it was come to haue any personall Humane subsistence. The flesh and the coniunction of the flesh with God beganne both at one instant, his making and taking to himselfe our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personall subsistence but one, and that from euerlasting. By taking only the nature of man, hee still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. For as much therefore as Christ hath no personall subsistence but one whereby wee acknowledge him to haue bene eternally the Sonne of God, wee must of necessitie apply to the person of the Sonne of God, euen that which is spoken of Christ according to his Humane nature. For Example, according to the flesh hee was borne of the Virgin *Mary* baptized of *Iohn* in the Riuer *Jordan*, by *Pilate*

adiudged

b Οὐκ ἔτε τῶν
ἐνοσιν ὁμολο-
γεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν,
Cyril. Epist.
ad Eulog.
Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ
ἕνωσιν τοῦ λόγου
τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἀν-
θρώπου, ἀλλὰ
τοῦ ὑποστάσει
ἔλεγε καὶ διδι-
ρσειν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ
ἀνθρώπων καὶ
θεοῦ ἀσεκάλει
τὸν χριστὸν
ἀλλ' ἔκτε ὡς
ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆ
σχέσει καὶ πῆδι-
κιάσει κατὰ
τὸ ταυτὴ ἀλλή-
λοις ἀρῶσιν
διὰ τῶν ὑπερ-
βολῶν τῆ φιλίας,
Leont. de Sect.
c Iohs 1. 14.
d Heb. 2. 16.

e ἡ ἀληθεύσα
φύσις ἐπροσῆρ-
χε τῆς λήθσεως
Theod. Dial.
ἁ Ἀτρωτικός.

adjudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. Wee cannot say properly that the Virgin bore, or *Iohn* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, because these all are personall Attributes, his person is the subiect which receiueth them, his nature, that which maketh his person capable or apt to receiue. If wee should say that the person of a man in our Sauiour Christ was the subiect of these things, this were plainly to intrap our selues in the very snare of the *Nestorians* Heresie, betweene whom and the Church of God there was no difference, sauing onely that *Nestorius* imagined in Christ as well a personall Humane subsistence as a Diuine, the Church acknowledging a substance both Diuine and Humane, but no other personall subsistence then Diuine, because the Sonne of God tooke not to himselfe a mans person, but the nature onely of a man. Christ is a person both Diuine and Humane, howbeit not therefore two persons in one, neither both these in one sense, but a person Diuine, because hee is personally the Sonne of God, Humane, because he hath really the nature of the children of men. In Christ therefore God and Man, there is (saith ^a PASCASIVS) a two-fold substance, not a two-fold person, because one person extinguisheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct. For the personall being which the Sonne of God alreadie had, suffered not the substance to bee personall which hee tooke, although together with the nature which he had, the nature also which hee tooke continueth. Whereupon it followeth against *Nestorius*, that no person was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no person but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other person crucified, which one onely point of Christian Beliefe, the infinite worth of the Sonne of God, is the very ground of all things beleued concerning life and saluation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as Saint *Cyri*l, the chiefest of those two hundred Bishops assembled in the ^b Councell of Ephesus where the Heresie of *Nestorius* was condemned, had in his Writings against the Arrians auouched, that the Word or Wisedome of God hath but one nature which is eternall, and whereunto hee assumed flesh (for the Arrians were of opinion, that besides Gods owne eternall Wisedome, there is a Wisedome which God created before all things, to the end hee might thereby create all things else, and that this created Wisedome was the Word which tooke flesh.) Againe, for as much as the same *Cyri*l had giuen instance in the bodie and the soule of man, no farther then onely to enforce by example against *Nestorius*, that a visible and an inuisible, a mortall and an immortall substance may vnited make one person, the wordes of *Cyri*l were in proesse of time so taken, as though it had bene his drift to teach, that euen as in vs the bodie and the soule, so in Christ, God and man make but one nature. Of which error, sixe hundred and thirtie Fathers in the ^c Councell of Chalcedon condemned *Eutyches*. For as *Nestorius* teaching rightly that God and man are distinct Natures, did thereupon mis-inferre that in Christ those natures can by no coniunction make one person; so *Eutyches* of sound beliefe, as touching their true personall copulation became vnsound, by denying the difference which still continueth betweene the one and the other nature. Wee must therefore

a Paschasius,
de Spiritu Sancto.

b An. D. 431.

c An. D. 451.

keepe warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherein Nestorius went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceived Eutyches. ^a These natures from the moment of their first combination haue beene and are for euer inseparable. For euen when his soule forooke the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deitie forooke neither Body nor Soule. If it had, then could we not truly hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise vp it selfe from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sence be termed the person of Christ; nor is it true, to say that the Sonne of God in raising vp that Body did raise vp himselfe, if the Body were not both with him and of him, euen during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soule, otherwise wee are plainly and ineuitably Nestorians. The very person of Christ therefore for euer one and the selfe-same, was only touching bodily substance concluded within the Graue, his Soule onely from thence seuered, but by personall vnion, his Deitie still vnseparably ioyned with both.

a Ἀχώριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὸ ἐλαττωθῆσιν ὁμολογῶσιν καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.
Theodor. Dial. Asathis.

That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.

53 The sequell of which coniunction of natures in the person of Christ, is no abolishment of naturall properties appertayning to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutuall infusion as really causeth the same naturall operations or properties to be made common vnto both substances, but whatsoeuer is naturall to Deitie, the same remayneth in Christ vncommunicated vnto his Manhood, & whatsoeuer naturall to Manhood, his Deitie thereof is vncapable. The true properties and operations of his Deitie are, to know that which is not possible for created natures to comprehend: to be simply the highest cause of all things, the well-spring of immortality & life; to haue neither end nor beginning of dayes; to be euery-where present, and inclosed no where, to be subiect to no alteration nor passion; to produce of it selfe those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Maiestie and power. The true properties and operations of his Manhood are such, as ^b Ireneus reckoneth vp, *if Christ* (saith hee) *had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not haue coucted those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after trauaile, testified compassion and loue by teares, grieved in heauinesse, and with extremitie of grieue euen melted away it selfe into bloudie sweates.* To Christ wee ascribe both working of Wonders and suffering of paines, wee vse concerning him, speeches as well of Humiltie as of Diuine Glory, but the one we apply vnto that nature which he tooke of the Virging *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine that the properties of the weaker nature haue vanished with the presence of the more glorious, and haue bin therein swallowed vp as in a Gulfe. We dare not in this point giue care to them, who ouer-boldly affirme, that ^c *The nature which Christ took weak & feeble from vs by being mingled with deity, became the same which deity is, that the assumption of our substance vnto his, was like the blending of a drop of Vineger with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which seuered it hath, because sit hence the instant of their coniunction, all distinction & difference of the one from the other is extinct, & whatsoeuer we can now conceiue of the Son of God, is nothing else*

b Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐϊδημιμένης.
Iren. lib. 3. aduers. haer. c.
Christ did all these, ἀνθρώπου σώματος νόμο.
Greg. Nazian. orat. 1. de filio. τοῦς μὲν τασσεῖν τοῦς λόγους τῷ ἐν Μαρίας ἀθρώπου, τοῦς δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἐν θεῷ.
Theodor. Dial. Asathis.
c Gregor. Nyss. Epist. ad Theopbil. Alexandr.

else but meere Deity, which words are so plaine & direct for Eutyches, that I stand in doubt they are not his whose name they carry. Sure I am, they are farre from truth, and must of necessitie giue place to the better aduised sentences of other men. ^a He which in himselfe was appointed (saith HILARIE) a Mediator to saue his Church, and for performance of that mystery of meditation betweene God and Man, is become God & Man, doth now, being but one, consist of both those natures vnited, neither hath he through the vnion of both incurred the damage or losse of either, lest by being borne a Man, we should thinke he hath giuen ouer to be God, or that because he continueth God, therefore he cannot be Man also, whereas the true belief which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth ioyntly God and Man, confesseth the Word and Flesh together. CYRIL more plainly, ^b His two natures haue knit themselues the one to the other, and are in that neerenesse as vncapable of confusion as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them. Flesh is not become God, but doth still continue flesh, although it be now the flesh of God. Yea, of each substance (saith ^c LEO) the properties are all preserved and kept safe. These two natures are as causes and originall grounds of all things which Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as God, because his Deitie alone is the well-spring from which they flow; some things as Man, because they issue from his meere humane nature; some things ioyntly as both God and Man, because both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each nature do cleaue onely to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot naturally be as God, the same which he naturally is as Man, yet both natures may very well concurre vnto one effect, and Christ in that respect be truly said to worke both as God and as Man, one and the selfe same thing. Let vs therefore set it downe for a rule or principle so necessary, as nothing more to the plaine deciding of all doubts and questions about the vnion of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a cooperation often, an association alwayes, but neuer any mutuall participation, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. Which rule must serue for the better vnderstanding of that which ^d Damascene hath touching crosse and circularie speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to Manhood, and to Man such as properly concerne the Deitie of Christ Iesus, the cause whereof is the association of natures in one subiect. A kind of mutuall commutation there is, whereby those concrete names, God, and Man, when we speake of Christ, doe take interchangeably one anothers roome, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether we say, that the Sonne of God hath created the world, and the Sonne of man by his death hath saued it, or else that the Sonne of man did create, and the Sonne of God die to saue the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Man-hood of Christ claimeth, or to man what his Deitie hath right vnto, we vnderstand by the name of God, and the name of Man, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ in whom both natures are. When the Apostle saith of the Iewes, that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Sonne of Man, being on earth, affirmeth, that the Sonne of Man was in heauen at the same instant, there is in these two speeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the ^e Lord of glorie, death, whereof diuine nature is not capable; in the

a Hilar. de Trin. l. b. 9.

b Cyr. Epist. ad Nest.

c Salua proprietate utriusque nature, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas.

Leo Epist. ad Flauia.

Οὐ τὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος τῆς ἀντιθέσεως ἐκείνος ὅστις ἐστὶν τὸ ἴδιον, διὰ τὸ τῆς ἑσῶς ἀδυνατεῖν ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐν ἀλλήλων ἀποκρίσθαι.

Damasc. de Orthod. lib. 3. c. 4.

Verum est diuinum in Christo naturarum, alteram suas alteri proprie, ates impartire enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, diuinas homini non humanitati, humanas non Deitati sed Deo tribui.

Cuius hoc est ratio, quia cum suppositum predicatis sit eiusmodi: ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sicut ab vna, siue ab altera denominetur nihil refert.

1. Cor. 2. 8.

other

a Iohn 3. 13.

other vbiq̄uitie vnto ^a Man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glorie we must needs vnderstand the whole person of Christ, who being Lord of glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of glory. In like manner, by the Sonne of Man the whole person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being man vpon earth, filled heauen with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is giuen him. Without this caution the Fathers, whose beliefe was sincere and their meaning most sound, shall seeme in their writings one to deny what another constantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* disputeth with great earnestnesse, that *God* cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christs *diuine nature* again^b *Apollinarius*, which held euen Deitie it selfe passible. *Cyril* on the other side ageinst *Nestorius* as much contendeth, that whoeuer will deny *very God* to haue suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold, were heresie, if the name of God in this assertion did not import as it doth the person of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is giuen him.

b *Θνητὸν ὅς
ὁ ἰσὺς καὶ σαρκί-
α καὶ τὸ
θεῶν ἴσα.* Greg.
Nyss. de secta-
tor.
*Apollinar. Epist.
ad Flauia.*

What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the vnion of his Flesh with Deitie.

54 If then both natures doe remaine with their properties in Christ thus distinct as hath bene shewed, we are for our better vnderstanding what either nature receiueth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receiuer, first, in that he is the Sonne of God: secondly, in that his humane nature hath had the honour of vnion with Deitie bestowed vpon it: thirdly, in that by

meanes thereof sundrie eminent graces haue flowed as effects from Deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Christ therefore there is bestowed the gift of eternall Generation, the gift of vnion, and the gift of vnction. By the gift of eternall Generation Christ hath received of the Father one and in number the ^c selfe-same substance, which the Father hath of himselfe vnreceiued from any other. For euery ^d beginning is a Father vnto that which commeth of it; and euery off-spring is a Sonne vnto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is ^e originally that Deitie which Christ ^f originally is not (for Christ is God ^g by being of God, light ^h by issuing out of light) it followeth hereupon, that whatsoever Christ hath ⁱ common vnto him with his heauenly Father, the same of necessitie must be giuen him, but naturally and ^k eternally giuen, not bestowed by way of beneuolence and fauour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore ^l where the Fathers giue it out for a rule, that whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to

haue

c *Natiuitas Dei non potest non eam ex qua profecta est tenere naturam. Neq̄ enim aliud quam Deus subsistit, qui non aliam de quam ex Deo Deus subsistit.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Cum sit gloria, sempiterna tate, virtute, regno, potestate hoc quod pater est, omnia tamen haec non in: audire sicut pater, sed ex patre aeterna u filius sine initio & equalis habet.* Ruffin. in Symb. *Apust. cap. 9. Filium aliunde non deduco, sed de substantia patris vnium a patre consubstantiu potestatem.* Tertull. contra Prax. d. 8. *hes. 1. 15. πῶσα πατρῴα, quicquid alteri quomodo da esse.* e *Iac. 1. 17. Pater lumen v̄s te & πρῶτος ἀὸς ἀλόγος τε.* Pachym. in Dionys. de Cōl. Hier. r. cap. 1. *Pater est principium totius diuinitatis quia ipse à nullo est. Non enim habet de quo p. occdat, sed ab eo & filius est genitus, & Spiritus sanctus procedit.* Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 20. *Hinc Christus deitatis loco nom. n vbiq̄, patris v̄stipat; quia pater nimirum est παρὰ τὸ θεῶν.* f *Pater tota substantia est, filius vero deriuatio totius & propagatio.* Tertul. contra Prax. g *Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Ἐπι- ἠλὶ μὴ natum habet filius Hilar. lib. 4. h 'Ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δόξης.* Heb. 1. 3. *Ἐστὶ ἀπόρρητος τῆς οὐρανοῦ κρατορὸς δόξης ἐπι κρινῆς ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅλος αἰδίου.* Sap. 7. 25. 26. i *Nihil in se diuersum ac dissimile habent natus & genitans.* Hilar. de Synod. aduers. Aetia. *In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud.* Vincent. Lyr. ca. 19. k *Pbi auctor aeternus est.* ib: & *natiuitatis aeternitas est: quia sicut natiuitas ab auctore est, ita & ab aeterno auctore aeterna natiuitas est.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12. *Sicut naturam pr. est. filio sine initio generationis: ita Spiritui sancto praestat essentiam sine initio processio.* Aug. de Trin. lib. 5. cap. 15. l *Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἐλαθεν ὁ υἱὸς & ἐδόξασθη, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λέγει, & τὸ θεῶν ἴσα.* Theodoret. fol. 42. & Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 22. de fil. *ibid. 44.*

have received, the same wee ought to apply onely to the Man-hood of Christ: their Assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received by grace, but to that which he hath received of the Father by eternall natiuitie or birth, it reacheth not. Touching vnion of Deitie with Man-hood, it is by grace, because there can be no greater grace shewed towards man, then that God should vouchsafe to vnite to mans nature the Person of his onely begotten Sonne. Because the Father ^a loueth the Sonne as Man, he hath by vniting Deitie with Man-hood, giuen all things into his hands. It hath ^b pleased the Father that in him all fulnesse should dwell. The name which he hath about all names is ^c giuen him. As the Father hath life in himselfe, the Sonne in himselfe hath life also by the ^d gift of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Christ a Fountaine of life, is, that ^e coniuñction of the nature of God with the nature of Man, in the person of Christ, ^f which gift (saith Christ to the Weman of Samaria) if thou didst know, and in that respect vnderstand who it is, which asketh water of thee, thou wouldest aske of him, that he might giue thee liuing Water. The vnion therefore of the Flesh with Deitie, is to that flesh a gift of principall grace and fauour. For by vertue of this grace, Man is really made God, a creature is exalted about the dignitie of all creatures, and hath all creatures else vnder it. This admirable vnion of God with Man, can inforce in that higher nature ^g no alteration, because vnto God there is nothing more naturall then not to bee subiect to any change. Neither is it a thing impossible, that the Word being made Flesh, should be that which it was not before, as touching the manner of subsistence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the same it was, because the Incarnation of the Sonne of God consisteth *meerely in the vnion of Natures*, which vnion doth adde perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the person of the Sonne of God hath attained by assuming Man-hood, surely, the whole summe of all is this, to be as we are truly, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof he is made capable of meaner offices, then otherwise his person could haue admitted, the onely gaine he thereby purchased for himselfe, was to be capable of losse and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be said concerning the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath infued? The very cause of his taking vpon him our nature, was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to aduance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he tooke, nor to infuse into it the naturall forces and properties of his Deitie. As therefore we haue shewed how the Sonne of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that personall subsistence which before was solitarie, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; so neither are the *properties of mans nature*, in the person of Christ, by force and vertue of the same coniuñction so much altered, as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withall; nor the *state and qualitie* of our substance so vnaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so neere copulation with Deitie. God from vs can receiue nothing, we by him

a Iohn 3. 35.
 b Ephef. 1. 5.
 c Phil. 2. 9.
 d Iohn 5. 26.
 e 1. Iohn 5. 20. Hic est verus Deus, & vita æterna.
 f Iohn 4. 10.
 g ὡς περ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸ θνητὸν, ὡς ὡ τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἀ-
 τρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοκίστον,
 Theod. Dial. Ἀτρεπτόν.
 Periculum stat-
 us sui Deo
 nullum est,
 Tertul. de car.
 Chr. Maiestas
 filij Dei corpo-
 re a natiuitas
 nihil contulit,
 nihil abstulit,
 Leo de Natiui.
 Ser. 8. Μὲν δὲ
 ἡ ἀπαρχὴ,
 δεὸς μένει καὶ
 τῆς ἡμετέρας
 εἰαυτοῦ παρα-
 σκευῶν ὁ
 παρῆν, I ho-
 phil. In formam
 serui transisse
 non est natu-
 ram perdidisse
 Dei, Hilar. de
 Trin. lib. 12.

him haue obtained much. For albeit the naturall properties of Deitie bee not communicable to mans nature, the supernaturall gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Sonne of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common vnto vs with him, the glory prouided for him and his in the Kingdome of heauen, his Right and Title thereunto euen in that he is man, differeth from other mens, because he is that man of whom God is himselfe a part. We haue right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath, his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoupe vnto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisedome, Righteousnesse, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heire of all things; to be that supreme Head whereunto all power both in heauen and in earth is giuen; these are not honours common vnto Christ with other men, they are Titles about the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Christ euen in that he is man, but Man with whom Deitie is personally ioyned, and vnto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more then worthy thereof. Finally, sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himselfe, yet by making it his owne inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceiue how God should without man either ^a exercise diuine power, or receive the glorie of diuine praise. For Man is in ^b both an associate of Deitie. But to come to the grace of *unction*, did the parts of our nature the Soule and Body of Christ receive by the influence of Deitie, where-with they were matcht, no abilitie of operation, no vertue or qualitie aboue nature? Surely, as the sword which is made fierie, doth not onely cut by reason of the sharpnesse which simply it hath, but also burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; so there is no doubt, but the Deitie of Christ hath inabled that nature which it rooke of man, to doe more then man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare essentiall properties of Deitie excepted) he hath imparted vnto it all things, he hath replenisht it with all such perfections as the same is any way apt to receiue, ^c at the least, according to the exigence of that oeconomie or service, for which it pleased him in loue and mercie to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mysticall administration did require, which he voluntarily vndertooke, the beames of Deitie did in operation alwayes accordingly either ^d restraints or enlarge themselues. From hence we may somewhat coniecture, how the powers of that Soule are illuminated which being so inward vnto God, cannot chooseth but be priuie vnto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessitie be indued with knowledge so farre forth ^e vniuersall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deitie it selfe. The Soule of Christ that saw in this life the face of God, was here, through so visible presence of Deitie, filled with all manner ^f graces and vertues in that vnmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we read it written, that God with the Oile of gladnesse anointed ^g him ^h about his ⁱ fellowes. And as God hath in Christ vnspokeably glorified the Nobler, so

^a Μετέχει δὲ ἀνθρώπινον τῆς θείας ἰσχυρίων, Theod.
^b ἢ διεξίει τὸ θεῶν ἢ ποιητικῶν ἢ ἄντων ἢ πάντων, ἢ τις ἄλλο ἢ κύριον δι' ἃ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἀπὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγειν ἡμῶς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου. Gregor. Nyss. Apud Theod.
 Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ λαλοῦν ἀπὸ κλάου ἐκείνου ἐπάνω πάντων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, Chry. in Psal. 41.
^c Luc. 2. 7.
^d ἢ συζῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ τὸ λόγον ἐν τῷ σκελετῶδες καὶ σαρκῶδες καὶ ἀποθησάνει, συγγινομένην τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ νικητῶ καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χυρῆσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν. Theodoret. & Iren. lib. 3. aduers. haeretic.
 Matih. 27. 46.
^e Col. 2. 3.
^f Isa. 11. 7.
^g IJa. 61. 1. Luc. 4. 18. Act. 4. 27. h Heb. 1. 9. i 2. Cor. 1. 21. 1. Ioh. 2. 20, 27.

likewise

likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. Where also that must againe be remembered which we noted before, concerning degrees of the influence of Deitie proportionable vnto his owne purposes, intents and counsels. For in this respect his body which by naturall condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of euerlasting immunitie from death, passion, and dissolution, till God which gaue it to be slaine for sinne, had for righteousnesse sake restored it to life with certaintie of endlesse continuance. Yea, in this respect the very glorified Body of Christ retained in it ^a the skars ^{a 10th 20. 27.} and markes of former mortallitie. But shall we say, that in heauen his glorious Body by vertue of the same cause, hath now power to present it selfe in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt, but God hath many wayes about the reach of our capacities exalted that Body which it hath pleased him to make his owne, that Body wherewith he hath saued the world, that Body which hath bene and is the roote of eternall Life, the Instrument wherewith Deitie worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away sinne, the Price which hath ransomed Soules from death, the Leader of the whole Army of bodies that shall rise againe. For though it had a beginning from vs, yet God hath giuen it vitall efficacie, heauen hath indowed it with celestiall power, that vertue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of heauen adore it. Notwithstanding, ^b a Body still it continueth, a Body consubstantiall with our bodies, a Body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one summe all that hitherto hath bene spoken touching this point, there are but foure things which concurre to make complete the whole state of our Lord Iesus Christ; his Deitie, his Manhood, the coniunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being ioyned in one. Foure principall Heresies there are which haue in those things withstood the truth; *Arrians*, by bending themselves against the Deitie of Christ; *Apollinarians*, by mayming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Nestorians*, by renting Christ a sunder, and diuiding him into two persons; the followers of *Eutiches*, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there haue bene foure most famous ancient generall Councils, the Council of *Nice* to define against *Arrians*, against *Apollinarians* the Council of *Constantinople*, the Council of *Ephesus* against *Nestorians*, against *Eutichians* the *Calcedon* Council. In foure words, *αληθώς, τέλει, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, truly, perfectly, indissolubly, distinctly*, the first apply to his being God, and the second to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his still continuing in that One both, we may fully by way of abridgement comprize whatsoeuer antiquitie hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian beliefe, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies. Within the compasse of which foure heads, I may truly affirme, that all Heresies which touch but the person of Iesus Christ, whether they haue risen in these later dayes, or in any Age heretofore, may be with great facilitie brought to confine themselves. We conclude therefore, that to saue the World, it was of necessitie the Sonne of God should bee thus incarnate, and that God should so bee in Christ as hath bene declared.

b Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσθασίον καὶ θεῶσε δὴ θεῶς μετ' ὅρα σώμα δὲ ὅμοιον τὴν οὐκ ἐκείαν ἔχον περιεπατήν. Theod. fol. 80.

Of the per-
sonall presence
of Christ eu-
ery-where, and
in what sense
it may be grant-
ed he is euery-
where present
according to
the flesh.

55 Hauing thus farre proceeded in speech concerning the person of Iesus Christ, his two natures, their coniunction, that which he either is or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiueth from the other; sith God in Christ is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Christ in vs is that receipt of the same medicine, whereby we are euery one particularly cured, in as much as Christs Incarnation and Passion can be auailable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can we participate him without his presence, we are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end it might thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Christ both otherwise and in the Sacraments themselues. All things are in such sort diuided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or qualitie, can be possibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are stinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they worke, whatsoeuer they doe, whatsoeuer they may, and whatsoeuer they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preseruation thereof. Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because euery thing is for some end, neither can that thing be auailable to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well excesses as defects, are opposite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth perish but onely through excesse or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth giue perfection, it followeth that measure is likewise the preseruation of all things. Out of which premises we may conclude, not only that nothing created can possibly be vnlimited, or can receive any such accident, qualitie, or propertie, as may really make it infinite (for then should it cease to be a creature) but also that euery creatures limitation is according to his owne kind, and therefore as oft as we note in them any thing about their kind, it argueth that the same is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause more powerfull then they are. Such as the substance of each thing is, such is also the presence thereof. Impossible it is that ^a God should withdraw his presence from any thing, because the very substance of God is infinite. Hee filleth heauen and earth, although hee take vp no roome in either, because his substance is immateriall, pure, and of vs in this world so incomprehensible, that albeit ^b no part of vs be euer absent from him, who is present whole vnto euerie particular thing, yet his presence with vs wee no way discerneth further then onely that God is present, which partly by reason, and more perfectly by Faith we know to be firme and certaine. Seeing therefore that presence euery-where is the sequelle of an infinite and incomprehensible substance, (for what can be euery-where, but that which can nowhere be comprehended?) to inquire whether Christ be euery-where, is to inquire of a naturall propertie, a propertie that cleaueth to the Deitie of Christ. Which Deitie being common vnto him with none, but only the Father and the Holy Ghost, it followeth that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soule nor the Body of Christ, and consequently, not Christ as man, or Christ according to his humane nature, can possibly be euery where present, because those phrases of limitation and restraint doe either point out the principall subiect whereunto euery such attribute adhereth,

^a P^sal. 139. 7, 8.
Ierem. 23. 24.

^b Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli partium rerum absens est; ideo totus quia non partium rerum partem sui presentem prebet, et alteri partem, alteram partem, sed non solum vniuersitati creaturae, verum etiam cuiuslibet partem eius totus pariter adest, August. Epist. 57.

or else they intimate the radicall cause out of which it groweth. For Example, when wee say that Christ as man, or according to his humane nature suffered death, we shew what nature was the proper subiect of mortalitie; when wee say that as God, or according to his Deitie he conquered death, we declare his Deitie to haue bene the cause, by force and vertue whereof hee rayseed himselfe from the Graue. But neither is the Manhood of Christ that subiect whereunto vniuersall presence agreeth, neither is it the cause originall by force whereof his Person is inabled to be euery-where present. Wherefore Christ is essentially present with all things, in that hee is very God, but not present with all things as man, because Manhood and the parts thereof can neither bee the cause nor the true subiect of such presence. Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason wherefore the Manhood of Christ can neither be euery-where present, nor cause the person of Christ so to be, we acknowledge that of Saint *Augustine* concerning Christ most true, *In that hee is personally the Word, he created all things; in that hee is naturally man, hee himselfe is created of God*, and it doth not appeare that any one creature hath power to be present with all creatures. Whereupon, neuerthelesse it will not follow that Christ cannot therefore bee thus present, because hee is himselfe a creature, for as much as onely infinite presence is that which cannot possibly stand with the essence or being of any creature, as for presence with all things that are, sith the whole race, masse, and body of them is finite, Christ by being a creature, is not in that respect excluded from possibilitie of presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore as man from so great largenes of presence, is only his being *man*, a creature of *this particular kind*, whereunto the God of Nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute vnto it any thing more then a creature of *that sort* can admit, were to giue it another nature, to make it a creature of some other kinde then in truth it is. Furthermore if Christ in that he is man be euery-where present, seeing this commeth not by the nature of Manhood it selfe, there is no other way how it should grow but either by the grace of vnion with Deitie, or by the grace of vnction received from Deitie. It hath bene alreadie sufficiently prooued, that by force of vnion the properties of both natures are imparted *to the person onely* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conueyed or translated into the other; it hath bene likewise prooued, that natures vnited in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not vnited. And concerning the grace of vnction, wherein are contayned the gifts and vertues which Christ as man hath aboue men, they make him really and habitual-ly a man more excellent then we are, they take not from him the nature and substance that wee haue, they cause not his soule nor bodie to bee of another kinde then ours is. Supernall endowments are an aduancement, they are no extinguishment of that nature whereto they are giuen. The substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can haue but onely locall. It was not therefore euery-where seen, nor did it euery-where suffer death, euery-where it could not be intombed, it is not euery-where now being exalted into heauen. There is no prooofe in the world strong to inforce that Christ had a true bodie, but by the true and naturall properties of his bodie. Amongst which proper-

a Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem creatura est. Aug. Epist. 57. Deus qui semper est & semper erat, sit creatura. Leo de Natiu. Multi timore trepidant ne Christum esse creaturam dicere complectantur. Nos proclamamus non esse periculum dicere Christum esse creaturam. Hieron. in Epist. ad Ephes. 2.

a *Tertul. de car. Christi.*

b *Aug. Epist. 37*

ties definite or locall presence is chiefe, ^a *How is it true of Christ (saith Tertul. lian) that he dyed, was buried, and rose againe, if Christ had not that very flesh, the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with bloud, supported with bones, wouen with sinewes, imbrodered with veines? If his Maiesticall Body haue now any such new propertie, by force whereof it may euery-where really euen in substance present it selfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Maistie of his estate extinguished the veritie of his nature.* ^b *Make thou no doubt or question of it (saith S. Augustine) but that the man Christ Iesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same forme and substance of flesh, which hee carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but giuen thereunto immortality. According to this forme he spreadeth not out himselfe into all places. For it behoueth vs to take great heed, lest while we goe about to maintaine the glorious Deity of him which is man, wee leaue him not the true bodily substance of a man.* According to S. Augustines opinion therefore that Maiesticall body which wee make to be euery-where present, doth thereby cease to haue the substance of a true bodie. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alleged proofes a most infallible Truth, that Christ as man is not euery-where present. There are which thinke it as infallibly true, that Christ is euery-where present as man, which peraduenture in some sense may be well enough granted. His humane substance in it selfe is naturally absent from the earth, his soule and bodie not on earth, but in heauen only. Yet because this substance is inseparably ioyned to that personall word which by his very diuine essence is present with all things, the nature which cannot haue in it selfe vniuersal presence, hath it *after a sort* by being *no where seuered* from that which euery-where is present. For in as much as that infinite word is not diuisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs bee wholly incarnate, and consequently wherefoeuer the word is, it hath with it Manhood, else should the word be in part or somewhere God only, and not man, which is impossible. For the *person of Christ is whole*, perfect God and perfect man wherefoeuer, although the parts of his Man-hood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the *whole of Christ* is simply euery-where, as we may say that his Deity is, & that his person is by force of Deity. For *some what of the person of Christ* is not euery-where in that sort, namely his manhood, the *only coniunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual position restrained and tyed to a certaine place, yet presence by way of *coniunction* is in some sort presence. Againe, as the manhood of Christ may after a sort bee euery-where sayd to bee present, because that Person is euery-where present, from whose diuine substance Manhood no where is seuered: so the same Vniuersalitie of presence may likewise seeme in another respect applyable thereunto, namely; by *cooperation* with Deitic, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did first by it selfe illuminate the World, but after that the Sunne and Moone were created, the World sithence hath *by them* alwaies enjoyed the same. And that Deity of Christ which before our Lords incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ as man hath ^c all power both in Heauen and Earth giuen him. He hath as man, not as God only, ^d supreme dominion ouer quicke and dead, for so much his ascension

c *Mat. 28.*
d *Rom. 14.8.*

into

into Heauen and his session at the right hand of God doe import. The Son of God which did first humble himselfe by taking our flesh vpon him, descended afterwards much lower, and became according to the flesh obedient so far as to suffer death euen the death of the crosse for all men, because such was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of deitie, the later an humiliation of Manhood, ^a for which cause followed vpon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, for with power he created the World, but restored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his Manhood he had glorified God on Earth, so God hath glorified in Heauen that nature which yielded him obedience, and hath giuen vnto Christ euen in that he is man such fulnesse of power ouer the whole World, that he which before fulfilled in the state of humilitie and patience whatsoeuer God did require, doth now ^b raigne in glorie till the time that all things be restored. Hee which came downe from Heauen, and descended into the lowest parts of the Earth, is ascended far above all Heauens, that sitting at the right hand of God, hee might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his sauing presence. Ascension into Heauen, is a plaine locall translation of Christ according to his Manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Session at the right hand of God, is the actuall exercise of that Regencie and Dominion wherein the Manhood of Christ is ioyned and matched with the Deity of the Sonne of God. Not that his Manhood was before without the possession of the same power, but because the full vse thereof was suspended, till that humilitie which had bin before as a vail to hide and conceale maiestie were laid aside. ^c After his rising againe from the dead then did God set him at his right hand in heavenly places farre above all principalitie and power, and might, and domination, and euery name that is named not in this World only but also in that which is to come, and hath ^d put all things vnder his feet, & hath appointed him ouer all the head to the Church which is his body, the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all. The ^e scepter of which spirituall Regiment ouer vs in this present World is at the length to be yielded vp into the hands of the Father which gaue it, that is to say, the vse and exercise therof shall cease, there being no longer on Earth any militant Church to gouerne. This government therefore he exerciseth both as God and as man; as God by essentiall presence with all things; as man, by cooperation with that which essentially is present. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the soule of man are the will and vnderstanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth vnto all things, & from the other nothing which Deitie doth worke is hid, so that by knowledge and assent the soule of Christ is present with all things which the deity of Christ worketh. And euen the body of Christ it selfe, although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kind of infinite and vlimited presence likewise. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is presently ioyned vnto deitie wheresoever deitie is, it followeth that his bodily substance hath euery-where a presence of true coniunction with Deitie. And for as much as it is by vertue of that coniunction made the bodie of the Sonne of God, by whom also it was made a Sacrifice for the sinne of the whole world, this giueth it a *presence of force & efficacie* throughout al generations of

^a Phil. 2.9.
^{Heb} 2.9.
^{Rome} 1.5.12.

^b Luke 21.27.
^{Acts} 1.21.
^{Ephes} 4.9.

^c Ephes. 1.2.

^d Psal. 8.6.
^{Heb} 2.8.

^e 1. Cor. 15.

men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite in *substance*, but God onely in that he is God, neuertheless as every number is infinite by possibilitie of addition, and every line by possibilitie of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed Body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacie vnto life it knoweth none, but is also it selfe infinite in *possibility of application*. Which things indifferently every way considered, that gracious promise of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very end of the World, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth performe both as God by essentiall presence of Deitie, and as man in that order, sense and meaning which hath bene shewed.

The vnion or mutuall participation which is betwene Christ and the Church of Christ in this present World.

a In the bo-
some of the
Father. 1. Iohn 1
18. *Eccc dicit
aliud esse sa-
rem & alium,
filium; non
dixit dicit aliud,
sed distincti one.
I. erul. Conto.
Pr x. Nic in
numera 3 plu-
ra en desit
in or; orea gene-
ratio nec in di-
uisionem catit,
vbi qui nascitur
nequaquam a
generante sepa-
ratur. Rufin, in
Symbol*

56 We haue hitherto spoken of the person and of the presence of Christ. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Christ hath of vs, and wee of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of speciall interest, proper- ties, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, wee may from that which hath bene before sufficiently proued, assume to our purpose these two Principles, that *every original cause imparteth it selfe vnto those things which come of it, and whatsoeuer taketh being from any other, the same is after a sort in that which giueth it being*. It followeth hereupon, that the Sonne of God being light of light, must needs bee also light ^a in light. The persons of the God- head, by reason of the vnitie of their substance, doe as necessarily remayne one within another, as they are of necessitie to bee distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two, onely of three one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indiuisible Essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit Separation. For how should that subsist *solitarily* by it selfe which hath no substance, but *indiuidually* the very same whereby others subsist with it; seeing that the Multiplication of substan- ces *in particular* is necessarily required to make those things subsist 2-part, which haue the selfe-same generall Nature, and the persons of that Trini- tie are not three particular substances to whom one *generall* Nature is com- mon, but three that subsist by one substance, *which in it selfe is particular*, yet they all three haue it, and their seuerall wayes of hauing it are that which maketh their personall distinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers first Offspring which is the Sonne, remaineth e- ternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Sonne, no way seue- red or diuided by reason of the sole and single vnitie of their substance. The Sonne in the Father as light in that light, out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which causeth and leaueth not. And because in this respect his eternall being is of the Fa- ther, which eternall being is his life, therefore bee by the Father liueth. Again, sith all things doe accordingly loue their Offspring as themselves are more or lesse contayned in it, he which is thus the onely begotten, must needs bee in this degree the onely Beloued of the Father. Hee therefore which is in the Father by eternall deriuation of being and life from him, must needs

bee in him through an eternall affection of loue. His Incarnation causeth him also as man to bee now in the Father, and the Father to bee in him. For in that hee is man, he receiueth Life from the Father as from the Fountaine of that euerliuing Deitie, which in the person of the Word hath combined it selfe with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as to no other Creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration likewise the ^a loue of the Father towards him is more then it can bee towards any other, neyther can any attaine vnto that perfection of loue which he beareth towards his heauenly Father. Wherefore God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ, whether we consider him as the personall Word of God, or as the naturall Sonne of man. All other things that are of God haue God in them and he them in himselfe likewise. Yet because their substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselues is in no sort like vnto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their vtter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things haue both receiued their first being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his Off-spring, his influence is in them, and the personall Wisedome of God is for that very cause said to excell in nimblenesse or agilitie, to ^b pearce into all intellectuall, pure and subtil spirits, to goe through all, and to reach vnto euery thing which is. Otherwise, how should the same Wisdome be that which supporteth, ^c beareth vp, and sustayneth all? Whatsoever God doth worke, the hands of all three Persons are ioyntly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend vpon other. And therefore albeit in that respect the Father be first, the Sonne next, the Spirit last, and consequently nearest vnto euery effect which groweth from all three, neuertheless, they all being of one essence, are likewise all of one efficacie. Dare any man, vnlesse hee bee ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinitie are, perswade himselfe that euery of them may haue their sole and seuerall Possessions, or that ^d wee being not partakers of all, can haue fellowship with any one? The Father as Goodnesse, the Sonne as Wisedome, the Holy Ghost as Power, doe all concur in euery particular, outwardly issuing from that one onely glorious Deitie which they all are. For that which mooueth God to worke is Goodnesse, and that which ordereth his Worke is Wisedome, and that which perfecteth his Worke is Power. All things which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a worke vnbegun is in the Artificer which afterward bringeth it vnto effect. Therefore whatsoever wee doe behold now in this present World, it was inwrapped within the bowels of diuine Mercie, written in the Booke of eternall Wisedome, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the first foundation of the World being as yet vnlayd. So that all things which God hath made are in that respect the ^e Off-spring of God, they are in him as effects in their highest cause, hee likewise actually is in them, the assistance and influence of his Deitie is their life. Let heereunto sauing efficacie bee added, and it bringeth forth a speciall

^a Luke 3.22.
Iohn 3.34.35.
5.20.10.17.
14.31.15.10.

^b Sap.7.23.

^c Heb.1.3.

^d Iohn 14.23.

^e Act.1.7.28.39
Iohn 1.1.4.10.
1/27 40.26.

ciall offspring amongst men, containing them to whom God hath himselfe given the gracious and amiable name of ^a Sonnes. Wee are by nature the Sonnes of *Adam*. When God created *Adam* hee created vs, and as many as are descended from *Adam*, haue in themselves the Roote out of which they spring. The Sonnes of God wee neither are all nor any one of vs otherwise then onely by grace and fauour. The Sonnes of God haue Gods owne naturall Sonne as a ^b second *Adam* from Heauen, whose Race and Progenie they are by Spirituall and Heauenly Birth. God therefore louing eternally his Sonne, hee must needs eternally ^c in him haue loued and preferred before all others them which are spirituall sithence descended and sprung out of him. These were in God as in their Sauiour, and not as in their Creator onely. It was the purpose of his *sauing* Goodnes, his *sauing* Wisdome, and his *sauing* Power which inclineth it selfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, haue by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the Worke which his hand doth presently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and commeth not to vs but ^d by the Sonne, nor by the Sonne to any of vs in particular but ^e through the Spirit. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth ^e the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the loue of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. Which three Saint *Peter* comprehendeth in one, ^f the *participation of diuine Nature*. Wee are therefore in God through Christ eternally according to that intent and purpose, whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present World before the World it selfe was made, wee are in God through the knowledge which is had of vs, and the loue which is borne towards vs from euerlasting. But in God wee actually are no longer then onely from the time of our actuall Adoption into the bodie of his true Church, into the fellowship of his Children. For his Church hee knoweth and loueth, so that they which are in the Church, are thereby knowne to bee in him. Our being in Christ by Eternall fore-knowledge, saueth vs not without our actuall and reall Adoption into the fellowship of his Saints in this present World. For in him we actually are by our actuall incorporation into that societie which hath him for their head; and doth make together with him one bodie, (hee and they in that respect hauing ^h one name) for which cause by vertue of this Mysticall coniunction, wee are of him and in him, euen ⁱ as though our very flesh and bones should bee made continuatue with his. Wee are in Christ, because hee ^k knoweth and loueth vs euen as parts of himselfe. No man actually is in him but they ^l in whom hee actually is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life: ^m I am the Vine, and you are the branches: He which abideth in mee, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit, but the branch seuered from the Vine withereth. We are therefore adopted Sonnes of God to Eternall Life by participation of the onely begotten Sonne of God, whose Life is in the ⁿ Wel-spring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby some men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but onely that the selfe-same Nature which maketh vs to bee men, is in him, and maketh him man as wee are.

For

For what man in the world is there which hath not so farre-forth communion with Iesus Christ? It is not this that can sustaine the weight of such sentences as speake of the mysteric of our ^a coherence with Iesus Christ. The Church is in Christ as *Eue* was in *Adam*. Yea by grace we are euerie of vs in Christ and in his Church, as by nature we are in those our first Parents. God made *Eue* of the rib of *Adam*. And his Church he frameth out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Sonne of man. His body crucified and his blood shed for the life of the world, are the true Element of that heauenly being, which maketh vs ^b such as himselfe is of whom we come. For which cause the words of *Adam* may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, *Flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bones*, a true nature extract out of mine owne body. So that in him euen according to his Man-hood, wee according to our heauenly being are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To ^c all things he is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light, ^d eternall by being made the Sonne of man for vs, and by being in vs as an originall cause of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which causeth death, Christ as the ^e cause originall of restauration to life; The person of *Adam* is not in vs but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriueth into all men by propagation, Christ hauing *Adams* nature as we haue, but incorrupt, deriueth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his owne person into all that belong vnto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of sinne and death received from *Adam*, so except wee bee truly partakers of Christ, and as really possessed of his Spirit, all wee speake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which ^f quickneth vs, is the Spirit of the second *Adam*, and his flesh that wherewith he quickeneth. That which in him made our nature vncorrupt, was the vnion of his Deitie with our nature. And in that respect the sentence of death and condemnation, which onely taketh hold vpon sinfull flesh, could no way possibly extend vnto him. This caused his voluntarie death for others to preuaile with God, and to haue the force of an expiatorie sacrifice. The blood of Christ, as the Apostle witnesseth, doth therefore take away sinne, because ^g *through the eternall Spirit hee offereth himselfe vnto God without spot*. That which sanctified our nature in Christ, that which made it a sacrifice auailable to take away sinne, is the same which quickeneth it, raised it out of the graue after death, and exalted it vnto glorie. Seeing therefore that Christ is in vs as a quickning Spirit, the first degree of Communion with Christ must needs consist in the participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that respect well termeth ^h *germanissimam societatem*, the highest and and truest societie that can be betweene man and him which is both God and man in one. These things ⁱ *Saint Cyrill* duely considering, reprooueth their speeches, which taught that onely the Deitie of Christ is the Vine whereupon we by faith doe depend as branches, and that neither his flesh nor our bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For doth any may doubt but that euen from the flesh of Christ our verie bodies doe receiue that life which shall make them glorious at the latter

^a *Iohn* 14. 20.
Iohn 15. 4.

^b *1. Cor.* 15. 48.

^c *Iohn* 1.

^d *Iohn* 6. 57.

^e *Heb.* 5. 9.

^f *1. Cor.* 15. 45.
22.

^g *Heb* 9. 4.

^h *Cyp* de *cena*
Dom. cap. 6.

ⁱ *Cyrl.* in *Iohn*
lib. 10. cap. 13.

latter day, and for which they are already accounted parts of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they shall liue, were it not that here they are ioyned with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortalitie, a cause by remoouing through the death and merit of his owne flesh that which hindred the life of ours. Christ is therefore both as God and as Man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is

a *Nostra quippe & ipsius conuulsio nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus conficiat & confederat voluntates.* Cypr. de cen. Dom. b *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire, & non percipere vitam, que à corpore Domini & sanguine alitur?* Iræn. lib. 4. aduers. hærel. cap. 34. c *Vnde considerandum est non solum ὁμοῖσι seu conformitate affectionum Christum in nobis esse, verum etiam participatione naturali (id est reali & vera) quemadmodum si quis igne liquifaciam ceram alij cere similiter liquifacile ita misceuerit ut unum quid ex utrisque factum videatur, sic communicatione corporis & sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est & nos in ipso.* Cyrill in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13.

a thing which the ancient ^a Fathers disclaime. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they ^b speake of, to signifie what our very bodies through mysticall coniunction receiue from that vitall efficacy which we know to be in his, & from bodily mixtures they borrow diuers ^c similitudes rather to declare the truth, then the manner of coherence beewene his sacred and the sanctified

bodies of Saints. Thus much no Christian man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his owne flesh, giuing as God, and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himselfe only, but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life which was first receiued in him, might passe from him to his whole race as malediction came from *Adam* vnto all mankind. Howbeit, because the worke of his Spirit to those effects is in vs preuented by sinne and death possessing vs before, it is of necessitie that as well our present sanctification vnto newnesse of life, as the future restauration of our bodies should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit or vertue of his bodie and bloud, without which foundation first laid there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to insue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himselfe by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercie to account himselfe incomplete and maimed ^d without vs. But most assured we are that wee all receiue of his fullnesse, because hee is in vs as a moouing and working cause, from which many blessed effects are really found to insue, and that in sundry both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternall happinesse. It must be confest that of Christ, working as a Creator, and a gouernour of the world by providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace wherby he inhabiteth in whom he saucth. Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth he equally worke in all them in whom he dwelleth. ^e *Whence is it (saith Saint Augustine) that some be holier then others are, but because God doth dwel in some more plentifully then in others?* And because the diuine substance of Christ is equally in all, his humane substance equally distant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Christ wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects as being deriued from both natures of Christ really into vs, are made our owne, and wee by hauing them in vs, are truly said to haue him from whom they come, Christ also more or lesse to inhabit and impart himselfe as the graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really flow into vs from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with euery part of the Church, as touching his person which can no way diuide it

d *Eph. 1. 3. Ecclesia complementum eius qui implet omnia in omnibus.*
τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς πᾶντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρούμενα.

e *Aug. Epist. 17.*

selfe,

selfe, or be possess'd by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christs person, and besides the mysticall computation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of grace whereby the life which we liue according to godlines is his, and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternall happines consisteth. Thus we participate Christ partly by imputation, as when those things which he did and suffered for vs are imputed vnto vs for righteoufnesse; partly by habituall & reall infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, & afterward more fully both our soules and bodies made like vnto his in glorie. The first thing of his so infused in to our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ, whereupon because the rest of what kinde so euer doe all both necessarily depend and infallibly also insue, therefore the Apostles terme it sometimes ^a the seed of God, sometime the ^c pledge of our heavenly inheritance, sometime the ^f handsell or earnest of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the mysticall bodie of our Sauour Christ, and bee in number as the starres of heaven, diuided successiue by reason of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled & every one to Christ their head, and ^b all vnto every particular person amongst themselves, in as much as the same Spirit, which anointed the blessed soule of our Sauour Christ, doth so formalize, vnite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he & they were so many limmes compacted into one bodie, by being quickned all with one and the same soule. That wherein we are partakers of Iesus Christ by imputation, agreeth equally vnto all that haue it. For it consisteth in such acts and deeds of his, as could not haue longer continuance then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong vnto any other but to him from whom they come, and therefore how men either then, or before or since should be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but onely by imputation. Againe, a deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is, or if at all it be imputed, they which haue it by imputation, must haue it such as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the personal presence of Christ, nor in the participation of those effects which are ours by imputation only, it resteth that we wholly apply them to the participation of Christs infused grace, although euen in this kinde also the first beginning of life, the seede of God, the first fruits of Christs Spirit be without latitude. For we haue hereby onely the being of the Sonnes of God, in which number how farre soeuer one may seeme to excell another, yet touching this that all are sonnes, they are all equals, some happily better sonnes then the rest are, but none any more a sonne then another. Thus therefore wee see how the Father is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father, how they both are in all things, and all things in them, what communion Christ hath with his Church and euery member thereof, is in him by originall deriuation, and he personally in them by way of mysticall association wrought through the gift of the holy Ghost, which they that are his, receiue from him, and together with the same, what benefit soeuer the vitall force of his bodie and bloud may yeeld, yea by steps and degrees they receiue the complete measure of all such diuine grace, as doth sanctifie & saue throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a state of fellowship in glorie with him,

^a Ga'. 2. 20.

^b 1. Cor. 1. 14.
^c 1. Cor. 1. 14.

^c Rom. 8. 9.
^d Gal. 4. 6.

^d 1. Iohn 3. 9.

^e Eph. 1. 14.

^f Rom. 8. 23.

^g 1. Cor. 12. 27.

^h Eph. 4. 15.

ⁱ Rom. 12. 5.

^j Eph. 4. 25.

him whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we haue of Christ includeth no such kind of grosse surmize.

The necessitie
of Sacraments
vnto the par-
ticipation of
Christ.

57 It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the vse of the holy Sacraments, assigne vnto them no end but onely *to teach* the mind, by other senses, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and carelesse regard of so heavenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we haue to learne, if all the benefits we reape by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times haue oportunitie of vsing the better meanes to that purpose, will surely hold the worse in lesse estimation. And vnto Infants which are not capable of instruction, who would not thinke a meere superfluitie that any Sacrament is administered, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore vndoubtedly some other more excellent and heavenly vse. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diuersly interpreted and disputed of then any other part of Religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfe-same thing, as euery mans wit hath taken hold of some especiall consideration about the rest, so they haue accordingly seemed one to crosse another as touching their severall opinions about the necessitie of Sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the dutie which euery communicant doth vndertake, and we may well determine concerning the vse of Sacraments, that they serue as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of Christian charitie, prouocations to godlinesse, preseruations from sinne, memorials of the principall benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for euer vnto the New Testament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weaknes which is in vs, and they are warrants for the more securitie of our beliefe; compare the receivers of them with such as receiue them not, and Sacraments are markes of distinction to separate Gods owne from strangers, so that in all these respects they are found to be most necessary. But their chiefest force and vertue consisteth not herein so much, as in that they are heavenly Ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church, first, as markes whereby to know when God doth impart the vitall or sauing grace of Christ vnto all that are capable thereof, and secondly, as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them vnto whom he importeth grace. For sith God in himselfe is inuisible, and cannot by vs be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wisdom, that men for some speciall intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious presence, he giueth them some plaine and sensible token wherby to know what they cannot see. For *Moses* to see God and liue was impossible, yet ^a *Moses* by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present. The ^b Angel, by whom God indued the waters of the Poole called *Bethesda* with supernatural vertue to heale, was not seene of any, yet the time of the Angels presence knowne by the troubled

^a *Exod.* 3. 2.

^b *Iohn* 5. 4.

troubled motions of the waters themselves. The Apostles ^a by fierie tongues which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was vpon them. In like manner it is with vs. Christ and his holy Spirit with all their blessed effects, though entring into the soule of man we are not able to apprehend or expresse how, doe notwithstanding giue notice of the times when they vse to make their excesse, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible meanes those blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing therefore that grace is a consequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he hath received from God himselfe the author of Sacraments, and not from any other naturall or supernatural qualitie in them, it may be hereby both vnderstood that Sacraments are necessary, and that the manner of their necessitie to life supernaturall is not in all respects as food vnto naturall life, because they containe *in themselves* no vitall force or efficacie, they are physicall but *morall instruments* of saluation, duties of seruice and worship, which vnlesse we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable. For all receiue not the grace of God which receiue the Sacrament of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to bestow the grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace also they that receiue by Sacraments or with Sacrament, receiue it from him and not from them. For of Sacraments the very same is true which *Salomons* wisdome obserueth in the brazen Serpent: *b He that turneth towards it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, o Saviour of all.* This is therefore the necessitie of Sacraments. That fauing grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the generally good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he severally deriueth into euery member thereof. Sacraments serue as the instruments of God to that end and purpose, morall instruments the vse whereof is in our hands the effect in his; for the vse we haue his expresse commandement, for the effect his conditionall promise; so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant assurance, as contrariwise where the signes and Sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really giue what they promise, and are what they signifie. For we take not baptisme nor the Eucharist for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signes* and testimonies assuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for meanes effectually, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, deliuereth into our hands that grace auailable vnto eternal life, which grace the Sacraments ^c represent or signifie. There haue growne in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties, for want of distinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong vnto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to passe, that the true immediate cause why Baptisme, and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few doe rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow vnto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed vnto the other. Yet then doth baptisme challenge to it selfe but the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on mysteries infusing. We receiue Christ Iesus in baptisme once as the first beginner, in the Eucharist often, as being by continuall degrees the finisher of our life. By baptisme therefore

^a Acts 2. 3.

^b Wisd. 16. 27.
Spiritus Sancti
munus est gratiam
implere mysterij.
Ambr. in
Luc. cap. 3.
Sanctificatio elementis
effectum, non propria ipsorum
natura praebet, sed virtutis
diuinae potentiam
operatur. Cypr.
de Christm.

^c Dum homini
bonum inuisibile
redditur, foris ei
eiusdem significatio
per species visibiles
adhibetur, ut foris
excitetur et intus
reparetur. In
ipsa vasis specie
virtus exprimitur
medicina.
Hugo de Sacram.
li. 1. ca. 3.
Si ergo vasa sunt
spiritualis gratiae
sa. tamen a non
ex se sanant,
quia vasa aegrotum
non curant,
sed medicina. Idem
li. 1. ca. 4.

we receiue Christ Iesus, and from him that sauing grace which is proper vnto baptisme. By the other Sacrament we receiue him also, imparting therein himselfe and that grace which the Eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each Sacrament hauing both that which is generall or common, and that also which is peculiar vnto it selfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

58 Now euen as the soule doth organize the body, and giue vnto every member thereof that substance, quantity & shape which nature seeth most expedient, so the inward grace of Sacraments may teach what serueth best for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much lesse here to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments was a cause of the choise, and is a reason of the fitnesse of the Elements themselues. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receiue, doth no way depend vpon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessitie that words of expresse declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himselfe should be added vnto visible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to passe. In writing and speaking of the blessed Sacrament, we vse for the most part vnder the name of their *substance*, not only to comprise that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signifie and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in ^b definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find grace expressly mentioned as their true essential forme, Elements as the matter whereunto that forme doth adioync it selfe. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seene, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of sacraments from sacramental grace, the name of a sacrament in such speeches can imply no more then what the *outward substance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward substance of a sacrament, there is required an outward forme, which forme sacramental Elements receiue from sacramental words. Hereupon

it groweth that many ^c times there are three things said to make vp the substance of a Sacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the Element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the Word which expresth what is done by the Element. So that whether we consider the outward by it selfe alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacraments, there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but

three that concurre to giue Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to expresse but the most immediate and neere parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and mysticall, which nature they haue not vnlesse they proceed from a serious meaning; and what every mans priuate

The substance of Baptisme; the rites or solemnities therunto belonging; and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptisme may giue place to necessitie.

a Eucharistia diuinus ex rebus consistat, terrena & celestia.

Irenz. aduers. hæres. l. 4. c. 34.

Arcanatum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul & rebus consistit. Heluet. confess.

prior. Art. 2.

b Sacramentum est cum res gestæ visibiles longe aliud invisibile intus operatur. Isidor. Etymol.

lib. 1. Sacramentum est per quod sub tegumento rerum visibilibus diuina virtus secretius operatur. Gregor. mag. Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum. Occa. sent. lib. 4. d. 1. Sacramentum propriè non est signum cuiuslibet rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines. Th. 2. q. 101. 4. & q. 101. 5. Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio presentis, & prognosticon futuri. Th. 3. q. 60. 3. Sacramenta sunt signa & symbola visibilia rerum internarum & invisibilium, per que, seu per media Deus virtute spiritus sancti in nobis agit. Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Idem Bœm. confess. ca. 11. c Sacramenta consistunt verbo, signis, & rebus significatis. Confess. Heluet. post. cap. 10.

uate minde is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine: therefore alwayes in these cases the knowne intent of the Church generally doth suffice, & where the contrarie is not^a manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Lessons, Sermons, Actions, and their Circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward substance of Baptisme but things accessorie, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, considering that such Ordinances haue bene made to adorne the Sacrament,^b not the Sacrament to depend on them; seeing also that they are not of the substance of Baptisme, and that Baptisme is farre more necessarie then any such incident Rite or Solemnitie ordayned for the better administration thereof, ^c if the case be such as permitterh not Baptisme to haue the decent Complements of Baptisme, better it were to inioy the body without his Furniture, then to wait for this, till the oportunitie of that for which we desire it be lost. Which Premises standing, it seemeth to haue bene no absurd collection, that in cases of necessitie which will not suffer delay till Baptisme bee administered, with vsual solemnities (to speake the least) it may be tolerably giuen without them, rather then any man without it should be suffred to depart this life.

59 They which denie that any such case of necessitie can fall, in regard whereof the Church should tolerate Baptisme, without the decent Rites & Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that such tolerations haue risen from a false Interpretation which *certaine men* haue made of the Scripture, grounding a necessitie of external Baptisme vpon the words of our Sauour Christ, *Vnlesse a man be borne againe of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heauen. For, by Water and the Spirit, wee are in that place to vnderstand* (as they imagine) no more then if the Spirit alone had bene mentioned, and Water not spoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, because elsewhere it is not improbable, that *the holy Ghost and Fire*, doe but signifie the Holy Ghost in operation resembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing Fire in one place may bee, therefore Water in another place is but a Metaphor, Spirit, the interpretation thereof, and so the words doe onely meane, that vnlesse a man bee borne againe of the Spirit, hee cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. I hold it for a most infallible rule in Expositions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literall construction will stand, the farthest from the Letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding Arte, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would doe the substance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howsoeuer, such voluntarie exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise, yet in places which vsually serue, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by water & the

a Si aliud Ministri agere intendunt, puta sacris illi uere mysterijs, uel aliud quod ecclesie non consentiat, nihil egerit sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exercei quid non potest sine ecclesie mentione non potest. Lancel. inst. iur. Can. lib. 2. tit. 1. s. hoc tamen.

b Accessorium non regit principale, sed ab eo regulatur. 4. Deregul. iur. in Sext. li. ff. quod iustu. c. Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi equitas euidentis prescit subueniendum est. Lib. 18. de reg. iur.

The ground in Scripture, whereupon a necessitie of outward Baptisme hath bene built

c vpon a false interpretation of the place of Saint Iohn 3. 5. Unlesse a man be borne againe of Water and of the Spirit: and where certayne doe interpret the word Water for the materiall and elementall Water, when as our Sauour Christ taketh Water there by a borrowed peece, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For when as in another place, Matthew 3. 11. by Fire and the Spirit, hee meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth: So in this place by Water and the Spirit, hee meaneth nothing else but the Spirit of God which clenseth the filth of sinne, and cooleth the broyling heate of an vnquiet Conscience, as Water watheth the thing which is foule, and quengeth the heate of the fire.

Holy Ghost, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, lesse is permitted. To hide the generall consent of Antiquitie agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirme, that *certaine* have taken those words as meant of materiall water, when they know, that of all the Ancient there is not one to be named, that euer did otherwise either expound or alleage the place, then as implying externall Baptisme. Shall that which hath alwaies^a receiued this and no other construction, be now disguised with a toy of noueltie? Must we needs at the only shew of Criticall conceit without any more deliberation, vtterly condemn them of error, which will not admit that fire in the words of *Iohn*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghost, or with the name of the Spirit, water dried vp in the words of Christ? When the letter of the Law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, *Water*, and the *Spirit*; Water as a dutie required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth our selues were more then needeth. We may by such rare expositions attaine perhaps in the end to be thought wittie, but with ill aduice. Finally, if at^b the time, when that Baptisme which was meant by *Iohn*, came to be really and truly performed by Christ himselfe, we find the Apostles that had beene, as we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghost, and in this their later Baptisme as well as^c visible descent of fire, as a secret miraculous infusion of the Spirit; if on vs he accomplish likewise the heavenly worke of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water thereunto adioyned, sith the faithfullest Expounders of his words are his owne deeds, let that which his hand hath manifestly wrought, declare what his speech did doubtfully vtter.

a *Minimè sine mutanda que in se, retentionem certam semper habuerunt.* D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 2. 3.

b *Act* 1. 3. *Iohn* baptizeth with Water, but you shall within few dayes be baptized with the Holy Ghost.
c *Act* 2. 3.

What kind of necessitie in outward Baptisme hath beene gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ, and what the true necessitie thereof indeed is. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 143.* Secondly, this error [of priuate Baptisme] came by a false and vnecessary conclusion drawne of that place. For although the Scripture should say, that none can be saued but those which haue the Spirit of God, and are baptized with materiall and elementall Water, yet ought it to be vnderstood of those which can conueniently and orderly be brought to Baptisme, as the Scripture, saying, that who so doth not beleeue the Gospell is condemned already, *Ioh. 3. 18.* meaneth this sentence of those which can heare the Gospell, and haue discretion to vnderstand it when they heare it, and cannot here shew vnder this condemnation, either those that be borne deafe, and so remayne, or little Infants, or naturall Fooles, that haue no wit to conceiue what is preached, *d. Ανακαθόν λέγεται ἢ ἄνευ ἢ ἐνδύχεται ἢ ὡς σωματικῆς: καὶ ἂν ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδύχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ σερνηθῆναι.* *Necessarium id dicitur sine quo ut concipi fieri non potest ut viuatur: & ea sine quibus periri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoueatur, aut non adfit.* *Arist. Metaph. 5. cap. 5.* e *Iohn* 3. 3.

60 To this they adde, that as wee erre by following a wrong construction of the place before alleaged, so our second ouersight is, that wee thereupon inferre a necessitie ouer-rigorous and extreme. The true necessitie of Baptisme, a few Propositions considered will soone decide. All things which either are knowne^d *Causes*, or set *Meanes*, whereby any great good is vsually procured, or men deliuered from grieuous euill, the same wee must needs confesse necessary. And if *Regeneration* were not in this very sence a thing necessary to eternall life, would Christ himselfe haue taught *Nicodemus* that to see the Kingdome of God is^e impossible, sauing onely for those men which are borne from above? His words

f 5.

following in the next sentence, are a prooffe sufficient, that to our *Regeneration his Spirit* is no lesse^f necessary, then *Regeneration* it selfe necessary vnto life. Thirdly, vnlesse as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so *Water* were a necessary outward meane to our *Regeneration*, what construction should wee giue vnto those words wherein we are said to be new borne, and that ἢ Ἰδοὺ, euen

euen of Water? Why are wee taught that ^m with water God doth purifie and ^m cleanse his Church? Wherefore doe the Apostles of Christ terme baptisme ⁿ a ⁿ bath of Regeneration? What purpose had they in giuing men aduice to receive outward Baptisme, and in perswading them it did auaille ^o to remission of ^o sinnes? If outward Baptisme were a cause in it selfe possessed of that power either naturall or supernaturall, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow, it must then follow, that seeing effects doe neuer prevent the necessarie causes out of which they spring, no man could euer receiue grace before Baptisme: which being apparently both knowne and also confest to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make ^p Baptisme a cause of grace, yet the grace which is giuen them with their Baptisme, doth so farre-forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will haue it imbraced not onely as a signe or token what wee receive, but also as an instrument or meane whereby wee receive grace, because Baptisme is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the same, might thereby ^p be incorporated into Christ, and so through his most precious Merit obtayne as well that sauing grace of imputation which taketh away ^r all former guiltines, as also that ^r infused Diuine vertue of the Holy Ghost, which giueth to the powers of the Soule their first disposition towards future newnesse of life. There are that eluate too much the ordinary and immediate meanes of life, relying wholly vpon the bare conceit of that eternall Election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to inioy what God secretly did intend, & therefore to build vpon Gods Election, if wee keepe not our selues to the wayes which hee hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a selfe-deceiuing vanitie. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of Iesus Christ, after the Gospell of God embraced and the Sacrament of life receiued, he feareth not ^t then to put them in the number of Elect Saints, hee ^u then accounteth them deliuered from death, and cleane purged from all sinne. Till then, notwithstanding their preordination vnto life which none could know of sauing God, what were they in the Apostles owne account, but children of wrath as well as others, plaine Aliens, altogether without hope, strangers vtterly without God in this present world? So that by Sacraments and other sensible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather that he, whose mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the meanes, hath also long sithence intended vs that whereunto they lead. But let vs neuer thinke it safe to presume of our owne last end, by bare coniecturall collections of his intent and purpose, the meanes saying that should come betweene. Predestination

li 2 bringeth

Fideles salutem ex istis elementis non querunt, etiam si in istis querunt. Non enim ista tribunt quod per ista tribuitur. Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. q. Susceptus a Christo Christumq. suscipiens non idem fit post lauacrum qui ante baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi. Leo. Scrm. 4. de Pas. Dom. r. Caro abicitur ut anima emanculetur. Tert. de carn. re ur. Homo per aquam baptismi licet a foris idem esse videatur intus tamen aliter efficitur, cum peccato natus sine peccato renascitur; prioribus perit, succedentibus proficit, deterioribus eximitur, in meliora inuoluitur; persona singitur & natura mutatur. Euseb. Emis. d. Epiphani. homil. 2. Τριπλὸν γίνονται ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ὁ λόγος, τὸ ἕκαστος ἐκ σαρκὸς, τὸ ἕκαστος ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὸ ἕκαστος ἐκ νεκρῶν. Αὐτὴ μὲν ἢ τῷ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δωρεῆς καὶ κοσμοῦ καὶ σωτηρίας ὡς πλάται, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἑκάστον ἀμαρτίας καθαροῦ ἕχουσα. Greg. Homil. de sanct. bapt. Certe genitalis auxilio superioris eius labe deterfa in expiatum peluis ac purum desuper se lumen infundit. Cyp. ep. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν σαλασῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀφαιρέται τὸ ἄσπερον, ἀλλ' καὶ τὸ ἰσπίδα τῶν ἰσπηγελμένων ἐπιθήσει ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῷ δεσποτικῷ δαδῆτι καὶ τῆς ἀναδύσεως καθίστησι κοινῶς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ σπυματος δωρεῆς τὸ ἰσπίδα μεταίωσαν χαρίζεται, Theodoret. Epico. diuin. dogmat. Baptisari est purgari a sordibus peccatorum, & donari gratia Dei gratia ad vitam nouam & innocentem. Confessi. Heluct. cap. 20.

Ephef. 1. 1. u. 5. 8. x. 2. 3. 12.

2 Rom. 8, 30.

b Ἀρχή
 ζωῆς τῆς βαπτί-
 σμους. Basil.
 de Sp. S. c. 10.
 c T. C. 4. 7. p. 134.
 Hec which is
 not a Christi-
 an before he
 come to recei-
 ue Bapti-
 sm, cannot
 bee made a
 Christian by
 Baptisme;
 which is onely
 the seale of the
 grice of God
 before recei-
 ued.

d Iren. contra
 Hæres. l. 1. c. 18.
 e Hic sceleris-
 simi illi pro-
 ceant quæstiones.
 Adeo dicitur
 baptisimus nõ est
 necessarius qui-
 bus fide satis est.
 Tert. de baptis.
 Hinc nulla pro-
 dertis fides, qui
 cum possit non
 percipit Sacra-
 mentum. Bern.
 Epist. 70. ad
 Hugon.

f 2. Reg. 5. 14.
 g Num. 21. 8.
 h Marc. 16. 16.
 i Institutio Sa-
 cramentorum
 quantum ad
 Deum auctorem
 dispensationis
 est, quantum
 vero ad homi-
 nem obedientem
 necessitatis.
 Quoniam in po-
 testate Dei est
 præter illa homi-
 nem salua. e. sed
 in pote. lat. e. bo-
 minis non est, sine istis ad salutem peruenire. Hug. de Sacram. l. 1. c. 5. k Pelagius asserere arrepta impietate præsumit non propter vitam, sed propter regnum caelorum baptismum paruulis conferendum, Euseb. Emiff. Hom. 5. de Palch. l Benignius leges interpretande sunt, quod voluntas eorum conferuetur. L. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuf. m T. C. 4. 1. p. 143.

bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall ^a vocation, wherein our Baptisme is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so nei-ther are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifest ordinarie course of Diuine Dispensation new borne, but by that Baptisme which both declareth and maketh vs Christians. In which respect we iustly hold it to be the doore of our actuall entrance into Gods house, the first apparent ^b beginning of life, a seale perhaps to the ^c grace of *Election* before receiued, but to our Sanctification, here a step that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* Heretikes some, which had knowledge in such admiration, that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the Sacraments of Christ, pretending that as ignorance had made vs subiect to all miserie, so the full Redemption of the inward man, and the worke of our Restauration, must needs belong vnto ^d *Knowledge onely*. They draw very neere vnto this error, who fixing wholly their minds on the knowne necessitie of Faith, ^e imagine that nothing but Faith is necessarie for the attaynement of all Grace. Yet is it a branch of Beliefe that Sacraments are in their place no lesse required then Beliefe it selfe. For when our Lord and Sauour promiseth eternall Life, is it any otherwise then as hee promised restitution of health vnto *Naaman* the Syrian, namely, with this condition, ^f *Wash and be cleane*? or as to them which were stung of Serpents, health by ^g beholding the brazen Serpent? If Christ himselfe which giueth Saluation doe ^h require Baptisme, it is not for vs that looke for saluation, to sound and examine him whether vn- baptized men may be saued, but seriously to ⁱ doe that which is required, and religiously to feare the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Christ only declared his will to haue all men baptized, and not acquainted vs with any cause why Baptisme is necessarie, our ignorance in the reason of that he in- ioyne, might perhaps haue hindred somewhat the forwardnes of our obedi- ence thereunto: whereas now being taught, that Baptisme is necessarie to take away sinne, how haue we the feare of God in our hearts, if care of deliuering mens Soules from sinne, doe not moue vs to vse all meanes for their Baptisme? ^k *Pelagius* which denied vtterly the guilt of originall sinne, and in that respect the necessitie of Baptisme, did notwithstanding both baptize Infants, and ac- knowledge their Baptisme necessarie for entrance into the Kingdome of God. Now the Law of Christ, which in these considerations maketh Baptisme ne- cessarie, must bee construed and vnderstood according to rules of ^l naturall equitie. Which rules if they themselues did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they neuer be able to proue that ^m the Scripture in saying, *Who so beleeueth not the Gospell of Christ, is condemned already, meaneth this sen- tence of those which can heare the Gospell, and haue discretion when they heare to vnderstand it, neither ought it to be applyed vnto Infants, Deafe men and fooles?* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Christ, is natu- rall equitie. And (because equitie so teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confest

that

that there may bee in diuers cases life by vertue of inward Baptisme, euen where outward is not found. So that if any question bee made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this possibilitie. For example, to thinke that a man whose Baptisme the Crowne of Martyrdome preuenteth, doth lose in that case, the happinesse which so many thousands enioy, that onely haue had the grace to beleue, and not the honour to seale the testimonie thereof with death, were almost barbarous. Againe, ⁿ when some certaine opinatiue men in Saint Bernards time beganne priuately to hold that, because our Lord hath said, *Vnlesse a man be borne againe of water*, therefore life, without either actuall Baptisme or Martyrdome in stead of Baptisme, cannot possibly bee obtained at the hands of God: Bernard considering that the same equitie which had moued them to thinke the necessitie of Baptisme no barre against the happie estate of vnbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Saluation, in whom, although there bee not the sufferings of Holy Martyrs, there are the vertues which sanctified those sufferings and made them precious in Gods sight, professed himselfe anemie to that seueritie and strictnesse which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs onely. For, saith hee, if a man desirous of Baptisme bee sodainly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither sound Faith, deuout Hope, nor sincere Charitie (God be mercifull vnto me, and pardon me if I erre) but verily of such a ones Saluation, in whom there is no other defect besides his faultlesse lacke of Baptisme, despaire I cannot, nor induce my mind to thinke his Faith void, his Hope foundered, and his Charity false to nothing, onely because hee hath not that which not contempt but impossibilitie withholdeth. *Tell me I beseech you* (saith AMBROSE) *what there is in any of vs more then to wil, and to seeke for our own good. Thy Seruant VALENTINIAN, O Lord, did both.* (For Valentinian the Emperordyed before his purpose to receiue Baptisme could take effect.) *And is it possible that he which had purposely thy Spirit giuen him to desire grace, should not receiue thy grace which that Spirit did desire? Doth it moue you that the outward accustomed solemnities were not done? As though Conuersts that suffer Martyrdome before Baptisme, did thereby forfeit their right to the crowne of eternall glorie in the Kingdome of Heauen. If the blood of Martyrs in that case be their Baptisme, surely his religious desire of Baptisme standeth him in the same stead.* It hath bene therefore constantly held as well touching other Beleeuers as Martyrs, that Baptisme taken away by necessity, is supplied by desire of Baptisme, because with^o equitie this opinion doth best stand. Touching infants which die vnbaptized, sith they neither haue the Sacrament it selfe, nor any sense or conceit thereof, the iudgement of many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing grace is not absolutely tied vnto Sacraments, and besides such is the lenitie of God, that vnto things altogether impossible he bindeth no man, but where wee cannot doe what is iniointed vs, accepteth our will to doe in stead of the deede it selfe; Againe, for as much as there is in their Christian Parents and in the Church of God a presumed desire that the Sacrament of Baptisme might be giuen them, yea a purpose also that it shall be giuen, remorse of equitie hath moued diuers of the Schoole-divines in these considerations ingenuously to grant, that God all-mercifull to such as are not in themselves able to desire Baptisme, imputeth the secret desire that o-

n Bern. Epist. 70.
ad Hugon.

o Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria iniuriam semel dicauit animum in Martyrium mihi videtur implese. Summi ergo meriti est semel paxisse sententiam, atque ideo vt dixi ratio priuacipatum obtinet passionis et si for perpetuand: donec facultatem, per tulit tamen cuncta que voluit pati. Ioseph. de imper. ration. p Gers. Sermon. in Natinit.
Beate Marie. Caietan. in 3. Tho. 9. 68. art. 1. et 2. Biel in 4. Sentent. d. 4. q. 2. Tilmans. Segeberg. de sacr. et. Etilius Neapol. in Clys. aduers. heres. c. de bapti.

thers haue in their behalfe, and accepteth the same as theirs rather then casteth away their Soules for that which no man is able to helpe. And of the will of God to impart his grace vnto Infants without Baptisme, in that case the verie circumstance of their naturall birth may serue as a iust Argument, whereupon it is not to bee misliked that men in charitable presumption doe gather a great likelihood of their Saluation, to whom the benefite of Christian parentage being giuen, the rest that should follow is preuented by some such casualtie as man hath himselve no power to auoid. For, we are plainely taught of God,
 m 1. Cor. 7. 12.
 That the Seede of faithfull Parentage is holy from the verie birth. Which albeit we may not so vnderstand, as if the Children of Beleuing Parents were without sinne, or grace from baptized Parents deriued by Propagation, or God by Couenant and Promise tyed to saue any in meere regard of their Parents Beleefe: yet seeing that to all Professors of the name of Christ, this pre-eminence about Infidels is freely giuen, the fruite of their bodies bringeth into the World with it a present interest and right to those meanes wherewith the Ordinance of Christ is, that his Church shall bee sanctified, it is not to be thought that hee which as it were from Heauen hath nominated and designed them vnto holinesse by speciall priuiledge of their verie birth, will himselve deprive them of Regeneration and inward grace, onely because necessitie depriueth them of outward Sacraments. In which case, it were the part of Charity to hope, and to make men rather partiall then cruell Judges, if wee had not those faire apparancies which heere we haue. Wherefore a necessitie there is of receiuing, and a necessitie of administering the Sacrament of Baptisme; the one peradventure not so absolute as some haue thought, but out of all peradventure the other more straight and narrow, then that the Church which is by Office a Mother vnto such as craue at her hands the Sacred Mysterie of their new Birth, should repell them, and see them dye vnsatisfied of these their Ghostly Desires, rather then giue them their Soules Rites, with omission of those things that serueⁿ but onely for the more conuenient and orderly Administration thereof. For as on the one side we grant that those sentences of Holie Scripture which make Sacraments most necessary to eternall life, are no preiudice to their Saluation that want them by some ineuitable necessitie, and without any fault of their owne; so it ought in reason to bee likewise acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himselic maketh Baptisme necessarie, necessarie whether wee respect the good receiued by Baptisme, or the Testimonie thereby yielded vnto God of that humilitie and meeke obedience, which reposing wholly it selfe on the absolute authority of his Commandement, and on the truth of his Heauenly Promise, doubteth not but from Creatures despicable in their owne condition and substance to obtaine grace of inestimable value, or rather not from them but from him, yet by them as by his appointed meanes, howsoeuer hee by the secret wayes of his owne incomprehensible mercie may be thought to saue without Baptisme, this cleereth not the Church from guiltinesse of blood, if through her superfluous scrupulositie, lets and impediments of lesse regard should cause a grace of so great moment to bee with-held, wherein our mercilesse strictnesse may bee our owne harme, although not theirs towards whom wee shew it;
 and

n T.C.L.p.218.
 It is in questi-
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 there be any
 such necessitie
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and we for the hardnesse of our hearts may perish, albeit they through Gods vnspokeable mercie doe liue. God which did not afflict that innocent, whose Circumcision *Moses* had ouer-long deferred, tooke reuenge vpon * *Moses* Exod. 4, 24. himselfe for the iniurie, which was done through so great neglect, giuing vs thereby to vnderstand, that they whom Gods owne mercie saueth without vs, are on our parts notwithstanding, and as much as in vs lyeth, euen destroyed, when vnder vn sufficient pretences, wee defraude them of such ordinarie outward helpe as wee should exhibit. Wee haue for Baptisme no day set as the Iewes had for Circumcision, neither haue wee by the Law of God, but onely by the Churches discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptisme therefore, euen in the meaning of the Law of Christ, belongeth vnto Infants capable thereof, from the * verie instant of their birth. Which if they haue not howsoeuer, rather then lose it by being put off, because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance, doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church as much as in her lyeth, wilfully casterh away their soules.

61 The Ancient it may bee were too seuer, and made the necessitie of Baptisme more absolute then reason would, as touching Infants. But will any man say that they, notwithstanding their too much rigour heerein, did not in that respect sustaine and tolerate defects of locall or of personall solemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptisme? The Apostles themselues did neither vse nor appoint for baptisme any certaine time. The Church for generall baptisme heeretofore made choise of two chiefe dayes in the yeere, the feast of Easter, and the feast of Pentecost. Which custome, when certaine Churches in Sicily beganne to violate without cause, they were by *Leo* Bishop of Rome aduised, rather to conformethemselues to the rest of the World in things so reasonable, then to offend mens mindes through needlesse singularitie: howbeit, alwayes prouiding that neuerthelesse in apparent perill of death, danger of siege, streights of persecution, feare of shipwracke, and the like exigents, no respect of times should cause this singular defence of true safety to bee denied vnto any. This of *Leo* did but confirme that sentence which *Vistor* had many yeares before giuen, extending the same exception as well vnto places as times. That which *Saint Augustine* speaketh of women, halting to bring their children to the Church when they saw danger, is a weak proofe, that when necessity did not leaue them so much time, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their owne home. Which answer dischargeth likewise their example of a sicke Iew, caried in bed to the place of Baptisme, and not baptized at home in priuat. The cause why such kinde of baptisme barred men afterwards from entering into holy orders, the reason wherefore it was obiected against *Nouatians*, in what respect

* In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, presentis die debetur, lib. 14. D. de Reg. Jur.

Wharthings in Baptisme haue beene dispensed with by the Fathers, respecting necessity.

a T. C. l. 9. 146. The Authors themselues of that error, that they cannot be saued which are not baptized, did neuer seeke no remedie of the mis-

chiefe in Womens or priuate Baptisme. T. C. lib. 3. pag. 219. What plainer testimonie can there bee, then that of *Augustine*, which noteth the vse of the Church to haue bene, to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when some had opinion, that their children could not be saued if they were not baptized, *Cont. lit. Parm. lib. 2. cap. 13.* I would also know of him what hee will answer to that, which is noted of a Christian Iew desperately sicke of the pallsie, that was with his bed carried to the place of Baptisme, *Socr. lib. 7. Cap. 4.* What will hee answer to this, That those which were baptized in their beddes, were thereby made vnapt to haue any place amongst the Clergie [as they call them] doth it not leaue a note of infamie in those, which had procured that Baptisme should bee ministred in priuate houses? *Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 43.* What vnto the Emperours decree, which vpon authoritie of the ancient Lawes, and of the Apostles, forbiddeh that the holie things should bee administred in any priuate mans house? *Iust. Nouel. 57.* b *Leo Epist. 4. ad Episc. Sicil.* c *Vic. Epist. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damas.*

respect and now farre-forth it did disable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon, set downe in the Councell of Neocæsarea, after this manner. *A man which hath bene baptized in sicknesse, is not after to bee ordained Priest.* For it may be thought, that such doe rather at that time, because they see no other remedy, then of a voluntary minde, lay hold on the Christian faith, vnlesse their true and sincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifest, or else the scarcity of others inforce the Church to admit them. They bring in *Iustinians* imperiall Constitution, but to what purpose, seeing it only forbiddeth men to haue the mysteries of God administred in their priuate Chappels, lest vnder that pretence heretiks should do secretly those things which were vnlawfull? In which consideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would vse those priuate Oratories otherwise then onely for their priuate Prayers, the Bishop should appoint them a Clarke, whom they might entertaine for that purpose. This is plaine by later Conflitions, made in the time of *L. 10.º* *It was thought good* (saith the Emperour) *in their iudgement which haue gone before, that in priuate Chappels none should celebrate the holy Communion, but Priests belonging vnto greater Churches. Which order they took as it seemeth for the custodie of Religion, lest men should secretly receiue from heretikes, instead of the food the bane of their soules, pollution in place of expiation.* *Againe, Whereas a sacred Canon of the sixt reuerend Synode requireth Baptisme, as others haue likewise the holy Sacrifices and Mysteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for publike vse, and not in priuate Oratories; which strict decrees appeare to haue bin made heretofore in regard of Heretikes, which entred closely into such mens houses as fauoured their opinions, whom, vnder colour of performing with them such religious Offices, they drew from the soundnes of true Religion: now that peruerse opinions through the grace of Almighty God are extinct & gone: the cause of former restrains being taken away, we see no reason but that priuat Oratories may henceforward inioy that liberty, which to haue granted them heretofore, had not bin safe.* In sum, all these things alledged are nothing, nor wil it euer be proued while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in cases of extreme necessity, hath made for priuate Baptisme alwaies more then against it. Yea, *Baptisme by any man in the case of necessity*, was the voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, or any other of the ancient against it. The boldnes of such as pretending *Teclaes* example, tooke openly vpon them both Baptisme, and all other publike functions of Priest-hood, *Tertullian* seuerely controlleth, saying: *To giue Baptisme is in truth the Bishops right. After him it belongeth vnto Priests and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him receiued. For so the honor of the Church requireth, which being kept, preserveth peace. Were it not in this respect, the Laity might doe the same, all sorts might giue euen as all sorts receiue.* But because Emulation is the mother of Schismes, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Laymen) *to do it in necessity, when the state of time, or place, or person therunto compelleth. For then is their boldnesse priuiledged that helpe, when the circumstance of other mens dangers craueth it.* What hee granteth geneareally to Lay persons of the house of God, the same wee cannot suppose hee denyeth to any sort or sexe contained vnder that name, vnlesse himselve did restrain the limites of his owne speech, especially seeing that *Tertullians* rule of interpretation

a *Leo Const.* 4.
 b *Idem Const.* 15
 c *T. c. lib. 1.*
 pag. 145. To allow of Womens baptizing, is not onely contrary to the learned Writers now, but also contrary to all learned Antiquity, & contrary to the practice of the Church whilst there was any tollerable estate, *Tertull. de Virgin. uel. land. lib. de Baptif. Epiphani. lib. 1. c. lib. 2. cont. Heret. S. Augustine*, although he seeme to allow of a Lay mans Baptisme in time of necessity, *Cont. Epif. Pavmen. lib. 2. c. 13.* yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptisme and in the fourth Councell of Carthage, *cap. 100.* it is simply without exception decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.
 d *Tertull. de Baptif.*

is elsewhere, Specialties are signified vnder that which is generall, because they are therein comprehended. Al which Tertullian doth^b denie, is, that women may be called to beare, or publicly take vpon them to execute Offices of Ecclesiastical order, whereof none but men are capable. As for Epiphanius, he striketh on the very selfe-same Anuill with Tertullian. And in necessitie if S. Augustine allow as much vnto Lay-men as Tertullian doth, his not mentioning of women, is but a slender prooffe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councell of Carthage likewise, although it make no expresse submission, may bee very well presumed, willing to stoupe as other Positiue ordinances doe, to the countermands of necessitie. Iudge therefore what the ancient would haue thought, if in their dayes it had bene heard which is published in ours, ^c that because, *The substance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the institution of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament, therefore first, if the whole institution be not kept, it is no Sacrament; and secondly, if Baptisme be priuate his institution is broken, in as much as according to the orders which he hath set for Baptisme, it should be done in the Congregation, from whose ordinance in this point we ought not to swarue, although we know that Infants should be assuredly damned without Baptisme.* O sir, you that would spurn thus at such, as in case of so dreadfull extremitie should lie prostrate before your feet, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their most neede, you that would damme vp your eares, and harden your hearts as Iron, against the vnresistable cryes of Supplicants, calling vpon you for mercy with termes of such inuocation, as that most dreadful perplexitie might minister, if God by miracle did open the mouthes of Infants, to expresse their supposed necessitie, should first imagine your selfe in their case, and them in yours. This done, let their supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My Sonne, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptisme must be kept, we may not doe^d ill that good may come of it, neither are soules to be deliuered from eternall death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Christ hath set,* would you in their case your selfe be shaken off with these answeres, and not rather imbrace inclosed with both your armes a sentence, which now is no Gospell vnto you, ^e *I will haue mercy and not sacrifice?* To acknowledge Christs institution the ground of both Sacraments, I suppose, no Christian man will refuse: for it giueth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they consist, the forme of their administration it teacheth, and it blesteth them with that grace vvhich they are both pledges and instruments of life. Neuertheless, seeing Christs institution containeth, besides that vvhich maketh complete the Essence or Nature, other things that onely are parts as it vvere of the furniture of Sacraments, the difference betweene these two must vnfold that vvhich the generall termes of indefinite speech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptisme be a part of Christs institution, it is but his institution as *sacrifice*, Baptisme his institution as *mercy*, in this case. He which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, reiecteth his owne institution of Sacrifice, vvhich the offering of sacrifice

a Subiectum est generalis speciale. in ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur, Tert. de velan. Virg. Posito genere supponitur species, Az. in l. 1. c. de Transact. b Non permittitur mulieri in Ecclesia li. qui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec vltus virilis namera nedum sacerdotale officij sortem sibi vendicare, Tertul. de velan. Vir. c T. C. l. 1. p. 144. The substance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the institution and Word of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 144. Although part of the institution be obserued, yet if the whole institution be not, it is no Sacrament. T. C. lib. 1. p. 146. The orders which God hath set, are, that it should be done in the Congregation and by the Minister. T. C. lib. 1. p. 146. And I will further say, that although that the Infants which die with our Baptisme should be assuredly damned, (which is most false) yet

ought not the orders which God hath set in his Church, be broken after this sort. ^d *Nostro peccato alterius salutis consulere non debemus,* Aug. lib. cont. Mend. c. 17. ^e *Matth. 9. 13.*

vwould

would hinder mercy from being shewed. Externall circumstances euen in the holiest and highest actions, are but the ^alesser things of the Law, wherunto those actions themselues being compared are the greater; and therefore as the greater are of such importance that they *must be done*, so in that extremitie before supposed, if our account of the lesser which are *not to be omitted*, should cause omission of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our strict obedience to Christs institution touching *Mins and Commun*, a disobedience to his institution concerning loue? But sith no institution of Christ hath so strictly tyed Baptisme to publique Assemblies, as it hath done all men vnto Baptisme, away with these mercilesse and bloudie sentences, let them neuer bee found standing in the bookes and writings of a Christian man, they saour not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meeke Spirit, but vnder colour of exact obedience, they nourish crueltie and hardnesse of heart.

¶ Whether Baptisme by Women be true Baptisme, good and effectfull to them that receiue it.

b T.C. l. b. 1. pag. 144. On this point, whether hee bee a Minister or no, dependeth not onely the dignitie, but also the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptisme of Women to bee no more the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, then any other daily or ordinarie washing of the child.

62 To leaue priuate Baptisme therefore, and to come vnto Baptisme by women, which ^bthey say, is no more a Sacrament, then any other ordinarie washing or bathing of a mans body; the reason whereupon they ground their opinion

herein is such, as making Baptisme by Women void, because Women are no Ministers in the Church of God, must needes generally annihilate the Baptisme of all vnto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sexe, of qualitie, of insufficiencie, or whatsoeuer. For if want of Calling doe frustrate Baptisme, they that baptize without Calling do nothing, bee they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the house of God, were a grosse absurditie, seeing the Apostle hath said, ^c *I permit not a Woman to teach*: And againe, ^d *Let your Women in Churches be silent*. Those extraordinarie gifts of speaking with tongues and prophecying, which God at that time did not onely bestow vpon Men, but on Women also, made it the harder to hold them confined with priuate bounds. Whereupon the Apostles ordinance was necessarie against Womens publique admission to teach. And because when Law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giueth good occasion either to draw by iudicious exposition out of the very Law it selfe, or to annexe to the Law by authoritie and iurisdiction things of like conueniencie, therefore ^e *Clement* extendeth this Apostolike Constitution to Baptisme. For (saith he) *If we haue denyed them leaue to teach, how should any man dispence with nature, and make them Ministers of holy things, seeing this vnskillfulnesse is a part of the Grecians impietie, which for the seruice of women goddesses, haue women Priests? I somewhat maruell, that men which would not willingly be thought to speake or write, but with good conscience, dare hereupon openly auouch Clement for a ^f witness, that as when the Church began not onely to decline, but to fall away from the sinceritie of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, so it borrowed this, and would needes haue women Priests as the Heathens had, and that this was one occasion of bringing Baptisme by Women inso the Church of God.* Is it not plaine in their owne eyes, that first by an euidence which forbiddeth Women to bee Ministers of Baptisme, they

^c 1. Tim. 2. 12.

^d 1. Tim. 14. 34.

^e Clem. const. Apostol. lib. 2. cap. 9.

^f T. C. l. p. 144.

they endeavour to shew how Women were admitted vnto that function in the waine and declination of Christian pietie : Secondly, that by an euidence rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they would prooue such affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the patterne of their example : and thirdly, that out of an euidence which nameth the Heathens, as being in some part a reason why the Church had no Women Priests, they gather, the Heathens to haue bene one of the first occasions why it had? So that throughout euery branch of this testimonie their issue is, *Yea*, and their euidence directly, *No*. But to womens Baptisme in priuate by occasion of vrgent necessitie, the reasons that onely concerne ordinarie Baptisme in publike are no iust preiudice, neither can we by force thereof disprove the practise of those Churches, which (necessitie requiring) allow Baptisme in priuate to be administred by Women. Wee may not from Lawes that prohibit any thing with restraint, conclude absolute and vnlimited prohibitions: Although wee denie not but they which vtterly forbid such Baptisme, may haue perhaps wherewith to iustifie their orders against it. For, euery thing lawfull are ^a well prohibited, when there is feare lest they make the way too vnlawfull more easie. And it may bee, the libertie of Baptisme by Women at such times, doth sometimes embolden the rather sort to doe it where no such necessitie is. But whether of permission besides Law, or in presumption against Law they doe it, is it thereby altogether frustrate, void, and as though it were neuer giuen? They which haue not at the first their right Baptisme, must of necessitie be rebaptized, because the Law of Christ tyeth all men to receiue Baptisme. Iteration of Baptisme once giuen hath bene alwayes thought a manifest contempt of that auncient Apostolique Aphorisme, ^b *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*, Baptisme not onely one in as much as it hath euery-where the same substance, and offereth vnto all men the same grace, but one also for that it ought not to bee receiued by any one man a boue once. Wee serue that Lord which is but one, because no other can be ioyned with him : wee embrace that Faith which is but one, because it admitteth no innouation : that Baptisme wee receiue which is but one, because it cannot be receiued often. For how should we practise iteration of Baptisme, and yet teach that wee are by Baptisme borne anew, that by Baptisme wee are admitted into the heauenly societie of Saints, that those things bee really and effectually done by Baptisme, which are no more possible to bee often done, ^c then a man can naturally bee often borne, or ciuilly bee often adopted into any ones stocke and family? This also is the cause why they that present vs vnto Baptisme, are intitled for euer after our Parents in God, and the reason why there wee receiue new names, in token that by Baptisme wee are made new creatures. As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so the Sacrament which both extinguiheth in him our former sinne, and be-ginneth in vs a new condition of lite, is by one onely actuall administration for euer auailable, according to that in the Nicene Creede, *I beleue one baptisme for remission of finnes*. And because second Baptisme was euer ^d abhord in the Church of God as a kind of incestuous birth, they that iterate Baptisme, are driuen vnder some pretence or other to make the former Baptisme void.

^a Licita prohibentur, ne si permittuntur, eorum occasione perueniantur ad illicita. l. reque tamem, Just. de A. u. h. tur. l. Officium. D. de re iud. l. b. Fybel. v. c. c. ^b Una est unitas de terra, alia de caelo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de aternitate, alia de mortalitate: una de masculino & femina, alia de Deo & Ecclesia. Sed ipse duo singulares sunt. Quomodo enim veteris non potest repeti, sic nec baptismus iterari, Prosp. Senten. 321. Fia fratres lectum genitalis fuitis ad laticeum conuolate, ut semper vobis aqua sufficia; hoc ante omnia se entes, quia hanc nec essendev licet nec vrisus varire, Zeno. Inuit. ad font. ^c August. de Bap. t. cont. Don. l. 2. c. 14.

Tertulian

a Tertull. de
Baptism.
b Cypri. Epist. 71.

a Tertullian the first that proposed to the Church, b Agrippinus the first in the Church that accepted, and against the vse of the Church Nouatian the first that publicly began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore vpon these two grounds, a true perswasion that Baptisme is necessarie, and a false, that the Baptisme which others administred was no Baptisme. Nouatianus his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptisme but the true Church of I E S V S CHRIST, that he and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest he accounted them wicked and prophane persons, such as by Baptisme could cleanse no man, vnlesse they first did purifie themselves, and reforme the faults wherewith hee charged them. At which time c S. Cyprian vvith the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly perswaded, then that Heretikes are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reuerse that Baptisme which is giuen by Heretikes. These held and practised their owne opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loued a whit the lesse, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrarie minde. In requitall of which ingenious moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in error, but not in heresie. The Bishop of Rome against their nouelties, vp-held as befeemed him, the ancient and true Apostolike Customes, till they which vnadvisedly before had

d illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hereticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem reuoluti nosum emisere decretum, Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide & August. cont. Crescon. lib. 3. cap. 2. 3. & Epist. 48. e Dixisti fieri non posse vt in falso baptisate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absoluat. Bene hec omnia poterunt ad solos hereticos pertinere, qui falsauerunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus vnus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filij cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: & ceteri huiusmodi, qui a Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur, Optat. lib. 1.

f Synod. Nice.
cap. 19.
g Synod. 1. A.
relat. cap. 8.

h Euseb. Eccles.
Hist. lib. 7. cap. 8.

erred, became in a manner all d reconciled friends vnto Truth, and saw that Heresie in the Ministers of Baptisme, could no way euacuate the force thereof; e such Heresie alone excepted, as by reason of vn-foundnesse in the highest Articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to mayme the substance, the forme of Baptisme. In which respect the Church did neither simply disanull, nor absolutely ratifie Baptisme by Heretikes. For the Baptisme which Nouatianists gaue, stood firme, whereas they whom f Samosatenians had baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the s Councill of Arles, that if any Arrian did reconcile himselfe to the Church, they should admit him without new baptisme, vnlesse by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinitie. Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria h maketh report, how there liued vnder him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being present at the Rites of Baptisme, and obseruing with better consideration then euer before what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craued of his Bishop not to denie him Baptisme, the due of all which professe Christ, seeing it had bene so long sithence his euill hap to bee deceiued by the fraud of Heretikes, and at their hands (which till now hee neuer throughly and duely waighed) to take a Baptisme full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a Baptisme in nothing like vnto that

that which the true Church of Christ vseth. The Bishop greatly moued thereat, yet durst not adventure to rebaptize, but did the best hee could to put him in good comfort, vsing much perswasion with him not to trouble himselfe with things that were past and gone, not after so long continuance in the fellowship of Gods people, to call now in question his first entrance. The poore man that saw himselfe in this sort answered but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in continuall perplexitie, whereof the Bishop remaind fearefull to giue release: perhaps too fearefull, if the Baptisme were such as his owne Declaration importeth. For that the substance thereof was rotten at the very first, is neuer by tract of time able to recouer soundnesse. And where true Baptisme was not before given, the case of rebaptization is cleere. But by this it appeareth that Baptisme is not void in regard of Heresie, and therefore much lesse through any *other morall defect* in the Minister thereof. Vnder which second pretense, Donatists notwithstanding tooke vpon them to make frustrate the Churches Baptisme, and themselues to rebaptize their owne fry. For whereas some fortie yeares after the Martyrdome of blessed *Cyprian*, the Emperour *Dioclesian* began to *persecute the Church of Christ, and for the speedier a-

* Circa an. 300.

bolishment of their Religion, to burne vp their sacred Bookes, there were in the Church it selfe *Traditors*, content to deliuer vp the Bookes of God by composition, to the end their owne liues might be spared. Which men growing thereby odious to the rest, whose constancie was greater, it fortun'd that after, when one *Cacilian* was ordained Bishop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endeoured in vaine to defeate by excepting against him as a *Traditor*, they whose accusations could not preuaile, desperately ioynd themselues in one, and made a Bishop of their owne crue, accounting from that day forward their faction the onely true and sincere Church. The first Bishop on that part was *Maioresinus*, whose Successour *Donatus* being the first that wrote in defence of their Schisme, the Birdes that were hatched before by others haue their names from him. Arrians and Donatists beganne both about one time. Which Heresies according to the different strength of their owne sinewes, wrought as hope of successe led them, the one with the choicest wits, the other with the multitude so farre, that after long and troublesome experience, the perfectest view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate resolution, whether Errour may doe more by the curious subtiltie of sharpe Discourse, or else by the meere appearance of zeale and deuout affection, the later of which two aides, gaue Donatists beyond all mens expectation, as great a sway as euer any Schisme or Heresie had within that reach of the Christian World where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps because the Church which neither greatly feared them, and besides had necessarie cause to bend it selfe against others that aymed directly at a farre higher marke the Deity of Christ, was contented to let Donatists haue theirs forth by the space of threescore yeeres and aboue, euen from tenne yeeres before *Constantine*, till the time that ^b *Optatus* Bishop of Mileuis published his Bookes against *Parmenian*. During which terme and the space of that Schismes continuance afterwards, they had, besides many other Secular and worldly meanes to helpe them forward, these speciall aduantages. First, the very occasion of

b Circa an. 370

their breach with the Church of God, a iust hatred and dislike of *Traditors* seemed plausible, they easily perswaded their hearers that such men could not be holy as held cōmunion & fellowship with them that betray Religion. Again, when to dazle the eyes of the simple, and to prooue that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in shew and found of words the glorious pretense of the Creed Apostolike, *I beleene the holy Catholike Church*, we need not thinke it any strange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And a- uouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true Baptisme, they had for this point whole Volumes of *S. Cyprians* owne writing, together with the iudgement of diuers Affrican Synods, whose sentence was the same with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewise in defence of their iust cause very greatly preiudiced, both for that they could not inforce the durie of mens communion with a Church confest to be in many things blame-worthy, vnlesse they should oftentimes seeme to speake as halfe defenders of the faults themselves, or at the least not so vehement accusers thereof as their aduersaries; and to withstand iteration of Baptisme, the other branch of the Donatists Heresie was impossible, without manifest and profest reiection of *Cyprian*, whom the World vniuersally did in his life time admire as the greatest amongst Prelates, & now honor as the lowest in the Kingdome of Heauen. So true we find it by experience of all Ages in the Church of God, that the Teachers error is the peoples tryall, harder and heuier by so much to beare, as he is in worth and regard greater that misperswadeth them. Although there was odde betweene *Cyprians* cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder vnderstanding in that point, but not diuiding himselfe from the body of the Church by Schisme, as did the Donatists. For which cause, ^a saith *VINCENTIVS*, *Of one and the same opinion we iudge (which may seeme strange) the Authours Catholike, & the followers hereticall; we acquit the Masters, and condemne the Schollers; they are heires of heauen which haue written those Books, the defenders whereof are trodden downe to the pit of hel.* The inuectiues of Catholike Writers therefore against the same sharpe; the words of ^b Imperiall Edicts by *Honorius* & *Theodosius* made to bridle them very bitter, the punishments seuerer in reuenge of their folly. Howbeit for feare (as wee may coniecture) lest much should be derogated from the Baptisme of the Church, and Baptisme by Donatists be more esteemed of then was meete, if on the one side that which Heretikes had done ill should stand as good, on the other side that be reuerfed which the Catholike Church had well and religiously done, diuers better minded then aduised men, thought it fittest to meete with this inconuenience, by rebaptizing Donatists as well as they rebaptized Catholikes. For stay whereof, the ^c same Emperours saw it meet to giue their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both sides cut off not only Heretikes which rebaptized whom they could peruert, but also Catholike and Christian Priests which did the like vnto such as before had taken Baptisme at the hands of Heretikes, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatists were therefore in proesse of time, though with much adoe, wearied, and at the length worne out by the constancie of that Truth which teacheth, that euill Ministers of good things are as Torches, a light to others, a waste to none but themselves onely, and that the foulness of their hands can
neither

^a Vincent. Li. viii. aduers. heres. c. 11.

^b Vide C. Tho. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Aduersarios & l. Nullus circa an. 405.

^c Siquis C. Ne. sancti. baptis. circa an. 413.

neither any whit impair the vertue, nor staine the glorie of the Mysteries of Christ. Now that which was done amisse by vertuous and good men, as *Cyprian* carryed aside with hatred against Heresie, and was secondly followed by *Donatists*, whom *Enuie* and *Rancor* covered with shew of Godlines, made obstinate to cancell whatsoeuer the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptisme, hath of later dayes, in another respect, farre different from both the former, beene brought freshly againe into practise. For the *Anabaptist* rebaptizeth, because, in his estimation the Baptisme of the Church is frustrate, for that we giue it vnto Infants which haue not Faith, whereas, according vnto Christs Institution as they conceiue it, true Baptisme should alwayes presuppose actual Beliefe in Receiuers, and is otherwise no Baptisme. Of these three Errors, there is not any but hath beene able at the least to alleage in defence of it selfe many faire probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes constantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are knowne to haue receiued true Baptisme is vnlawfull; that if Baptisme seriously be administered in the same Element, and with the same forme of words which Christs Institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it frustrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and lastly, that Baptisme is onely then to be read ministred, when the first deliuerie thereof is void, in regard of the fore-alleged imperfections and no other, shall wee now in the case of Baptisme, which hauing both for matter and forme the substance of Christs Institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided, for the onely defect of Ecclesiasticall authoritie in the Minister, thinke it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath, by saying, *We take such Baptisme to be no more the Sacrament of Baptisme, then any other ordinarie bathing to be a Sacrament?* * It behooueth generally all sorts of men to keepe themselves within the limits of their owne vocation. And seeing God, from whom mens seuerall degrees and preeminences doe proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that wee should receiue both Baptisme and all other publike medicinable helpes of soule, perhappes thereby the more to settle our hearts in the loue of our ghostly Superiors, they haue small cause to hope that with him their voluntarie seruices will be accepted, who thrust themselves into Functions, eyther about their capacitie or besides their place, and ouer-boldly intermeddle with duties, whereof no charge was euer giuen them. They that in any thing exceed the compasse of their owne order, doe as much as in them lyeth to dissolue that Order which is the harmonie of Gods Church. Suppose therefore, that in these and the like considerations the Law did vtterly prohibit Baptisme to bee administered by any other then persons thereunto solemnly consecrated; what necessitie soeuer happen. Are not * many things firme being done, although in part done otherwise then Positive rigor and strictnesse did require? Nature as much as is possible inclineth vnto validities and preferuations Dissolutions and Nullities of things done are not onely not fauoured, but hated, when either vrged without cause, or extended beyond their reach: if therefore at any time it come to passe, that in teaching publikely or priuately in deliuering this Blessed Sacrament of Regeneration some vnsanctified hand, contrarie to Christs supposed

* Num. 16. 10.
Leuit. 20. 1.
1. Sam. 13. 11.
2. Sam. 6. 6.
2. Chron. 26. 16.
Heb. 5. 4.

* Seq. 306. Lug-
dunensis è ex li-
teris Decretal. de
matrim. contraff
Damas. Burchar.
reg. 109. Prohi-
bita sivi si fians
non tenent. In
prohibitionibus
autem circa res
sanctas les con-
trarium obtinet.

m.T.C.l.v.p.144
 As S Paul saith
 that a man
 cannot preach
 which is not
 sent: Rom. 10.15.
 no not al-
 though hee
 speake the
 words of the
 Scripture & in-
 terpret them:
 So I cannot see
 how a man can
 baptize vnl. ife
 he be sent to
 that end, al-
 though hee
 powre water &
 rehearse the
 words which
 are to be re-
 hearsed in the
 Ministerie of
 Baptisme.
 n.T.C.l.v.p.165.
 If eyther the
 Sacrament, or
 the forme of
 it, which is the
 Institution
 [which things
 are onely sub-
 stantiall parts]
 were wanting,
 thre should
 then haue bin
 no Sacrament
 at al minist ed.
 But they being
 retained, & yet
 other things
 ved whi h're
 not conueniēt,
 the Sacrament
 is ministred,
 but not sin-
 cerely.
 o.T.C.l.3.p.117.
 p.T.C.l.3.p.121.
 q.T.C.l. p.135.
 The Minister
 is of the sub-
 stance of the
 Sacrament,
 considering
 that it is a principall part of Christs Institution. *Hex. Epist. 2. De sit aqua, & tamen baptismus al' cuius differri cum edificatiōe non possit nec debeat, ego certē quouis alio liquore: non minus ritē quam aqua baptisim.* r.T.C.l.3.p.138. Shew me why the breach of the Institution in the forme should make the Sacrament vnauayleable, and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the Minister.] r.C. *ibid.* Howsoeuer some learned and godly giue some libertie in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament, yet I doe not see how that can stand. *Idem* p.137. I would rather iudge him baptized into the Name of Christ without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost when the Element of Water is added, then when the other words being duly kept, some other Liquor is vsed.

Ordinance, do intrude it selfe to execute that, whereupon the Lawes of God & his Church haue deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with Equitie, ours that disallow what is done amisse, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much lesse their nature and very substance to depend on the Ministers authoritie and calling, or else ^m theirs which defeat, disannull, and annihilate both, in respect of that one onely personall defect, there being not any Law of God which saith, that if the Minister bee incompetent, his Word shall be no Word, his Baptisme no Baptisme? He which teacheth and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher; his vsurped actions haue in him the same nature which they haue in others, although they act him not the same comfort. And if these two cases be peeres, the case of Doctrīne and the case of Baptisme both alike, sith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth, is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptize, make Baptisme to bee vaine? They ⁿ grant that the matter and the forme in Sacraments are the onely parts of substance, and that if these two bee retainned, albeit other things besides bee vsed which are inconuenient, the Sacrament notwithstanding is administred but not sincerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? when by these faire speches they haue put vs in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they vp their words againe, interlacing such friuolous Interpretations and Gloses as disgrace their Sentence? What should moue them, having named the *matter* and the *forme* of the Sacrament, to giue vs presently warning, that they meane by *the forme* of the Sacrament *the institution*, which exposition darkeneth whatsoeuer was before plaine? For whereas in common vnderstanding, that *forme*, which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth onely the words of vsuall application, they let it downe (lest common Dictionaries should deceiue vs) that *the forme* doth signifie in their Language *the institution*, which institution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to inclose the Ministers vocation within the compasse of some essentiall part of the Sacrament. A thing that can neuer stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the ^p Minister bee *no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause in the worke of Baptisme*? What if the Ministers vocation be a matter ^q of perpetual necessity, and not a *Ceremonie variable as times & occasions require*? What if his calling be a principal part of the *Institution of Christ*? Doth it therefore follow that the Ministers authoritie is ^r of the substance of the Sacrament, and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the forme it selfe, yea, more incident? For whereas in case of necessitye the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the Element of Water lawfull, and others which like not so well this opinion, could bee better content that voluntarily the *words* of Christs Institution were altered, and

men baptized in *the Name of Christ*, without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghost, neuertheless, in denying that Baptisme administred by priuat persons, ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore please them both to consider, that Baptisme is an action in part Morall, in part Ecclesiasticall, and in part Mysticall: Morall, as being a duty which men performe towards God; Ecclesiasticall, in that it belongeth vnto Gods Church as a publike dutie; finally Mysticall, if wee respect what God doth thereby intend to worke. The greatest Morall perfection of Baptisme consisteth in mens deuout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and also that Religious affection which God doth so much regard, that without it whatsoever we doe is hatefull in his sight, who therefore is said to respect *Aduerbes* more then *Verbes*, because the end of his Law in appointing what we shall doe is our owne perfection, which perfection consisteth chiefly in the vertuous disposition of the minde, and approoueth it selfe to him not by *doing*, but by *doing well*. Wherein appeareth also the difference betweene Humane and Diuine Lawes, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one doe but claime the deed, the other especially the minde. So that according to Lawes which principally respect the heart of men, workes of Religion being not religiously performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptisme as an Ecclesiasticall worke, is for the manner of performance ordered by diuers Ecclesiasticall Lawes, prouiding that as the Sacrament it selfe is a gift of no meane worth, so the Ministerie thereof might in all circumstances appeare to bee a Function of no small regard. All that belongeth to the Mysticall perfection of Baptisme outwardly, is the Element the Word, and the serious application of both vnto him which receiueth both, whereunto if wee adde that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sinnes, by vertue of Christs owne compact solemnely made with his Church, to accomplish fully the Sacrament of Baptisme, there is not any thing more required. Now put the question whether Baptisme administred to Infants without any Spirituall calling, bee vnto them both a true Sacrament and an effectuall instrument of grace, or else an act of no more account then the ordinarie Washings are. The summe of all that can be said to defeat such Baptisme is, that those things which haue no being can worke nothing, and that Baptisme without the power of Ordination, is as a iudgement without sufficient Iurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect. But to this we answer, that the fruit of Baptisme dependeth onely vpon the Couenant which God hath made; that God by Couenant requireth in the elder sort, Faith and Baptisme, in Children the Sacrament of Baptisme alone, whereunto hee hath also given them right by speciall priuiledge of birth, within the bosome of the holy Church; that Infants therefore, which haue receiued Baptisme complete, as touching the Mysticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his owne Couenant and promise clenfed from all sinne, for as much as all other Lawes concerning that which in Baptisme is either Morall or Ecclesiasticall, doe bind the Church which giueth Baptisme, and not the Infant which receiueth it of the Church. So that if any thing bee therein amisse, the harme which groweth by violation of holy Ordinaunces, must altogether

ther rest where the bonds of such Ordinances hold. For that in actions of this Nature it fareth not as in Iurisdiccions may somewhat appeare by the very opinion which men haue of them. The nullitie of that which a Iudge doth by way of authoritie without authoritie, is knowne to all men, and agreed vpon with full consent of the whole World, euery man receiueth it as a generall Edict of Nature, whereas the nullitie of Baptisme in regard of the like defect, is onely a few mens new vngrounded and as yet vnapprooued imagination. Which difference of generalitie in mens perswasions on the one side, and their paucitie whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easie to obserue in the things themselues. The exercise of vnauthorized Iurisdiction is a grieuance vnto them that are vnder it, whereas they that without authoritie presume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food and the Ministers thereof as Parents or as Nurseries, at whose hands when there is necessitie but no possibilitie of receiving it, if that which they are not present to doe in right of their Office, be of pittie and compassion done by others, shall this be thought to turne Celestiall Bread into grauell, or the medicine of soules into poyson? Iurisdiction is a yoke which Law hath imposed on the neckes of men in such sort, that they must indure it for the good of others, how contrary soeuer it bee to their owne particular appetites and inclinations, Iurisdiction bridleth men against their wils, that which a Iudge doth preuayle by vertue of his very power; and therefore not without great reason, except the Law haue giuen him authoritie, whatsoeuer hee doth, vanissheth. Baptisme on the other side being a fauour which it pleaseth God to bestow a benefit of soule to vs that receive it, and a grace which they that deliuer are but meere Vessels, either appointed by others or offered of their owne accord to this seruice; of which two if they be the one, it is but their own honour, their owne offence to be the other; can it possibly stand with equitie and right, that the faultines of their presumption in giuing Baptisme should be able to preiudice vs, who by taking Baptisme haue no way offended? I know there are many sentences found in the Bookes and Writings of the ancient Fathers, to prooue both Ecclesiasticall and also Morall defects in the Minister of Baptisme, a barre to the heauenly benefit thereof. Which sentences we alwaies so vnderstand, as ^b *Augustine* vnderstood in a case of like nature the words of *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized were after their Parents reuolt carried by the in armes to the stewes of Idols, those wretched creatures, as *S. Cyprian* thought, were not only their owne ruine but their childrens also; *Their children*, whom this their Apostasie profaned, *did lose what Christian Baptisme had giuen the being newly borne*. They lost (saith *S. Augustine*) the grace of Baptisme, *if we consider to what their Parents impietie did tend*, although the mercie of God preserved them, & will also in that dreadful day of account giue them fauorable audience pleading in their owne behalfe, *The harme of other mens perditionnesse is lay not in vs to auoyd*. After the same manner, whatsoeuer we read written, if it found to the preiudice of Baptisme through any either Morall or Ecclesiasticall defect therein, wee conster it, as Equitie and Reason teacheth, with restraint to the of-fendor only, which doth, as farre as concerneth himselfe and them, which wittingly concurre with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitlesse. *S. Augu-
stines*

^a *Fallum alie-
vius aly nocere
non debet, Vlp. l.
de pupillo. §. si
plurimum.
Item Alphen. l.
Pater familias.
De Hæc. insti.
Maleficia tenent
Auctores suos
non alios.
L. Sancimus 22
C. de porn.
^b *Aug. Epist. 23.**

Augustines doubtfulnesse, whether Baptisme by a Lay-man may stand, or ought to be re-administred, should not be mentioned by them which presume to define peremptorily of that, wherein he was content to professe himselfe vnresolued. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plaine enough, but the manner of deliuering his iudgement being modest, they make of a vertue an imbecillitie, and impute his calmenesse of speech to an irresolution of mind. His Disputation in that place is against *Parmenian*, which held, that a Bishop or a Priest if they fall into any Heresie, doe thereby lose the power which they had before, to baptize, and that therefore Baptisme by Heretikes is meere void. For answer whereof he first denyeth, that Heresie can more depriue men of power to baptize others, then it is of force to take from them their owne Baptisme; & in the second place he farther addeth, that if Heretikes did lose the power which before was giuen them by Ordination, & did therefore vnlawfully vsurpe as oft as they tooke vpon them to giue the Sacrament of Baptisme, it followeth not that Baptisme, by them administred without authoritie, is no Baptisme. For then what should we thinke of Baptisme by Lay-men, to whom authoritie was neuer giuen? I doubt (saith *S. Augustine*) whether any man which carryeth a vertuous & godly mind will affirme, that the Baptisme which Lay-men doe in case of necessity administer should be iterated. For to doe it vnneccessarily, is to execute an other mans offence; necessitie vrging, to doe it is then either no fault at all (much lesse so grieuous a crime that it should deserue to be termed by the name of ^b sacriledge) or if any, a very pardonable fault. But suppose it euen of very purpose vsurped and giuen vnto any man by euery man that listeth, yet that which is giuen cannot possibly be denied to haue bene giuen, how truly soeuer we may say it hath not bene giuen lawfully. Vnlawfull vsurpation a penitens affection must redresse. If not, the thing that was giuen shall remain to the hurt & detriment of him, which vnlawfully either administred or receiued the same, yet so that in this respect it ought not to be repused, as if it had not at all bene giuen. Whereby we may plainly perceiue, that *Saint Augustine* was not himselfe vncertaine what to thinke, but doubtfull, whether any well-minded men in the whole world, could thinke otherwise then hee did. Their Argument taken from a stollen seale, may returne to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which men giue or grant to others, must appeare to haue proceeded of their owne accord. This being manifest, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectuell, both to barre themselves from reuocation, and to assure the right they haue giuen. Wherein for further preuention of mischiefs, that otherwise might grow by the mallice, treacherie, and fraud of men, it is both equall and meete that the strength of mens deeds, and the instruments which declare the same, should strictly depend vpon diuers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that passe betweene God and vs, because sith wee neede not doubt, lest the treasures of his heauenly grace should, without his consent bee past by forged conueyances, nor lest hee should deny at any time his owne acts, and seeke to reuoke what hath bene consented vnto before: as there is no such feare of danger through deceit and falshood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of mens persons that waight in Baptisme, which for good and iust considerations in the custodie of seales of Office it ought to haue. The grace of Baptisme

a T.C.1.1.p.136
Augustine standeth in doubt, whether Baptisme by a Lay-man be auailable or no.
 Cont. lit *Parmen.*
 l.2. c.13. where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was ministred by a Woman, whose vnaptnesse herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

b T.C.1.1.p.116
 The sacriledge of priuate persons, Women especially in administering the holy Sacrament of Baptisme.

c T.C.1.3.p.139
 As by the seale which the Prince hath set apart to seale his Grants with, when it is stollen and set to by him that hath no authoritie, there groweth no assurance to the partie that hath it; So if it were possible to be the seale of God which a woman should set to, yet for that she hath stollen it and put it to, not only without, but contraire to the Commandement of God, I seee not how any can take any assurance by reason thereof.

Baptisme

Baptisme commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministerie of Baptisme vnto speciall men, it is for orders sake in his Church, and not to the end that their authoritie might giue being, or adde force to the Sacrament it selfe. That Infants haue right to the Sacrament of Baptisme, wee all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guilefull and wrongfull possessors of that, whereunto they haue right by the manifest will of the Donor, and are not parties vnto any defect or disorder in the maner of receiuing the same. And if any such disorder be, we haue sufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite semper ambulat*, mens owne faults are their owne harmes. Wherefore to counteruaile this and the like mischosen resemblances with that, which more truly and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that minister Baptisme, wherein the ministerie of our regeneration is wrought, hath therunto the same Analogie which lawes of wedlocke haue to our first natiuitie and birth. So that if Nature doe effect procreation, notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach euen of Natures law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this present world might be without blemish, may we not iustly presume that Grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultinesse in them that transgresse the order which our Lord Iesus Christ hath established in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumcision, for explication, what is true in this question of Baptisme. Seeing then, that euen they,

a Exod. 4. 24.

T.C. l. 1. p. 144.

I say that the vnlawfulness of that fact doth appeare sufficiently, in that shee did it before her husband *Moses*, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumcision did appertaine. Besides, that shee did cut off the fore-skin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandement of God, or for the saluation of the Child, but in a choler onely, to the end that her husband might bee eased and haue releafe; which mind appeareth in her both by her words, and by casting away in anger the fore-skin which shee had cut off. And if it be said, that the euent declared that the act pleased God, because that *Moses* forthwith waxed better, and was re-couered of his sicknesse, I haue shewed before that if we measure things by the euent, we shall oftentimes iustifie the wicked, and take the righteousnesse of the righteous from them.

him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her owne Child, which shee could not doe but with some indignation shewed, in that shee fumingly both threw downe the fore-skin at his feete, and vpbraided him with the crueltie of his Religion: or if we better like to follow their more iudicious Exposition, which are not inclinable to thinke that *Moses* was matcht like *Socrates*, nor that Circumcision could now in *Eleazar* bee strange vnto her, hauing had *Gersom* her elder sonne before circumcised, nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such miserie, as doth^b naturally moue compassion and not wrath, nor that *Sephora* was so impious, as in the visible presence of Gods deserued anger, to storme at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the historie it selfe can inforce any such affection, but doe onely

b *Mala passis non trahimur, sed compatimur.*
Boet. de
Consol.

only declare how after the act performed, she touched the feet of *Moses*, saying, *a Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum; Thou art vnto me an husband of blood*, which might be very well, the one done, and the other spoken, euen out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and loue, to signifie with hands laid vnder his feete, that her tender affection towards him, had caused her thus to forget woman-hood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of Death with effusion of blood; the sequelle thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument that God was satisfied with that shee did, as may appeare by his owne testimonie, declaring how there followed in the person of *Moses* present release of his grieuous punishment vpon her speedie discharge of that dutie, which by him neglected, had offended God, *b* euen as after execution of Iustice by the hands of Princes, the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunitie of sinne had caused; in which so manifest and plaine cases, not to make that a reason of the euent, which God himselfe hath set downe as a reason, were fallely to accuse whom he doth iustifie, and without any cause to traduce what wee should allow: yet seeing they which will haue it a breach of the Law of God, for her to circumsise in that necessitie, are not able to deny, but Circumcision being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true Circumcision, why should that defect whereby Circumcision was so little weakened be to Baptisme a deadly wound? These premises therefore remaying, as hitherto they haue been laid, because the commandement of our Saviour Christ, which committeth ioyntly to publique Ministers both Doctrine and Baptisme, doth no more by linking them together import, that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Ministers authoritie and power to preach the Word, then the force and vertue of the Word doth on licence to giue the Sacrament; and considering that the worke of externall ministerie in Baptisme is onely a preeminence of honor, which they that take to themselves and are not thereunto called as *Aaron* was, doe but themselues in their owne persons, by meanes of such vsurpation, incurre the iust blame of disodience to the Law of God, farther also in as much as it standeth with no reason, that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deedes, should make frustrate whatsoeuer is misconceiued, and that Baptisme by Women should cease to be Baptisme, as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die vn baptized are damned, which opinion if the act of Baptisme administred in such manner did inforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defacing or making it altogether void; last of all, whereas generall and full consent of the godly learned in all Ages, doth make for validitie of Baptisme, yea albeit administred in priuate and euen by Women, which kind of Baptisme, in case of necessitie, diuers reformed Churches do both allow and

the Sacraments, which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the publique Ministers haue onely this charge of the Word; and seeing that the administration of both these are linked together, that the deniall of licence to doe one, is a deniall to doe the other, as of the contrarie part, licence to one, is licence to the other; considering also, that to minister the Sacraments, is an honour in the Church, which none can take vnto him, but he which is called vnto it, as was *Aaron*; and further, for as much as the baptizing by priuate persons, and by women especially, confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children, which die without Baptisme: last of all, seeing we haue the consent of the godly learned of all times against the Baptisme by women, and of the reformed Churches now, against the Baptisme by priuate men, we conclude that the administration of this Sacrament by priuate persons, and especially by women, is merely both vnlawfull and void,

defend,

a Where the vult translation hath *Exod. 4. 15.* Shee cut away the fore-skin of her sonne, & cast it at his feete, and said, Thou art indeed a bloudie husband vnto me. So he departed from him. Then the said *O* bloudy husband, because of the circumcision: the words as they lie in the original, are rather to be thus interpreted: And she cut off the foreskinne of her sonne, Which being done, shee touched his feete: (the feet of *Moses*) and said, Thou art to mee an husband of blood (in the plurall number, thereby signifying effusion of blood.) And the Lord withdrewe from him at the very time, when she said, A husband of blood in regard of circumcision.

b *Psal. 106. 30.*
c *T. C. lib. 3. page 142.* Seeing they onely are bidden in the Scripture to administer

defend, some others which doe not defend, tolerate; few, in comparison, and they without any iust cause, doe vtterly disanull and annihilate, surely, howsoever through defect on either side, the Sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him which receiueth, as to him which giueth it, yet no disabilitie of either part can so farre make it frustrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very nature of true Baptisme, hauing all things else which the ordinance of Christ requireth. Whereupon we may consequently inferre, that the administration of this Sacrament by priuate persons, be it lawfull or vnlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meere void.

Interrogatories in Baptisme touching Faith, and the purpose of a Christian life

63 All that are of the race of Christ, the Scripture nameth them *children of the promise*, which God hath made. The promise of eternall Life is the seed of the Church of God. And because there is no attainment of life, but through the onely begotten Sonne of God, nor by him otherwise then being such as the Creed Apostolike describeth, it followeth that the Articles thereof are principles; necessarie for all men to subscribe vnto, whom by Baptisme the Church receiueth into Christs Schoole. All points of Christian doctrine are either demonstrable Conclusions, or demonstratiue Principles. Conclusions haue strong and inuincible proofes, as well in the Schoole of Iesus Christ as elsewhere. And Principle be grounds, which require no prooffe in any kind of Science, because it sufficeth if either their certaintie be euident in it selfe, or euident by the light of some higher knowledge, and in it selfe such as no mans knowledge is euer able to ouerthrow. Now the principles whereupon wee doe build our soules, haue their euidence where they had their originall, and as receiued from thence we adore them, we hold them in reuerend admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we giue vnto them that assent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore ashamed of the Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ, because miscreants in scorne haue vpbraided vs, that the highest point of our wisdom is *a Beliefe*. That which is true and neither can be discerned by sense, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, must haue principles of reuealed Truth whereupon to build it selfe, and an habit of Faith in vs wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. *b* The mysteries of our Religion are about the reach of our vnderstanding, about discourse of mans reason, about all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the first thing required of him, which standeth for admission into Christs Family, is beliefe. Which beliefe consisteth not so much in knowledge, as in acknowledgement of all things that heauenly wisdom reuealeth; the affection of Faith is about her reach, her loue to God-ward about the comprehension which shee hath of God. And because onely for Beleeuers all things may be done, he which is goodnesse it selfe, loueth them about all. Deserue we then the loue of God, because we beleue in the Sonne of God? What more opposite then Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked vpon them, and loued them, because they were all as himselfe had made them. So the true reason wherefore Christ doth loue Beleeuers, is, because their beliefe is *c* the gift of God, a gift then which flesh & blood in this world cannot possibly receiue a greater. And as loue to them of whom we receiue good things is dutie, because they satisfie our desires in that which else we should want, so to loue them on

whom

a Αποσταταμα-
βελιδιον.
ιδεν υπερ το
πιστευσον της
υμετερας επι
σοφιας, Nazian.
Orat. 1. cont.
Iulia.
b υπερ νοου,
υπερ λογον,
υπερ καρδια-
-τιν κτισης φυ-
σεως τα ημε-
τερα, Iust.
Mart. Expos.
Fid.

c Matth. 16. 17.
Iohn 1. 12.

whom we bestow is nature, because in them we behold the effects of our owne vertue. Seeing therefore no Religion inioyeth Sacraments the signes of Gods loue, vnlesse it haue also that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more conuenient then that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptisme, should be ^a consecrated with profession of beliefe, which is to the Kingdome of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other sauing grace? We find by experience, that although Faith be an intellectuall habit of the mind, and haue her seate in the vnderstanding, yet an euill morall disposition obstinately wedded to the loue of darknesse, dampeth the very light of heauenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to see what doth shine before it. Men are louers of pleasure more then louers of God. Their assent to his sauing Truth is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weake to perswade, but because the streame of corrupt affection carryeth them a cleane contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of Faith, there must abide in the will as constant a resolution to haue no fellowship at all with the vanities and workes of darknesse. Two Couenants there are which Christian men (saith ^b *Isidore*) doe make in Baptisme, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Christ. In like sort ^c *S. Ambrose*, *He which is baptized*, forsaketh the intellectuall *Pharao* the Prince of this world, saying, *Abrenuncio; Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy workes and thy mandates, I forsake vtterly.* ^d *Tertullian* hauing speeche of wicked spirits: *These (saith he) are the Angels which we in Baptisme renounce.*

^a *Spiritus Sanctus habitator eius Templi nostri efficitur quod Antiquitem non habet veram fidem, Hieron. aduer. Lucifer. cap. 4.*

^b *Isid. de Offic. Eccles. l. 2. c. 24.*

^c *Ambros. Hexam. l. 1. c. 4.*

^d *Tertull. de Spectac.*

The declaration of ^e *Iustine* the Martyr concerning Baptisme, sheweth, how such as the Church in those daies did baptize, made profession of Christian beliefe, and vnderooke to liue accordingly. Neither doe I thinke it a matter easie for any man to prouue that euer Baptisme did vse to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto ^f *S. Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said, that the Baptisme which saueth vs, is not (as Legall purification were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impuritie, but ^g *ἐπερωτήματα, an interrogatine triall of a good conscience towards God.*

^e Ὅσοι ἀν πισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ἀρ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιωῦσι ὅπως διδάχθαι ὑπιστάμενοι, ἐκχρισθῆαι τε καὶ ἀτιεῖν ψυχοῦς παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τῶν προμαρτημένων ἁρτίων διδασκόμενοι, ἑσπῆτα ἀγονταὶ ὑπὸ ἡμῶν ἕνθα ὑδ' ἄρ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννησάμενοι, *Iustin. Apol.*

^f *1. Pet. 3. 21.*

64 Now the fault which they find with vs concerning interrogatories, is, our mouing of these questions vnto Infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorne at the Baptisme of children, first, because the Scriptures, he saith, doe no where giue commandement to baptize Infants: secondly, for that as there is no commandement, so neither any manifest example shewing it to haue beene done either by Christ or his Apostles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments must goe together, they which are not capable of the one, are noisit receiuers of the other: last of all, sith the order of Baptisme continued from the first beginning, hath in it those things which are

Interrogatories proposed vnto Infants in Baptisme, and answered as in their names by god-fathers, They prophane holy Baptisme in toyng foolishly, for that they aske questions of an Infant

which cannot answer, and speake vnto them as was wont to be spoken vnto men, and vnto such as being conuerted answered for themselves, and were baptized. Which is but a mockerie of God, and therefore against the holy Scriptures. *Gal. 6. 7.* Admon, to the Parlia. The same defended in *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 168.*

vntit to be applied vnto sucking children; it followeth in their conceit that the Baptisme of such is no Baptisme, but plaine mockerie. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptisme of Infants; it is not their desire that the Church should hazzard so many soules, by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of vnderstanding, that so they may be conuerted and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore haue bene; they beare not towards God so vnthankfull minds, as not to acknowledge it euen amongst the greatest of his endlesse mercies, that by making vs his owne possession so soone, many aduantages which Satan otherwise might take are preuented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happines) the first thing whereof we haue occasion to take notice is, how much hath bin done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the Baptisme of Infants they esteeme as an ordinance which Christ hath instituted, euen in speciall loue and fauour to his owne people; they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to haue bene kept, as deriued from the hands, and continued from the daies of the Apostles themselues vnto this present. Only it pleaseth them not, that to Infants there should be interrogatories proposed in Baptisme. This they condemne as foolish, toyish, and prophane mockerie. But are they able to shew that euer the Church of Christ had any publique forme of Baptisme without interrogatories; or that the Church did euer vse at the solemne Baptisme of Infants, to omit those questions as needlesse in this case? *Boniface a Bishop in S. Augustines time, knowing that the Church did vniuersally vse this custome of baptizing Infants with interrogatories, was desirous to learne from S. Augustine the true cause and reason thereof. If (saith he) I should set before thee a young Infant, and should aske of thee whether that Infant when he commeth vnto riper age, will be honest and iust or no, thou wouldest answer (I know) that to tell in these things what shall come so passe, is not in the power of a mortall man. If I should aske what good or euill such an Infant thinketh, thine answer hereunto must needs be againe with the like vncertaintie. If thou neither canst promise for the time to come, nor for the present pronounce any thing in this case, how is it that when such are brought vnto Baptisme, their Parents there vndertake what the child should afterwards doe, yea they are not doubtfull to say it doth that which is impossible to be done by Infants? At the least there is no man precisely able to affirme it done. Vouchsafe me hereunto some short answer, such as not only may presse me with the bare authoritie of custome, but also instruct me in the cause thereof. Touching which difficultie, whether it may truly be said for Infants at the time of their Baptisme that they doe beleeeue, the effect of S. Augustines answer is yea, but with this distinction, * a present actuall habite of faith there is not in them, there is deliuered vnto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof consisteth in answering to the Articles of faith, because the habit of faith, which afterwards doth come with yeres, is but a farther building vp of the same edifice, the first foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptisme. For that which there we professed without any vnderstanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, doe we any thing else but only bring vnto ripeness the very seed that was sowne before? We are then beleeuers, because then we begin to be that which procelle of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actuall beliefe, the very Sacrament of Faith is a shield

* Aug. Epist. 23.

* Sicut credere
respondetur, ita
etiam fidelis
vocatur; non
rem ipsa mente
annuendo, sed
ipsius rei Sacra-
mentum perci-
piendo, August.

as strong as after this the faith of the sacrament against all contraria infernall powers. Which whoſoever doth thinke impoſſible, is vndoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian beliefe, though hee bee baptiſed, then are theſe innocents which at their baptiſme albeit they haue no concept or cogitation of faith, are, notwithstanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple wee may accompt them and terme them beleeuers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith then infants, why not infants much more at the time of their ſolemne initiation by baptiſme the ſacrament of faith, whereunto they not onely conceiue nothing oppoſite, but haue alſo that ^a grace giuen them which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe out of which our beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of beleeuers, all honoured with that title, euen hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saints, becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habite of faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eye of the world, the ſecond faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the readie direct way to become both, if all things after bee ſuteable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſayth Saint Auguſtine) *would not happily content ſuch perſons as are vncapable or vnquiet, but to them which hauing knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I haue not for eaſe of my ſelfe objected againſt you that cuſtome onely, then which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable I haue done that little which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were Saint Auguſtine now liuing, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction that to ſay ^b of a child *it is elect* and to ſay it doth beleeuare all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able precisely to affirme the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that *precisely and abſolutely* we ought not to ſay the other. Which *precise and abſolute* termes are needleſſe in this caſe. We ſpeake of infants *as the rule of pietie* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelues in ordinarie talke a charitable kind of libertie to name men of their owne ſort *Gods doere children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of hypocriſie) ſhould not me thinks be ſo ſtrict & rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when wee know how Chriſt in generall hath ſaid that *of ſuch* is the kingdome of heauen, which kingdome is the inheritance of Gods elect, and doe withall behold how his prouidence hath called them vnto the firſt beginnings of eternall life, and preſented them at the wellſpring of new birth wherein ordi-
nall ſinne is purged, beſides which ſinne there is no hinderance of their ſaluation knowne to vs, as themſelues will grant, hard it were that having ſo many faire inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to vtter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming ^c the like of others, whoſe ſafetie neuertheles we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples bee only for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to infants in baptiſme, and be answered vnto by others as in their names, they may conſider that baptiſme implyeth a covenant or league betweene God and man, wherein as God doth beſtow preſently

^a Multum mirabilis res est quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum si inhabitat. Deus & quo. Quorundam cognitum Deum non sicut Deum glorificauerunt & ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoscentes Deum non sicut Deum glorificauerunt & ad templum Dei pertinent. Partibus sacra-mento Christi regenerati spiritus Sancti, qui per gratiam nondum possunt cognoscere Deum.

^b Vnde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere ipsi potuerunt habere antiquam nosse. Auguſt. epiſt. 57.

^c T. C. lib. 7. pa. 169. If children could haue taunt, yet they that preſent the child cannot precisely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no; we are to thinke charitably and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more precisely ſaid that it hath faith, then it may be ſaid precisely elected. c 2. Ioh. 14

remission of finnes and the holy Ghost, binding also himselfe to adde in pro-
 cesse of time what grace soever shall bee farther necessarie for the attainment
 of euerlasting life; so every baptised soule receiuing the same grace at the
 hands of God tyeth likewise it selfe for euer to the obseruation of his law no
 lesse then the Iewes^a by Circumcision bound themselues to the law of Mo-
 ses. The law of Christ requiring therefore faith and newnesse of life in all
 men by vertue of the couenant which they make in baptisme, is it toyish
 that the Church in baptisme exacteth at every mans hands an expresse pro-
 fession of faith and an irreuocable promise of obedience by way of^b solemne
 stipulation? That infants may contract and couenant with God, ^c the law
 is plaine. Neither is the reason of the law obscure. For sith it tendeth wee
 cannot sufficiently expresse how much to their owne good, and doth no way
 hurt or endanger them to beginne the race of their liues herewith, they are
 as equitie requireth admitted hereunto, and in fauour of their tender yeeres
 such formall complements of stipulation as being requisite are impossible by
 themselues in their owne persons to bee performed, leaue is giuen that they
 may^d sufficiently discharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deafe nor
 dumbe men, neither furious persons, nor children can receiue any ciuill stipu-
 lation, yet this kinde of ghostly stipulation they may through his indulgence
 who respecting the singular benefit thereof accepteth children brought vnto
 him for that end, entreth into articles of couenant with them, and in ten-
 der commiseration granteth that other mens professions and promises in bap-
 tisme made for them shall auail no lesse then if they had bene themselues able
 to haue made their owne. None more fit to vndertake this office in their be-
 halfe then such as present them vnto baptisme. A wrong conceit that none
 may receiue the sacrament of baptisme but they whose parents at the least the
 one of them are by the foundnesse of their religion and by their vertuous de-
 meanour known to be men of God, hath caused^e some to repell children who
 soeuer bring them if their parents bee misperswaded in religion, or for other
 mis-deserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold bap-
 tisme, vnlesse the father, albeit no such exception can iustly bee taken against
 him, doe notwithstanding make possession of his faith, and auouch the child
 to bee his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed the ministers of holy
 things, they make themselues inquisitours of mens persons a great deale far-
 ther then neede is. They should consider that God hath ordained baptisme
 in fauour of mankind. To restraints fauours is an odious thing, to enlarge them
 acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the Ciuill law
 gaue diuers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and
 had them liuing, those immunities they held although their children were
 all dead if warre had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against
 reason to repute them by a courteous construction of law as^f liue-men in that
 the honour of their seruice done to the common-wealth would remaine al-
 wayes. Can it hurt vs in exhibiting the graces which God doth bestow on
 men, or can it preiudice his glorie if the selfe-same equitie guide and direct
 our hands? When God made his couenant with such as had Abraham to their
 father, was onely Abrahams immediate issue, or onely his lineall posteritie
 according

^a Gal. 3. 3.

^b Stipulatio est
 uel bonum con-
 ceptio, quibus si
 qui interrogatur
 daturum factu-
 rumue se quod
 interrogatus est
 respondet. 1. 5. §.
 1. ff. de oblig. &
 act. In hac re-
 solim. a. in uerba
 tradita fuerunt.
 Spondes? Spon-
 deo. Promittis?
 Promitto. Fide
 promittis? Fide
 promitto. Fide
 iubes? Fide iu-
 beo. Dabis?
 Dabo. Facies?
 Faciam. Infit.
 de verb. obli. 3.
 tit. 15.

^c Gen. 17. 14.
^d Accommodat
 illis mater eccle-
 sia aliorum pedes
 ut ueniant. alio-
 rum cor ut cre-
 dent, aliorum
 linguam ut fac-
 teantur, ut quo-
 niam quod egredi-
 untur a se peccan-
 te pregrauan-
 tur, sic cum sani
 fiant a se pro eis
 consistente sal-
 uentur. Aug.
 serm. 10. de
 verb. Apost.
^e T. C. lib. 1.
 pag. 172.

^f Hi enim qui
 pro reb. cedea-
 runt in perpe-
 tuum per glo-
 riam uiuere in-
 telliguntur.
 Infit. lib. 2. tit.
 25. §. 1.

according to the flesh included in that covenant? Were not Profelites as well as Jewes alwaies taken for the sonnes of *Abraham*? Yea because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong vnto them, the seruants which *Abraham* had bought with money were as capable of Circumcision being newly borne as any naturall child that *Abraham* himselfe beget. Be it then that baptisme belongeth to none but such as either beleue presently, or else being infants are the children of beleeuing parents. In case the Church doe bring children to the holy font whose naturall parents are either vnkowne, or knowne to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that seueritie to take compassion vpon their offspring (for it is the Church which doth offer them to baptisme by the ministerie of presenters) were it not against both equitie and dutie to refuse the mother of beleeuers her selfe, & not to take her in this case for a faithful parent? It is not the vertue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can giue vs the true holines which we haue by vertue of our new birth. Yet euen through the common faith and spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no qualitie of parents can preiudice) I say through the faith of the Church of God vndertaking the motherly care of our soules, so farre forth wee may be, and are in our infancie sanctified as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of baptisme, & to be interessed in the rites of our new birth for their pieties sake that offer vs thereunto. It commeth sometime to passe (sayth *S. Augustine*) that the children of bond-slaves are brought to baptisme by their lord; sometime the parents being dead, the friends alius vndertake that office; sometime strangers or virgins consecrated vnto God, which neiher haue nor can haue children of their owne, take vp infants in the open streets and so offer them vnto baptisme, whom the crueltie of vnnaturall parents casteth out and leaueth to the aduenture of uncertaine pittie. As therfore he which did the part of a neighbour, was a neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Gospell describeth: so they are fathers although strangers, that bring infants to him which maketh them the sonnes of God. In the phraze of some kind of men they vse to be termed *witnesses*, as if they came but to see and testifie what is done. It saoureth more of pietie to giue them their old accustomed name of fathers and mothers in God, whereby they are well put in minde what affection they ought to beare towards those innocens, for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their owne dutie. But because the answer which they make to the vsuall demands of stipulation proposed in baptisme is not their owne, the Church doth best to receiue it of them in that forme which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a Guardian doth in the name of his Guard or pupill standeth by naturall equitie forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And shall we iudge it a thing vnreasonable, or in any respect vnfit, that infants by words which others vtter should though vawittingly yet truely and forcibly binde themselues to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith ^b Ne-

a Offeruntur quippe parulis ad percipiendam spirituales gratiam non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamuis et ab ipsis si et ipsi boni fideles sint, quam ab uniuersa societate sanctorum atque fidelium.

Augustin. epist. 22. ΑΓΙΟΥΤΑΙ ΝΕ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΔ ΤΩ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΕΠΙΘΗΤΑ ΜΙΣΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑΤΙ. ΝΙΣΙΝ ΤΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΟΥΚ ΟΥΚΙΟΝ.

b Si Arrianus aut Sabellianus hereticos adseruor esse et non tuo ipsius simbolo tecum vterer, conuincere me tamen testimoniorum factorum auctoritate, quid tandem si sic apud te egerem, quid diceret? quid respon-

deres? nonne obsecraui eud, in eo te baptizatum, in eo te reuatum esse? Et verè in negotio quamuis improbo non importuna defensione, et que non absurdè causam erroris diceret, si pertinaciam non sociaret errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica vrbe natus, Catholica fide insuatus Catholico baptisinate regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quasi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano possum? quod vti natus fuisses. Minus dolerem in malis editum quam de bonis lapsum, minus fidem non habitam quam amissam. Non iniquum autem hereticè, non iniquum aut græcè aliquid posulo. Hoc fac in Catholica fide editus quod fueras pro perueritate facturus, Cassia de incarn. lib. 6. cap. 5.

^a Tertul. lib. de
heretic.

Florius the Heretique was charged as hauing fallen from his first profession and broken the promise which he made to God in the armes of others. Of such as prophaned themselves being Christians with irreligious delight in the ensignes of idolatrie, heathenish spectacles, shoues, and stage-playes, **Tertullian* to strike them the more deepe claymeth the promise which they made in baptisme. Why were they dumbe being thus chalenged? Wherefore stood they not vp to answere in their owne defence, that such professions and promises made in their names were friuolous, that all which others vnderooke for them was but mockerie and profanation? That which no heretique, no wicked liuer, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himselfe bene baptised was euer so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received customes, is now their voice that restore as they say the ancient puritie of religion.

Of the Crosse
in Baptisme.

65 In Baptisme many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and cleane abolished, for that the vertue and grace of this Sacrament had bene therewith ouershadowed as fruit with too great abundance of leaues. Notwithstanding to them which thinke it alwaies imperfect reformation that doth but sheare and not flea, our retaining certaine of those former rites, especially the dangerous signe of the Crosse hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight. *The Crosse* (they say) *sith it is but a meere inuention of man, should not therefore at all haue been added to the sacrament of baptisme. To signe childrens foreheads with a Crosse, in token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to make profession of the faith of Christ, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Christ. That reason which moued the Fathers to vse should moue vs not to vse the signe of the Crosse. They liued with Heathens which had the Crosse of Christ in contempt, we wish such as adore the Crosse, and therefore wee ought to abandon it euen as in like consideration Ezechias did of old the brasen serpent.* These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the Crosse, a Ceremonie the vse whereof hath bene profitable although wee obserue it not as the ordinance of God but of man. For, sayth ^a *Tertullian*, *If of this and the like customes thou shouldst require some commandement to be shewed thee out of scriptures, there is none found.* What reason there is to iustifie traditiō, vse or custome in this behalfe, either thou mayst of thy selfe perceiue, or else learne of some other that doth. Lest therefore the name of tradition should be offensive to any, considering how farre by some it hath bene and is abused, we meane by ^b traditions, ordināces made in the prime of Christian religion, established with that authoritie which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; & in that consideration requisite to be obserued, till like authoritie see iust & reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions Ecclesiastical are not rudely and in grosse to be shaken off, because the inuentors of them were men. Such as say they allow no ^c inuention of men to be mingled with the outward administration of Sacraments, and vnder that pretence condemne our vsing the signe of the Crosse, haue belike some speciall dispensation themselves to violate their

^a Tertul. de
coro. militis.
^b Traditiones
non scriptas si
doctrinam re-
spiciant cum
doctrina scripta
conuenire de-
bere dicimus.
Quod ad ritua-
les & Ecclesi-
asticas attinet,
ordinis & edi-
ficationis Eccle-
siarum in his se-
mp habenda
ratio est; inuti-
les autem &
noxias nempe
ineptas & su-
perstitiosas sa-
cramentis suis relinquamus.

Goulart, Geneuenf. anno. in Epist. Cypr. 74. ^c *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 171.* They should not haue bene so bold as to haue brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptisme; and so mingle the ceremonies and inuentions of men with the Sacraments and institutions of God.

owne rules. For neither can they indeed decently nor doe they euer baptise any without manifest breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inuentions should not be mingled with sacraments and institutions of God.* They seeme to like very well in baptisme the custome of Godfathers, ^a *because so generally all Churches haue receiued it.* Which custome being of God no more instituted then the other (howsoever they pretend the other hurtfull, and this profitable) it followeth that euen in their owne opinion, if their words doe shew their minds, there is no necessitie of stripping sacraments out of all such attire of Ceremonies as mans wisdom hath at any time clothed them withall, and consequently that either they must reforme their speech as ouer-generall, or else condemne their owne practice as vnlawfull. Ceremonies haue more in weight then in sight, they worke by commonnesse of vse much, although in the seuerall acts of their vsage we scarcely discern any good they doe. And because the vse which they haue for the most part is not perfectly vnderstood, superstition is apt to impute vnto them greater vertue then indeed they haue. For preuention whereof, when we vse this Ceremonie we alwaies plainly expresse the end whereunto it serueth, namely, for a signe of remembrance to put vs in mind of our dutie. But by this meane they say we make it a great deale ^b worse. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the dutie which we owe vnto Christ, our practice with this exposition publisheth a new *Gospell*, and causeth an other *Word* to haue place in the Church of Christ, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reason the authors of those graue admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen vp, which held that *sitting at Communion betokeneth rest and full accomplishment of legall Ceremonies in our Sauiour Christ.* For although it be the word of God that such Ceremonies are expired, yet seeing it is not the word of God that men to signifie so much should sit at the Table of our Lord, these haue their doome as well as others, *Guilty of a new deuised Gospell in the Church of Christ.* Which strange imagination is begotten of a speciall dislike they haue to heare, that Ceremonies now in vse should be thought significant, whereas in truth such as are not significant must needs be vaine. Ceremonies destitute of signification are no better then the idle gestures of men, whose broken wits are not masters of that they doe. For if we looke but into secular and ciuill complements, what other cause can there possibly be giuen why to omit them where of course they are looked for, for where they are not so due to vse them bringeth mens secret intents oftentimes into great ieaousie, I would know I say what reason wee are able to yeeld why things so light in their owne nature should weigh in the opinions of men so much, sauing onely in regard of that which they vse to signifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe impute the omission of some courteous Ceremonies euen in domesticall intertainment to a colder degree of louing affection, and take the contrarie in better part, not so much respecting what was lesse done as what was signified lesse by the one then by the other? For to that very end he referreth in part of those gracious expostulations, *Simon, seest thou this woman? since I entred into thine house thou gauest me no water for my feet, but she hath washed my feet with teares, and wiped them with the haire of her head; thou gauest mee no kisse, but this woman since the time I*

^a T. C. L. p. 170.
The profitable signification of the crosse maketh the thing a great deale worse, and bringeth in a new word into the Church, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but onely our Sauiour Christ. For although it be the word of God that we should not be ashamed of the crosse of Christ, yet is it not the word of God that we should be kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawne a crosse one ouer another in the childs forehead.
^c Luke 7. 44.

came in hath not ceased to kisse my feet; mine head with oyle thou didst not anoynt, but this woman hath anoynted my feet with oymnt. Wherefore as the vnuall dumbe Ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import, euen so religion hauing likewise her silent rites, the chiefest rule whereby to iudge of their qualitie is that which they meane or betoken. For if they signifie good things (as somewhat they must of necessitie signifie because it is of their very nature to bee signes of intimation presenting both themselues vnto outward sense and besides themselues some other thing to the vnderstanding of beholders) vnlesse they bee either greatly mischosens to signifie the same, or else applied where that which they signifie agreeth not, there is no cause of exception against them as against euill and vnlawfull Ceremonies, much lesse of excepting against them onely in that they are not without sense. And if eucry religious Ceremonie which hath bene inuenced of men to signifie any thing that God himselfe alloweth were the publication of another Gospell in the Church of Christ, seeing that no Christian Church in the world is or can bee without continuall vse of some Ceremonies which men haue instituted, and that to signifie good things (vnlesse they bee vaine and friuolous Ceremonies (it would follow that the world hath no Christian Church which doth not daily proclaime new Gospels, a scele of the manifest absurditie whereof argueth the rawnesse of that supposall out of which it groweth. Now the^a cause why antiquitie did the more in actions of common

^a T.C.lib.1.
pag.110. It is
knowne to all
that haue read
the Ecclesiasti-
cal stories that

the Heathen did obiect to Christians in times past in reproch that the God which they beleueed on was hanged vpon a Crosse. And they thought good to resist that they were not ashamed therefore of the Sonne of God, by the often vsing of the signe of the Crosse. Which carefulnesse and good mind to keepe amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified although it bee to be commended, yet is not this meanes so. For they might otherwise haue kept it and with lesse danger then by this vse of crossing. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, so the Lord left a marke of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceiued to come out of the forge of mans braine, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the swadling cloutes to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would doe nothing without Crossing. But if it were granted that vpon this consideration which I haue before mentioned, the ancient Christians did well yet it followeth not that we should so doe. For we liue not amongst those nations which doe cast vs in the teeth or reproch vs with the Crosse of Christ. Now that we liue amongst Papists that do not contemne the Crosse of Christ, but which esteeme more of the woddan Crosse then of the true Crosse which is his sufferings, we ought now to doe cleane contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all vse of these Crosses. For contrarie diseases must haue contrarie remedies. If therefore the old Christians to deliuer the Crosse of Christ from concept did often vse the Crosse, the Christians now to take away the superstitious estimation of it ought to take away the vse of it.

^b Ephes. 5.12. Rom. 6.21.

vs an admonition no lesse necessarie then for them to glorie in the seruice of Iesus Christ, and not to hang downe our heads as men ashamed thereof although it procure vs reproch and oblique at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of feare to incurre disgrace and ignominie. Now whereas some things are worthe of reproch, some things ignominious onely through a false opinion which men haue conceiued of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension must by reason and religion be^b taught what it should bee ashamed of, and what not. But be we neuer so well instructed what our dutie is in this behalfe, without some pre-

sent admonition at the very instant of practice, what we know is many times not called to minde till that bee done whereupon our iust confusion ensueth. To supplie the absence of such as that way might doe vs good when they see vs

in danger of sliding, there are ^a judicious and wise men which thinke wee may greatly relieue our selues by a bare imagined presence of some, whose authoritie we feare and would be loath to offend, if indeed they were present with vs. Witnesse at hand are a bridle vnto many offences. Let the minde haue alwaies some whom it feareth, some whose authoritie may keepe euen secret thoughts vnder awe. Take *Cato*, or if he be too harsh and rugged, chuse some other of a softer mettle, whose grauitie of life and speech thou louest, his minde and countenance carrie with thee, set him alwaies before thine eyes either as a watch or as a patterne. That which is crooked wee cannot streighten but by some such leuell. If men of so good experience and insight in the maimes of our weake flesh, haue thought these fancied remembrances auailable to awaken shamefastnesse, that so the boldnesse of sinne may be stayed ere it looke abroad, surely the wisdom of the Church of Christ which hath to that vse conuerted the Ceremonie of the Crosse in Baptisme, it is no Christian mans part to despise, especially seeing that by this meane, where nature doth earnestly importe aide, religion yeeldeth her that readie assistance then which there can be no helpe more forcible, seruing onely to relieue memorie, and to bring to our cogitation that which should most make ashamed of sinne. The minde while wee are in this present lie ^b whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howsoeuer exercise it selfe, worketh nothing without continuall recourse vnto imagination the onely store-house of wit, and peculiar chaire of memorie. On this anuile it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by meanes wherof, as the pulse declareth how the heart doth worke, so the very ^c thoughts and cogitations of mans mind be they good or bad doe no where sooner bewray themselves, then through the creuelles of that wall wherewith nature hath compassed the cells and closets of fancie. In the forehead nothing more plaine to be seene then the feare of contumelie and disgrace. For which cause the Scripture (as with great probabilitie it may be thought) describeth them ^d marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercie hath vndertaken to keepe from finall confusion and shame. Not that God doth set any corporall marke on his chosen, but to note that he giueth his elect securitie of preservation from reproch, the feare wherof doth vse to shew it selfe ^e in that part. Shall I say that the signe of the Crosse (as we vse it) is in some sort a meane to worke our ^f preservation from reproch? Surely the minde which as yet hath not hardened it selfe in sin is seldome prouoked thereunto in any grosse and grieuous manner, but natures secret suggestion objected against it ignominie as a barre. Which concept being entred into that palace of mans fancie, the gates wherof haue imprinted in them that holy signe which bringeth forthwith to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought and wee vowed against sinne, it commeth hereby to passe, that Christian men neuer want a most effectuell though a silent teacher to auoid whatsoever may deseruedly procure shame. So that in things which we should be ashamed of we are by the crosse admonished faithfully of our dutie at the very moment when admonition doth most need. Other things there are which deserue honour and yet doe purchase many times our disgrace in this present world, as of old the very truth of religion it selfe, till God by his owne outstretched arme made the glorie thereof to shine ouer all the earth.

a Senec. Ep. 11. lib. 1.

b Το νοῦν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ ἐν ἀνευ φαντασίας. *Arist. de anim. l. 1. c. 1.*
 Η μὲν ἀίσθητικὴ φαντασία ἐστὶν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ὡς πᾶρχει, ἢ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. *lib. 3. c. 11.*
 Τα μὲν οὖν εἶδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντασμασι νοῦ. ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ἄρισται αὐτῷ τὸ διανοητικὸν φευνκτὸν, ὡς ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθησεως οὐδὲ ὅσα ἐστὶ τῶν φαντασματων ἢ κινεῖται. *lib. 3. cap. 8.*
 c Front hominis tristitia, hilaritatis clementie, fuerit tuis index *est Pbn. lib. 11.*
 d *Exech. 9. 4.*
 A. oc. 7. 3. 9. 4.
 e *Ephraim uocatur γὰρ οἱ ἀσχυνομενοι.*
Arist. Eth. 4. c. 9.
 f *Cato signatur ut & anima mutator. Ter. de resur. car.*

Where-

^a Cypri. Epi. 56.
ad Thibarianos.

Whereupon ^a Saint Cyprian exhorting to martyrdom in times of heathenish persecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage vnto them with other arguments the very Ceremonie of that Crosse whereof wee speake. Neuer let that hand offer sacrifice to idols which hath alreadie receiued the bodie of our Sauour Christ and shall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *arme your foreheads vnto all boldnesse that the signe of God may bee kept safe.* Againe, when it pleased God that the furie of their enemies being bridled the Church had some little rest and quietnesse, (if so small a libertie but onely to breath betweene troubles may be termed quietnesse and rest) to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, hee giueth due and deserued praise in the selfe-same manner, ^b *You that were readie to indure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that haue courageously withstood the world, yee haue made your selues both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the rest of your brethren to follow. Those mouthes which had sanctified themselues with food comming downe from heauen, loathed after Christs owne bodie and bloud to taste the poisoned and contagious scraps of idols; those foreheads which the signe of God had purified, kept themselues to bee crowned by him, the touch of the ^c garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that signe which they had in baptisme a kind of barre or preuention to keepe them euen from apostasie, whereunto the frailtie of flesh and bloud ouermuch fearing to indure shame, might peraduenture the more easily otherwise haue drawne them. We haue not now through the gracious goodnesse of almighty God, those extreme conflicts which our fathers had with blasphemous contumelies euery where offered to the name of Christ, by such as professed themselues infidels and vnbeleeuers. Howbeit, vnlesse wee be strangers to the age wherein we liue, or else in some partiall respect dissemblers of that we hourelly both heare and see, there is not the simplest of vs but knoweth with what disdain and scorne Christ is honoured farre and wide. Is there any burthen in the world more heauie to beare then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieueth as theirs doth, whose qualitie no way making them lesse worthie then others are of reputation, only the seruice which they doe to Christ in the daily exercise of religion treadeth them downe? Doth any contumelie which wee sustaine for religions sake pierce so deeply as that which would seeme euen of meere conscience religiously spitefull? when they that honour God are despised; when the chiefeest seruice of honour that man can doe vnto him is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greatest sinceritie, doe with more then heathenish petulancie trample vnder foot almost whatsoever either wee or the whole Church of God by the space of so many ages haue bene accustomed vnto for the comlier and better exercise of our religion, according to the soundest rules that wisdom, directed by the word of God and by long experience confirmed, hath bene able with common aduice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehend; when no man fighting vnder Christs banner can be alwayes exempted from seeing or sustayning those indignities, the sting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to bee moued thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and bloud: if this bee any obiekt for patience to worke on,

the

^c Erant enim supplices conuarij. Tertul. lib. de coro. mil. In the seruice of idols the doores of their Temples, the sacrifices, the alters, the Priests and the supplicants that we represent wore garlands.

the strictest bond that thereunto tyeth vs is our vowed obedience of Christ; the solemnest vow that wee ever made to obey Christ and to suffer willingly all reproches for his sake was made in baptisme; and amongst other memorials to keepe vs mindfull of that vow wee cannot thinke that the signe which our new baptised foreheads did there receiue is either vnfit or vnforcible, the reasons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will say) the crosse in our foreheads, but in our hearts the faith of Christ that armeth vs with patience; constancie and courage. Which as wee graunt to be most true, so neither dare we despise no nor the meanest helps that serue though it be but in the very lowest degree of furtherance towards the highest seruices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that such Ceremonies are auailable at the least as memorials of dutie, or doe thinke that himselfe hath no neede to bee so put in minde what our duties are, it is but reasonable that in the one the publike experience of the world ouerweigh some few mens perswasion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few confidend vnto common imbecillitie. Seeing therefore that to feare shame which doth worthily follow sinne, and to beare vnderferued reproch constantly is the generall dutie of all men professing Christianitie, seeing also that our weakenesse while wee are in this present world doth neede towards spirituall duties the helpe euen of corporall furtherances, and that by reason of naturall intercourse betweene the highest and the lowest powers of mans minde in all actions, his phancie or imagination carrying in it that speciall note of remembrance then which there is nothing more forcible where either too weake or too strong a concept of insamie and disgrace might doe great harme, standeth alwaies readie to put forth a kind of necessarie helping hand, wee are in that respect to acknowledge the ^a good and profitable vse of this Ceremonie, and not to thinke it superfluous that Christ hath his marke applyed ^b vnto that part where bashfulnesse appeareth, in token that they which are Christians should bee at no time ashamed of his ignominie. But to prevent some inconueniences which might ensue if the ouer ordinarie vse thereof (as it fareth with such rites when they are too common) should cause it to bee of lesse obseruation or regard where it most auaiileth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar as the custome heretofore hath beene: although to condemne the whole Church of God when it most flourished in zeale and pietie, to marke that age with the brand of errour and superstition only, because they had this Ceremonie more in vse then we now thinke needfull, boldly to affirme that this their practice grew so soone through a fearefull malediction of God vpon the Ceremonie of the Crosse as if wee knew that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all mens eyes how execrable those things are in his sight which haue proceeded from humane inuention, is as we take it a censure of greater zeale then knowledge. Men whose iudgements in these cases are growne more moderate, although they retaine not as we doe the vse of this Ceremonie, perceiue notwithstanding very well such censures to bee out of square, and do therefore not only ^c acquit the Fathers from superstition therein, but also thinke it sufficient to answere in excuse of them selues, *This ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent euen of old wee iudge not at this day a matter

a πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυσικὸν τῶν τοῦτων καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτῶν.

Arist. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 6.

b Quia rex leprosus variat in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notissima offensio Dominus ubi signatur qui Dominum promerentur.

Cyr. de unig.

Eccles. cap. 16.

c Gouleri. Annot. in Cyr. lib.

ad Demetr. cap.

Quamuis veteres, Christiani

externo signo crucis vsuntur id

tamen fuit sine

superstitione,

& doctrina de

Christi merito

ab errore qui postea irrepsit pios

seruauit immunes.

* idem annot. in

Cyr. ep. 56. c. 7.

necessarie

necessarie for all Christian mento obserue. As for their last vpshot of all towards this marke, they are of opinion that if the auncient Christians to deliuer the Crosse of Christ from contempt did well and with good consideration vse often the signe of the Crosse in testimonie of their faith and profession before infidels which vpbraided them with Christs sufferings, now that wee liue with such as contrariwise adore the signe of the Crosse (because contrarie diseases should alwayes haue contrarie remedies) we ought to take away all vse thereof. In which conceipt they both wayes greatly seduce themselues, first for that they imagine the Fathers to haue had no vse of the Crosse, but with reference vnto infidels, which misperswasion we haue before discouered at large; and secondly by reason that they thinke there is not any other way besides vniuersall extirpation to reforme superstitious abuses of the Crosse. Wherein because there are that stand very much vpon the example of *Ezechias*, as if his

21. Reg. 18. 3. *breaking to peeces that serpent of brasse wherunto the children of Israel had burnt incense,* did enforce the vtter abilation of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous prince is by so much the more attentiuely to be considered. Our liues in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes by discourse of wit our duties in euery particular action is both troublesome and many times so full of difficultie, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obserue examples, to marke what others haue done before vs, and in the fauor of our owne ease rather to follow them then to enter into new consultation, if in regard of their vertue and wisdom we may but probably thinke they haue waded without error. So that the willingnesse of men to be led by example of others both discouereth and helpeth the imbecillitie of our iudgement. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud wits would alwayes seeme to bee their owne guides; and because it doth the other, wee see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawne vnto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reasons alleaged. Reasons prouing that which is more particular by things more generall and farther from sense are with the simpler sort of men lesse trusted, for that they doubt of their owne iudgement in those things; but of examples which prooue vnto them one doubtfull particular by an other more familiarly and sensibly knowne, they easily perceiue in themselues some better abilitie to iudge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtfull what to do wee are informed what others haue commendable done whose deliberations were like. But whosoever doth perswade by example, must as well respect the fitnessse as the goodnesse of that he alleageth. To *Ezechias* God himselfe in this fact giueth testimonie of well-doing. So that nothing is heere questionable but onely whether the example alleaged bee pertinent, pregnant and strong. The serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinarie and *miraculous cure* of the Israelites in the desert. This vse hauing presently an end when the cause for which God ordeined it was once remoued, the thing it selfe they notwithstanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercie*, as in like consideration they did the pot of Manna, the rod of *Aaron*, and the sword which *Dauid* tooke from *Goliath*. In proesse of time they made of a monument of diuine power

power a plaine idoll, they burnt incense before it contrarie to the law of God, and did it the seruices of honour due vnto God onely. Which grosse and grieuous abuse continued till Ezechias restoring the puritie of sound religion, destroyed vtterly that which had been so long and so generally a snare vnto them. It is not amisse which the^a Canon law hereupon concludeth, namely, that if ^a *Dist. 6. 3. c. Quia.* our predecessors haue done some things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward bee turned to errour and superstition, wee are taught by Ezechias breaking the brasen Serpent that posteritie may destroy them without any delay, and with great authoritie. But may it bee simply and without exception hereby gathered, that posteritie is bound to destroy whatsoeuer hath bene either at the first inuented, or but afterwards turned to like superstition and errour? No it cannot be. The Serpent therefore and the signe of the Crosse although seeming equall in this point that superstition hath abused both, yet being herein also vnequall, that neither they haue bene both subiect to the like degree of abuse, not were in hardnesse of redresse alike, it may bee that euen as the one for abuse was religiously taken away, so now, when religion hath taken away abuse from the other, wee should by vtter abolition thereof deserue hardly his commendation, whose example there is offred vs no such necessarie cause to follow. For by the words of Ezechias in terming the Serpent but a *lump of brasse*, to shew that the best thing in it now was the mettall or matter whereof it consisted, wee may probably coniecture, that the people whose errour is therein contrould had the selfe-same opinion of it which the Heathens had of idols, they thought that the power of deitie was with it, and when they saw it dissolued happely they might to comfort themselues imagine as *Olimpius* the Sophister did beholding the dissipation of idols, ^b *Shapes and counterfeits they were, fashioned of matter subiect vnto corruption, therefore to grinde them to dust was easie, but those caelestiall powers which dwelt and resided in them are ascended into heauen.* ^b *Saxom. lib. 7. cap. 15.* Some difference there is betweene these opinions of palpable idolatrie, and that which the schooles in speculation haue bouted out concerning the Crosse. Notwithstanding for as much as the Church of Rome hath hetherto practised and doth professe the same adoration to the signe of the Crosse, and neither lesse nor other then is due vnto Christ himselfe, howsoeuer they varnish and qualifie their sentence, pretending that the Crosse, which to outward sense presenteth visible it selfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret surmise or concept a reference to the person of our Lord Iesus Christ, so that the honour which they ioyntly doe to both, respecteth principally his person, and the Crosse but onely for his persons sake, the people not accustomed to trouble their wits with so nice and subtle differences in the exercise of religion are apparently no lesse insnared by adoring the Crosse, then the Iewes by burning incense to the brasen Serpent. It is by ^c *Thomas* ingeniously granted, that because ^c *Th. p. 3. q. 25. art. 3. resp. ad 1. et.* vnto reasonable creatures a kind of reuerence is due for the excellencie which is in them, and whereby they resemble God, therefore if reasonable creatures, angels or men should receiue at our hands holy and diuine honour as the signe of the Crosse doth at theirs, to pretend that wee honour not them alone, but wee honour God with them, would not serue the turne, neither would

would this bee able to prevent the error of men or cause them alwaies to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the obiekt before them. But vnto this hee addeth that no such error can grow by adoring in that sort a dead image, which euery man knoweth to bee voide of excellencie in it selfe, and therefore will easily conceiue that the honour done vnto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, seeing that wee haue by ouer true experience beene taught how often, especially in these cases, the light euen of common vnderstanding faileth, surely their vsuall adoration of the Crosse is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde wee are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceiue, then what some few mens wits may deuise in construction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a false opinion of some personall diuine excellencie to bee in those things which either nature or arte hath framed, causeth alwaies religious adoration. And as plaine that the like adoration applyed vnto things sensible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaueth imprinted in them the very same opinion of deitie from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in it selfe, the more they incline to thinke that euery man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a presence of diuine power. Bee it therefore true that Crosses purposely framed or vsed for receipt of diuine honour, bee euen as scandalous as the brazen Serpent it selfe, where they are in such sort adored. Should wee hereupon thinke our selues in the sight of God and in conscience charged to abolish utterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Crosse, neither meant at the first, nor now conuerted vnto any such offensiuē purpose? Did the Iewes which could neuer bee perswaded to admit in the Citie of Ierusalem that ^a image of *Casar* which the Romanes were accustomed ^b to adore, make any scruple of ^c *Casars* image in the Coine which they knew very well that men were not wont to worship? Betweene the Crosse which superstition honoureth as ^d Christ, and that *Ceremonie* of the Crosse which serueth onely for a signe of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference as betweene those ^e brazen Images which *Salomon* made to beare vp the Cesterne of the Temple, and (sith both were of like shape but of vnlike vse) ^f that which the Israelites in the wilderness did adore; or betweene the ^g altars which *Iosias* destroyed because they were instruments of meere Idolatrie, and ^h that which the tribe of *Ruben* with others erected neere to the riuer Iordan, for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their brethren suspected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the law of God, accused of backwardnesse in religion, vpbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*, as if the building of their altar in that place had giuen manifest shew of no better then intended Apostasie, till by a true declaration made in their owne defense, it appeared that such as misliked misunderstoode their enterprise, in as much as they had no intent to build any altar for sacrifice which God would haue no where offered sauing in Ierusalem onely, but to a farre other ende and purpose, which beeing opened satisfied all parts, and so deliuered them from causelesse blame. In this particular suppose the worst,

imagine

^a *Ioseph. Antig.*
^b *lib. 17. cap. 8. &*
^c *lib. 18. cap. 5. &*
^d *de bell. li. 2. c. 8.*
^e Their Eagles
 their ensignes,
 and the ima-
 ges of their
 Princes they
 carried with
 them in all
 their armies,
 and had al-
 waies a kind
 of Cnappell
 wherein they
 placed and
 adored them as
 their Gods
^f *Die. lib. 40.*
^g *Herodia. li. 4.*
^h *Ma. 1b. 22. 20.*
ⁱ *2. Chro. 4. 3.*
^j *Exod. 32. 4.*
^k *2. Chro. 34. 7.*
^l *Iosu. 22. 10.*

imagine that the immateriall Ceremonie of the Crosse had beene the subiect
 of as grosse pollution as any Heathenish or prophane Idoll. If wee thinke the
 example of *Ezechias* a prooffe, that things which Errour and Superstition hath
 abused, may in no consideration bee tolerated, although wee presently finde
 them not subiect to so vile abuse, the plaine Example of *Ezechias* prooueth the
 contrarie. The Temples and Idols which vnder *Salomon* * had beene of very
 purpose framed for the honour of forraine Gods, *Ezechias* destroyed not, be-
 cause they stood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly
 they had done harme. ^a *Iosias*, for some inconuenience afterwards, razed them
 vp. Yet to both there is one commendation giuen euen from God himselfe,
 that touching ^b matter of Religion they walked in the steps of *Dauid*, and
 did no way displease God. Perhaps it seemeth that by force and vertue of this
 Example, although it bare detestation and hatred of Idolatrie, all things which
 haue beene at any time worshipped are not necessarily to bee taken out of the
 World, neuerthelesse for remedie and preuention of so great offences, wisdom
 should iudge it the safest course to remooue altogether from the eyes of men
 that which may put them in mind of euill. Some kinds of euill, no doubt, there
 are very quicke in working on those affections that most easily take fire, which
 euils should in that respect no oftner then need requireth bee brought in pre-
 sence of weake minds. But neither is the Crosse any such euill, nor yet the brazen
 Serpent it selfe so strongly poysoned, that our eyes, eares and thoughts ought
 to hun them both, for feare of some deadly harme to ensue the onely repre-
 sentation thereof by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant meanes. And
 for mine owne part I most assuredly perswade my selfe, that had *Ezechias* (till
 the daies of whose most vertuous Reigne they ceased not continually to burne
 Incense to the Brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though sometime a-
 dored, yet at that time recovered from the euill of so grosse abuse, and reduced
 to the same that was before in the time of *Dauid*, at which time they esteemed
 it onely as a memoriall, signe, or monument of Gods miraculous goodnesse to-
 wards them, euen as we in no other sort esteeme the Ceremonie of the Crosse,
 the due consideration of an vse so harmelesse, common to both, might no
 lesse haue wrought their equall preservation, their different occasion haue pro-
 cured, notwithstanding the ones extinguishment, the others lawfull conti-
 nuance. In all perswasions, which ground themselues vpon Example, we are
 not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements lea-
 ding thereunto. The question being therefore, whether this Ceremonie sup-
 posed to haue beene *sometimes* scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause
 to be *now* remooued, there is no reason wee should forthwith yeeld our selues
 to bee carried away with Example, no not of them whose acts the highest
 iudgement approoueth for hauing reformed in that manner any publike euill:
 but before wee either attempt any thing or resolute, the state and condition as
 well of our owne affaires as theirs whose Example presseth vs, is aduisedly to
 be examined, because some things are of their owne nature scandalous, and
 cannot choose but breed offence, as those * Sinkes of execrable filth which
Iosias did ouerwhelme; some things, albeit not by nature and of themselues,

* 1.Reg.11.17.

a 2.Reg.23.13.

b 2.Reg.18.3.6.

2.Reg.22.2.

* 2.Reg.23.7.

are notwithstanding so generally turned to euill, by reason of an euill corrupt habit growne, and through long continuance incurably settled in the mindes of the greatest part, that no redresse can be well hoped for, without remouall of that wherein they haue ruined themselues, which plainly was the state of the Iewish people, and the cause why *Ezechias* did with such suddaine indignation destroy what hee saw worshipped; finally, some things are as the signe of the Crosse, though subiect either almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facilitie and ease. And to speake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to destroy that which may bee fruitfully kept, and without any great difficultie cleane scowred from the rust of euill, which by some accident hath growne into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this question vpon the Example of *Ezechias*, let this suffice. When Heathens despised Christian Religion, because of the sufferings of Iesus Christ, the Fathers, to testifie how litle such contumelies & contempts preuailed with them, chose rather the signe of the Crosse, then any other outward marke, whereby the World might most easily discern alwayes what they were. On the contrary side now, whereas they which doe all professe the Christian Religion are diuided amongst themselues, and the fault of the one part is, that the zeale to the Sufferings of Christ they admire too much, and ouer-superstitiously adore the Visible signe of his Crosse, if you aske, what we that mislike them, should doe, wee are here aduised to cure one contrarie by another. Which Arte or Methode is not yet so currant as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it bee their meaning that the scope and drift of Reformation, when things are faultie, should bee to settle the Church in the contrarie, it standeth them vpon to beware of this rule, because seeing Vices haue not onely Vertues, but other Vices also in nature opposite vnto them, it may bee dangerous in these cases to seeke but that which wee finde contrarie to present euils. For in sores and sicknesses of the minde wee are not simply to measure good by distance from euill, because one Vice may in some respect be more opposite to another, then either of them to that Vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberalitie and Couetousnesse, the one a Vertue and the other a Vice, are not so contrarie as the vices of Couetousnesse and Prodigalitie; Religion and Superstition haue more affiance, though the one bee Light and the other Darknesse, then Superstition and Prophane-nesse, which both are vicious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth also to passe, that the meane, which is Vertue, seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremitie; the liberall hearted man is by the opinion of the Prodigall miserable, and by the iudgement of the Miserable lauish; Impietie for the most part vpbraideth Religion as superstitious, which Superstition often accuseth as impious, both so conceiuing thereof because it doth seeme more to participate each extreme, then one extreme doth another, and is by consequent lesse contrarie to either of them, then they mutually betweene themselues. Now, if hee that seeketh to reforme Couetousnesse or Superstition, should but labour to induce the contrarie, it were but to draw men out of Lime into Cole-dust. So that their course which will remedie the

the superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church is not still to abolish utterly the vse thereof, because not vsing at all is most opposite to ill vsing, but rather if it may be, to bring them backe to a right perfect and religious vsage, which albeit lesse contrarie to the present sore, is notwithstanding the better and by many degrees the sounder way of recouerie. And vnto this effect that verie precedent it selfe which they propose may bee best followed. For as the Fathers, when the Crosse of Christ was in vtter contempt, did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare that they so esteemed it as was meet: in like manner where wee find the Crosse to haue that honour which is due to Christ, is it not as lawfull for vs to retaine it in that estimation which it ought to haue, and in that vse which it had of old without offence, as by taking it cleane away to seeme followers of their Example, which cure willfully by abscision that which they might both preferue and heale? Touching therefore the Signe and Ceremonie of the Crosse, wee no way find our selues bound to relinquish it, neyther because the first Inuentors thereof were but mortall men, nor left the sense and signification wee giue vnto it should burthen vs as Authors of a new Gospell in the Houe of God, nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more then we haue to vse the same, nor finally for any such offence or scandall as heretofore it hath bene subiect vnto by error now reformed in the minds of men.

66 The ancient custome of the Church was, after they had baptized, to adde thereunto Imposition of hands, with effectuall Prayer for the * illumination of Gods most holy Spirit, to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the same Spirit had alreadye begunne in Baptisme. For our meanes to obayne the graces which God doth bestow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are auayleable as well for others as for our selues. To pray for others, is to blesse them for whom we pray, because Prayer procureth the blessing of God vpon them, especially the Prayer of such as God eyther most respecteth for their Pietie and Zeale that way, or else regardeth, for that their place & calling bindeth them about others vnto this duty, as it doth both naturall and spirituall Fathers. With Prayers of spirituall and personall Benediction, the manner hath bene in all Ages to vse *Imposition of hands*, as a Ceremonie betokening our restrained desires to the partie, whom we present vnto God by Prayer. Thus when ^a Israel blessed Ephraim and Manasses Iosephs Sonnes, hee imposed vpon them his hands and prayed, *God in whose sight my Fathers ABRAHAM and ISAAC did walke, God which hath fed me all my life long vnto this day, & the Angel which hath deliuered me from all euill, blesse these children.* The Prophets which healed diseases by Prayer, vsed therein the selfe-same Ceremonie. And therefore ^b when Elizeus willed Naaman to wash himselfe seuen times in Iordan for cure of his foule disease, it much offended him: *I thought (saith he) with my selfe, Surely the man will come forth and stand and call vpon the Name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may so heale the Leprosie.* In ^d Consecrations & Ordinations of men vnto roomes of diuine calling, the like was vsually done from the time of *Moses* to Christ. Their sutes that come vnto Christ for helpe were also rendered oftentimes, and are expressed in * such formes or phrases of speech, as shew that he was himselfe an obseruer of the same custome. Howchick

Of Confirmation after Baptisme.

* Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut anima spiritum illuminetur.

Tertull de Resur. car.

^a Gen. 48. 14.

^b 2. Reg. 5. 11.

^d Numb. 27. 18.

^e Mat. 9. 18.
Mar. 5. 23. 2. 22.

with Imposition of Hands and Prayer did so great Workes of Mercie for re-
stitution of bodily health, was worthily iudged as able to effect the infusion
of heavenly grace into them, whose age was not yet depraved with that malice
which might be supposed a barre to the goodnesse of God towards them.

* Mat. 19. 13.
Mat. 10. 13.
Luke 18. 15.

They * brought him therefore yong Children to put *his hands* vpon them
and pray. After the Ascension of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, that
which he had begunne continued in the daily practice of his Apostles, whose
Prayer and Imposition of hands, were a meane whereby thousands became
partakers of the wonderfull gifts of God; The Church had receiued from Christ

1 Mat. 16. 17.

1 a promise, that such as beleueed in him, these signes and tokens should follow
them, *To cast out Devils, to speake with tongues, to driue away Serpents, to be free
from the harme which any deadly poyson could work, and to cure diseases by Impo-
sition of hands.* Which power, common at the first in a manner vnto all Beleueers,
all Beleueers had not power to deriue or communicate vnto all other men, but
whosoever was the instrument of God to instruct, conuert and baptize them,

m Acts 19. 6.

n Acts 8. 17. 18

m the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghost they had
not, but onely at the Apostles owne hands. For which cause n *Simon Magus*
perceiuing that power to be in none but them, and presuming that they which
had it might sell it, sought to purchase it of them with money. And as miracu-
lous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles times (for saith o *Irenaeus*)

o Iren. 2. c. 57.

*They which are truly his Disciples, do in his Name and through grace receiued from
him, such workes for the benefit of other men, as euery of them is by him inabled to
work; Some cast out Devils, in so much as they which are deliuered from wicked spi-
rits haue bin thereby wonne vnto Christ, and doe constantly perseuere in the Church
and Societie of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the
grace of Visions from God and the gift of Propheticall Predictions; Some by laying
on their hands, restore them to healib which are grievously afflicted with sicknesse;
yea there are that of dead haue bin made aliue, & haue afterwards many yeeres con-
uersed with vs; What should I say? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath in-
riched his Church throughout the World, and by vertue whereof in the Name of
Christ crucified vnder PONTIVS PILATE, the Church euery day doth many Won-
ders for the good of Nations, neyther fraudulently nor in any respect of lucre and
gaine to her selfe, but as freely bestowing as God on her hath bestowed his diuine
graces: so it no where appeareth, that euer any did Prayer & Imposition of hands
sithence the Apostles times, make others partakers of the like miraculous gifts
and graces as long as it pleased God to continue the same in his Church, but
onely Bishops the Apostles Successors for a time, euen in that power.* S. Augu-
stine acknowledgeth, that such gifts were not permitted to last alwayes, lest men
should waxe cold with the commonnesse of that, the strangenesse whereof at
the first inflamed them. Which words of Saint Augustine declaring how
the vulgar vse of these Miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the
like extraordinarie graces more rarely obserued in some, eyther then or of later
dayes. Now whereas the Successors of the Apostles had but onely for a time
such power as by Prayer and Imposition of hands to bestow the holy Ghost;
The reason wherefore Confirmation, neuertheless by Prayer and Laying on
of hands hath hitherto alwayes continued, is for other very speciall benefits*

* Aug. de vera
Relig. cap. 25.

which

which the Church thereby inioyeth. The Fathers euery where impute vnto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh vs first Christian men, but when we are made such, assisteth vs in all vertue, armeth vs against temptation and sinne. For after Baptisme administred, *there followeth* (saith ^a TERTVL-
 ELIAN) *Imposition of hands with inuocation and inuitation of the Holy Ghost, which willingly commeth downe from the Father to rest vpon the purified and blessed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptisme a fit seat.* S. ^b CYPRIAN in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here especially was respected, *How great* (saith he) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptisme) *inabled, being not onely withdrawne from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor onely so purified and made cleane that no staine or blemish of the Enemies inuasion doth remayne, but ouer and besides* (namely, through Prayer and Imposition of Hands) *becommeth yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so farre as to raigne with a kind of Imperiall dominion ouer the whole Band of that roming & spoyling Aduersary!* As much is signified by ^c EUSEBIUS EMISSENVS, saying, *The Holy Ghost which descendeth with saving influence vpon the waters of Baptisme, doth there giue that fulnes which sufficeth for innocencie, and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perswaded held Confirmation as ^d an Ordinance Apostolike alwaies profitable in Gods Church, although not alwaies accompanied with equall largenesse of those externall effects which gaue it countenance at the first. The cause of seuering Confirmation from Baptisme (for most commonly they went together) was sometime in the Minister, which being of inferiour degree might Baptize but not confirme, as in ^e their case it came to passe whom *Peter and Iohn* did confirme, whereas *Philip* had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom ^f *Saint Ierome* had said, *I denie not but the custome of the Churches is that the Bishop should goe abroad, and imposing his hands pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on them whom Presbyters and Deacons farre off in lesser Cities haue already baptized.* Which ancient custome of the Church *Saint Cyprian* groundeth vpon the Example of *Peter and Iohn* in the eight of the *Acts* before alleaged. The ^g faithfull in Samaria (saith he) *Had already obtained Baptisme: Onely that which was wanting, PETER and IOHN supplied by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghost might be powred vpon them. Which also is done amongst our selues, when they which bee already Baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtaine by our Prayer and Imposition of Hands the Holy Ghost.* By this it appeareth that when the Ministers of Baptisme were persons of inferiour degree, the Bishops did after confirme whom such had before baptized. Sometimes they which by force of Ecclesiasticall calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whom Heresie had disioyned from the fellowship of true Believers. Whereupon when any man by them baptized and confirmed, came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosome of the true Church, as hath beene declared already in the question of Rebaptization. But the generall receiued custome was onely to admit them with Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Of which custome while some imagined the reason to be

for that Heretikes might giue remission of finnes by Baptisme, but not the Spirit by Imposition of Hands, because themselues had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptisme might stand, but Confirmation must bee giuen againe: the imbecillitie of this ground gaue *Cyprian* occasion to oppose himselfe against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many wayes to prooue that Heretike could doe neyther, and consequently, that their Baptisme in all respects, was as frustrate as their Chrisme, for the manner of those times was in confirming to vse anoynting. On the other side, against *Luciferians* which ratified onely the Baptisme of Heretikes, but disanulled their Confirmations and Consecrations, vnder pretense of the reason which hath bene before specified, *Heretikes cannot giue the Holy Ghost*, *Saint Ierome* proueth at large, that if Baptisme by Heretikes bee granted auailable to remission of finnes, which no man receiueth without the Spirit, it must needs follow that the reason taken from disabilitie of bestowing the Holy Ghost, was no reason wherefore the Church should admit Conuerts with any new Imposition of Hands. Notwithstanding, because it might bee objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost doe alwayes ioyne it selfe with true Baptisme, the Church, which thinketh the Bishops Confirmation after other mens Baptisme needfull for the obtayning of the Holy Ghost, should hold an errour, *Saint Ierome* hereunto maketh answere, that the cause of this obseruation is not any absolute impossibilitie of receiuing the Holy Ghost by the Sacrament of Baptisme, vnlesse a Bishop adde after it the Imposition of Hands, but rather a certaine congruitie and fittestesse to honour Prelacie with such preeminences, because the safetie of the Church dependeth vpon the dignitie of her chiefe Superiours, to whom if some eminent Offices of power aboue others should not be giuen, there would be in the Church as many Schismes as Priests. By which answere it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is receiued in Baptisme; that Confirmation is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reason why Bishops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not because the benefit, grace and dignitie thereof is greater then of Baptisme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptisme men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reasonable and conuenient that if hee baptize them not vnto whom the chiefe authority and charge of their soules belongeth, yet for honours sake, and in token of his spirituall superioritie ouer them, because to * blesse is an Act of authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremonie should bee sought for at his hands. Now what effect their Imposition of hands hath, eyther after Baptisme administred by Heretikes or otherwise, *Saint Ierome* in that place hath made no mention, because all men vnderstood that in Conuerts it tendeth to the fruits of Repentance, and craueth in behalfe of the Penitent, such grace as * *Dauid* after his Fall desired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath bene before shewed. Finally, sometime the cause of seuering Confirmation from Baptisme, was in the parties that receiued Baptisme being Infants, at which age they might bee very well admitted to liue in the Family; but because to fight in the Armie of God, to discharge the duties of a Christian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to doe the Workes of the Holy Ghost, their time of abilitie was not yet come (so that

Bap-

* Heb. 6. 3.

* Psal. 51. 10.
31. 12.

Baptisme were not deferred) there could by stay of their Confirmation no harme ensue but rather good. For by this meanes it came to passe that Children in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their mindes, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole liues, the seede of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound, the Prelates and Fathers of Gods Family, to whom the cure of their soules belonged, saw by triall and examination of them a part of their owne heauie burthen discharged, reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings of true godlinesse in tender yeeres, glorified him whose praise they found in the mouthes of Infants, and neglected not to fit opportunitie of giuing euerie one Fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto imposition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which Patriarkes, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers, and men of God haue had for such their particular Inuocations and Benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth of Religion, will easily thinke to haue beene without fruit. No, there is no cause wee should doubt of the benefit, but surely great cause to make complaint of the deepe neglect of this Christian dutie, almost with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the same belongeth. Let them not take it in euill part, the thing is true, their small regard hereunto hath done harme to the Church of God. That which *error rashly vttereth* in disgrace of good things may peradventure bee spunged out, when the print of those euills which are growne through neglect will remaine behinde.

Thus much therefore generally spoken, may serue for answer vnto their demands that require vs to tell them, *Why there should be any such Confirmation in the Church, seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly they haue protested against it, and how directly (although vntruly, for so they are content to acknowledge) it hath by some of them beene said, to be first brought in by the fained decretall Epistles of the Popes; or why it should not be utterly abolished, seeing that no one title thereof can be once found in the whole scripture, except the Epistle to the*

Hebrewes be Scripture, and againe, seeing that how free soeuer it be now from abuse, if we looke backe to the times past, which wise men doe alwayes more respect then the present, it hath beene abused, and is found at the length no such profitable

such confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the fained Decretall Epistles of the Popes (this is retracted by the same, T.C.lib.3.p.232. That it is ancients then the fained Decretall Epistles, I yeeld vnto) and no one title thereof being once found in the Scripture, and seeing that it hath bene so horribly abused, and not necessarie why ought it not to be vtterly abolished? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The first step of Poperie in this Confirmation, is in the laying of hands vpon the head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, especially when as the Prayer doth say, that it is done according to the example of the Apostles, which is a manifest vntruth, and taken indeed from the Popish Confirmation. The second is, for that the Bishop, as hee is called, must bee the onely Minister of it, whereby the Popish opinion, which esteemeth it about Baptisme, is confirmed. For whilest Baptisme may bee ministred of the Minister, and not Confirmation, but onely of the Bishop, there is great cause of suspicion giuen to thinke that Baptisme is not so precious a thing as Confirmation, seeing this was one of the principall reasons whereby this wicked opinion was established in Poperie. I doe not heere speake of the inconuenience, that men are constrained with charges to bring their Children often-times halfe a score miles for that which if it were needfull might bee as well done at home in their owne Parishes. The third is, for that the Booke saith, a cause of vsing Confirmation is, that by imposition of hands and Prayer, the Children may receiue strength and defence against all temptations, whereas there is no promise, that by the laying on of hands vpon Children any such gift shall be giuen, and it maintaineth the Popish distinction, that the Spirit of God is giuen at Baptisme, vnto remission of sins, and in Confirmation, vnto strength, a Heb. 6. 3.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 199. Tell me why there should be any such confirmation

Ceremonie

Ceremonie as the whole silly Church of Christ for the space of these sixteene hundred yeeres hath through want of experience imagined : last of all, *seeing* also besides the crueltie which is shewed towards poore Country people, who are faine sometimes to let their Ploughs stand still, and with incredible wearisome toyle of their feeble bodies to wander ouer Mountaines and thorough Woods; it may be now and then little lesse then a whole *halfe score of miles* for a Bishops blessing, *which if it were needfull, might as well be done at home in their owne Parishs*, rather then they to purchase it with so great losse and so intolerable paine, there are they say in Confirmation besides this, *three terrible points*. The first is, *laying on of hands with pretence that the same is done to the example of the Apostles*, which is not onely as they suppose a *manifest vntruth* (for all the world doth know that the Apostles did neuer after Baptisme lay hands on any, and therefore S. Luke which saith they did was much deceived) but farther also we thereby teach men to thinke *imposiion of hands a Sacrament*, belike because it is a principle ingrafted by common light of Nature in the minds of men, that all things done by Apostolike example must needs be Sacraments: the second high point of danger is, that by *tying Confirmation to the Bishop alone*, there is great cause of suspicion giuen to thinke that Baptisme is not so precious a thing as Confirmation, for will any man thinke that a veluet Cote is of more price then a linnen Coife, knowing the one to be an ordinarie garment, the other an ornament which onely Sergeants at Law doe weare? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the waightiest hazzard is, where the Booke it selfe doth say that Children by *imposiion of hands and prayer* may receive *strength* against all temptation; which speech as a two-edged sword doth both wayes dangerously wound, partly, because it ascribeth grace to *imposiion of hands* whereby we are able no more to assure our selues in the warrant of any *promise from God* that his heauenly grace shall be giuen, then the Apostle was that himselfe should obtaine grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, because by vsing the verie word *strength* in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we *maintaine* with Popish Euangelists, an old forlone *distinction* of the Holy Ghost, bestowed vpon Christs Apostles before his Ascension into heauen, and *augmented* vpon them afterwards, a distinction of *grace* infused into Christian men by degrees, planted in them *at the first* by Baptisme, after cherished, watred, and (be it spoken without offence) *strengthened* as by other vertuous offices which Pietie and true Religion teacheth, even so by this very special Benediction wherof we speake, the Rite or Ceremonie of Confirmation.

67 The grace which we haue by the holy Eucharist, doth not beginne but continue life. No man therefore receiueth this Sacrament before Baptisme, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessitie first liue. If our bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of Baptisme would serue to eternall life, were it not that the state of our spirituall being is daily so much hindered and impaired after Baptisme. In that life therefore where neither body nor soule can decay, our soules shall as little require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nourishment. But as long as the dayes of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subiect to diminution and capable of augmen-

Act. 8. 15. 17.

Ephes. 3. 14.

Iohn 10. 22.

Act. 1. 8.

Of the Sacrament of the bodie & bloud of Christ.

augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Sauour Christ will remaine forceable, *Except ye eate the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you.* Life being therefore proposed vnto all men as their end, they which by Baptisme haue laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a new life, haue here their nourishment and food prescribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will liue the life of God, must eate the flesh, and drinke the blood of the Sonne of man, because this is a part of that dyer, which if we want, we cannot liue. Whereas therefore in our Infancie we are incorporated into Christ, and by Baptisme receiue the grace of his Spirit without any sense of feeling of the gift which God bestoweth, in the Eucharist we so receiue the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giueth vs, the degrees of our owne increase in holinesse and vertue we see and can iudge of them, we vnderstand that the strength of our life begunne in Christ is Christ, that his Flesh is meat, and his Blood drinke, not by surmised imagination, but truely, euen so truely that through Faith we perceiue in the Body and Blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eate and drinke. This was it that some did exceedingly feare, lest *Zwinglius* and *O Ecolampadius* would bring to passe, that men should account of this Sacrament but onely as of a shadow, destitute, emptie, and void of Christ. But seeing that by opening the severall opinions which haue bene held, they are growne, for ought I can see, on all sides at the length to a generall agreement, concerning that which alone is materiall, namely, the *reall participation* of Christ, and of life in his Body and Blood *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherfore should the world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controuersie sauing onely about the subiect *where* Christ is? Yea, euen in this point no side denieth, but that *the soule of man* is the receptacle of Christs presence. Whereby the question is yet driuen to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is administred, Christ be whole *within man onely*, or else his Bodie and Blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated Elements themselues: which opinion they that defend, are driuen either to *Consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with Elements Sacramentall, or to *Transubstantiate* and change their substance into his, and so the one to hold him really but inuisibly moulded vp with the substance of those Elements, the other to hide him vnder the onely visible show of Bread and Wine, the substance whereof, as they imagine, is abolished, and his succeeded in the same roome. All things considered and compared with that successe, which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errours in this point, shall I wish that men would more giue themselues to meditate with silence what we haue by the Sacrament, and lesse to dispute of the manner how? If any man suppose that this were too great stupiditie and dulnesse, let vs see whether the Apostles of our Lord themselues haue not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their owne disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitiue, yea, in other Cafes of lesse importance and lesse difficultie alwayes apt to mooue questions. How commeth it to passe that so few words of so high a mysterie being vttered, they receiue

receiue with gladnesse the gift of Christ, and make no shew of doubt or scruple? The reason hereof is not darke to them which haue any thing at all obserued how the powers of the mind are wont to stirre, when that which wee infinitely long for, presenteth it selfe aboue and besides expectation. Curious and intricate speculations doe hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and ioy, as diuine graces vse to raise when extraordinarily they are present. The mind therefore feeling present ioy, is alwayes marueilous vnwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that case casteth off those disputes whereunto the intellectuall part at other times easily draweth. A manifest effect whereof may be noted, if wee compare with our Lords Disciples in the twentieth of *Iohn*, the people that are said in the sixt of *Iohn* to haue gone after him to Capernaum. These leauing him on the one side the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as soone as themselves by ship were arriued on the contrarie side, whether they knew that by ship hee came not, and by Land the iourney was longer then according to the time he could haue to trauaile, as they wondred, so they asked also, *Rabbi, when camest thou hither?* The Disciples, when Christ appeared to them in farre more strange and miraculous manner, moued no question, but reioyced greatly in that they saw. For why? The one sort beheld onely that in Christ which they knew was more then naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinarie gladnesse; the other, when they looked on Christ, were not ignorant that they saw the Well-spring of their owne euerlasting felicitie; the one, because they inioyed not, disputed; the other disputed not, because they inioyed. If then the presence of Christ with them did so much moue, iudge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ, not before their eyes, but within their soules. They had learned before, that his flesh and blood are the true cause of eternall life, that this they are not by the bare force of their owne substance, but through the dignitie and worth of his Person, which offered them vp by way of Sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them still effectually thereunto; finally, that to vs they are life in particular, by being particularly receiued. Thus much they knew, although as yet they vnderstood not perfectly to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine, but to haue eaten the Pasche onely that *Moses* appointeth, when they saw their Lord and Master with hands and eyes lifted vp to heauen first blesse and consecrate for the endlesse good of all generations till the worlds end, the chosen Element of Bread and Wine, which Elements made for euer the instruments of life by vertue of his diuine Benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receiue from him, the first which were warranted by his promise, that not onely vnto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their Successors after them did duely administer the same, those mysteries should serue as conducts of life and conueyances of his body and blood vnto them, was it possible they should heare that voice, *Take, eate, this is my body, drinke yee all of this, this is my blood;* possible that doing what was required, and beleeuing what was promised, the same should haue present effect in them, and not fill them with
a kind

a kinde of fearefull admiration at the heauen which they saw in themselves ? They had at that time a Sea of comfort and ioy to wade in, and wee by that which they did are taught, that this heauenly Foode is giuen for the fatisfying of our emptie soules, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtle wits. If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our Teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himselfe a Schoole-master, let our Lords Apostle bee his Interpreter, content we our selues with his explication, My BODY, *The communion of my Body*; My BLOOD, *The communion of my Blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, cleere, and easie, then that as Christ is termed our life, because through him we obayne life, so the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Blood, for that they are so to vs, who receiuing them, receiue that by them which they are termed ? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumentall, vpon the receipt whereof the participation of his Body and Blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certaine effect, is not vainely nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Euery cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our soules and bodies quickned to eternall Life are effects, the cause whereof is the Person of Christ, his Body and his Blood are the true Well-spring out of which this life floweth. So that his Body and his Blood are in that very subiect whereunto they minister life, not onely by effect or operation, euen as the influence of the heauens is in Plants, Beasts, Men, and in euery thing which they quicken, but also by a farre more diuine and mystical kind of Vnion, which maketh vs one with him, euen as He and the Father are one. The reall presence of Christs most blessed Body and Blood, is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiuer of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Sauours words agreeth, first, *Take and eat*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: first, *Drinke yee all of this*; then followeth, *This is my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sinne*. I see not which way it should bee gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Blood, but onely in the very heart and soule of him which receiueth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor doe really contayne in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confest, that the grace of Baptisme is powred into the soule of man, that by Water we receiue it, although it be neither seated in the water, nor the water changed into it, what should induce men to thinke that the grace of the Eucharist must needs bee in the Eucharist, before it can bee in vs that receive it ? The fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ. There is no sentence of holy Scripture which saith, that wee cannot by this Sacrament bee made partakers of his Body and Blood, except they be first containd in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament conuerted into them. *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Blood*, being words of promise, sith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truly in vs performe his promise, why doe wee vainely trouble our selues with so fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation the Sacrament

ment it selfe bee first possessed with Christ or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder vs howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in this Sacrament, dependeth on the cooperation of his Omnipotent, Power, which maketh it his Body and Bloud to vs, whether with change or without alteration of the Element such as they imagine, we neede not greatly to care or inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by it selfe what cause why the rest in question should not rather bee left as superfluous then vrged as necessarie. It is on all sides plainly confest, first, That this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himselfe euen his whole intire Person, *as a mysticall head*, vnto euery soule that receiueh him, and that euery such Receiuer doth thereby incorporate or vnite himselfe vnto Christ *as a mysticall member* of him, yea of them also whom hee acknowledgeth to bee his owne: secondly, That to whom *the Person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giueth by the same Sacrament his holy Spirit to sanctifie them, as it sanctifieth him which is their Head: thirdly, That what *merit, force, or vertue soeuer there is in his sacrificed body and bloud*, we freely, fully, and wholly haue it by this Sacrament: fourthly, That *the effect thereof in vs is a reall transmutation of our soules and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortalitie and life: fifthly, That because the Sacrament being of it selfe but a corruptible and earthly Creature, must needs bee thought an vnlikely instrument to worke so admirable effects in Man, wee are therefore to rest our selues altogether vpon *the strength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to passe that the Bread & Cup which he giueth vs shall be truly the thing he promiserh. It seemeth therefore much amisse, that against them whom they terme Sacramentaries, so many inuectiue discourses are made, all running vpon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare signe or figure onely, and that the efficacy of his Body and Bloud is not all wee receiue in this Sacrament. For no man, hauing read their Books and Writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both these Assertions they plainly confesse to bee most true. They doe not so interpret the words of Christ as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Body, and to be, were onely to signifie his Bloud. They grant that these holy mysteries receiued in due manner, doe instrumentally both make vs partakers of the grace of that Body and Bloud which were giuen for the life of the World, and besides also impart vnto vs euen in true and reall, though mysticall manner, the very Person of our Lord himselfe whole, perfect, and intire, as hath bene shewed. Now whereas all three opinions doe thus farre accord in one, that strong conceit which two of the three haue imbraced as touching a Literall, Corporall, and Orall manducation of the very substance of his Fleth and Bloud, is surely an opinion no where deliuered in holy Scripture, whereby they should thinke themselues bound to beleue it, and (to speake with the softest termes wee can vse) greatly preiudiced in that when some others did so conceiue of eating his Fleth, our Sauour to abate that errour in them, gaue them directly to vnderstand how his Fleth so eaten could profit them nothing, because the words which hee spake were Spirit, that is to say, they had a reference to a mysticall participation, which mysticall participation giueth

giue th life. * Wherein there is small appearance of likelihood, that his meaning should be onely to make them Marcionites by inuersion, and to teach them that as *Marcion* did thinke, Christ seemed to bee man, but was not, so they contrariwise should belecue them that Christ in truth would so giue them as they thought his flesh to eat, but yet lest the horrour thereof should offend them, hee would not seeme to doe that hee did. When they which haue this opinion of Christ in that blessed Sacrament goe about to explaine themselves, and to open after what manner things are brought to passe, the one sort lay the Vnion of Christs Deitie with his Manhood, as their first foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the Bodie of Christ hath *therby* to present it selfe in all places; out of which vbiqutie of his Bodie they gather the presence thereof with that sanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table; the coniunction of his Bodie and Blood with those Elements they vse as an Argument, to shew how the Bread may as well in that respect bee termed his Bodie, because his Bodie is therewith ioyned, as the Sonne of God may bee named man, by reason that God and man in the person of Christ are vnited; to this they adde, how the words of Christ commanding vs to eat, must needs import that as he hath coupled the substance of his flesh, and the substance of Bread together, so wee together should receiue both; Which Labyrinth as the other sort doth iustly shunne, so the way which they take to the same Inne is somewhat more short, but no whit more certaine. For through Gods Omnipotent Power they imagine that Transubstantiation followeth vpon the words of Consecration, and vpon Transubstantiation the participation of Christs both Bodie and Blood, in the onely shape of Sacramentall Elements. So that they all three doe plead Gods Omnipotencie, Sacramentaries to that alteration, which the rest confesse he accomplisheth; the Patrones of Transubstantiation ouer and besides that to the change of one substance into another; the followers of Consubstantiation, to the kneding vp of both substances, as it were into one lump. Touching the sentence of Antiquitie in this cause: First, for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth necessarily presuppose the Veritie of Christs both Bodie and Blood, they vsed oftentimes the same as an Argument to prouoe that Christ hath as truly the substance of Man as of God, because heere wee receiue Christ and those graces which flow from him in that hee is Man. So that if hee haue no such being, neyther can the Sacrament haue any such meaning as we

all confesse it hath. Thus ^a *Tertullian*, thus ^b *Ireney*, thus ^c *Theodore* disputeth. Again, as euident it is how they teach that Christ is *personally* there present, yea, present whole, albeit a part of Christ bee *corporally* absent from thence, that ^d Christ assisting this Heauenly Banquet with his personall and true presence, ^e doth by his owne Diuine Power adde to the naturall substance thereof supernaturall efficacie, which ^f addition to the nature of those con-

^a *Accipitur panem & distributum Discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisse nisi veritatis esset corpus, cum ueritas quod est panis anima figuram capere non possit. Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. cap. 40. b Secundum hoc (that is to say, it should be true which Heretikes haue taught, denying that Christ took vpon him the very nature of man) nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistie communicatio sanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem transigitur communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est, nisi a uernis & carnibus & reliquis que est secundum hominem substantia. Irenæus lib. 5. cap. 1. c Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ ὄντος σαμῆλος ἀντιτιναῖ ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια σῶμα ἀρα ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ δεσπῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θεῖος δόξης ἀναπλησθῆναι. Theodor. Dialog. Ἀσυγχωτος.*

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d Sacramenta quidem quantum in se est sine propria virtute esse non possunt, nec vlla modo se abentat: maiesu mysterij. Cyr. de Cœn. cap. 7. e Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter diuina se infudit essentia ut esset Religio: circa Sacramenta deuo io. Idem cap. 6. Inuisibilis Sacerdos visibilis creaturas in substantiam corporis & sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate conuerit. In spiritualibus Sacramentis verbi precipit virtus & seruit effectus. Iu eb. Emili. Hom. 5. de Palch. f Tò σύμβολα τῆς θεοσοτικῆς σωματικῆς καὶ ψυχικῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐστὶν πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιμελήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γυτὴν ἐπιμελίαν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεσθαι. Αὐτὸ ἐκ δικταίας ἐξιστάται οὕτως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προσήρας ἐστίας καὶ τῆς συχματός καὶ τῆς ἐδιδος, καὶ ὅρα τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ ἀπὸ διὰ καὶ πρότερον ἰδῶ, νοεῖται δὲ ἀπὸρ ἐγένετο καὶ πικνεύεται καὶ προσκυνεύεται ὡς ἐκείνα ὄντα ἀπὸρ τίς ἐνεύεται. Theodor. Ex quo à Domino dictum est, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hec est caro mea, & hic est sanguis meus, quotiescunque bis verbis & hac fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis, & calix benedictione solenni facturus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemq; proficit. Cyr. de Cœn. cap. 3. Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem, sed virtutis diuine inuisibilis efficientia probans adesse presentiam. Ibid. cap. 2. g Sensibilibus Sacramentis visibilis vite eterne effectus, & non tava corporali quàm spirituali transiitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim & panis & caro & sanguis. & idem cibus & substantia & vita factus est Ecclesie sue quàm corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus. Ibid. cap. 5. Nostra & ipsius coniunctio nec miscet personar, nec unit substantias, sed effectus conficiat & confederat voluntates, c. 6. Mansio nostra in ipso est manducatione & potus quasi quedam incorporatio. c. 9. Ille est in patre per naturam diuinitatis, nos in eo per corporealem eius Natuitatem, ille vnus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium, Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 3. h Panis hic aquosus cibus verus & sincerus perspicuum & Sacramentum nris tactu sanctificat, fide illumina: veritate Christo conformat. Cyr. de Cœn. cap. 6. Non aliud agit participatio corporis & sanguinis Christi, quam ut in id quod summus transseamus, & in quo mortui & sepulti & correfuscitati sumus, ipsum per omnia & spiritus & carae gesticemus. Leo de Pal. Sermon. 14. Quemadmodum quis est à terra parit percipiens Dei vocationem (id est, tacta inuocatione diuini numinis) iam non communis caro est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans: terrena & caelesti: Sic & corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, iam non sunt corruptibilia spem referrentis habentia, Irenæus 1.4. c. 14. Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est coniuncta visifica effecta est, quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni coniuncta, quæ vita effectus est. Cynl. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

secrated Elements, changeth them and maketh them that vnto vs, which otherwise they could not bee; that to vs they are thereby made such instruments, as mystically, yet truly; inuisibly, yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Iesus Christ, as well in that he is man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace and efficacy of his body and blood; whereupon there ensueth a kinde of Transubstantiation in vs, a true change both of soule and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did euer conceiue or imagine other then onely a mysticall participation of Christs both body and blood in the Sacrament, neyther are their speeches concerning the change of the Elements themselves into the bodie and blood of CHRIST such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to perswade the World either of a Corporall Consubstantiation of CHRIST with those sanctified and blessed

Elements before we receiue them, or of the like Transubstantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Christ. Which both to our mysticall Communion with Christ are so vnnesessarie, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this mysticall Communion, cannot easily bee thought to haue meant any other change of Sacramentall Elements, then that which the same Spirituall Communion did require them to hold. These things considered, how should that minde which louing Truth and seeking comfort out of holy Mysteries hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacitie to tread out so endless Mazes, as the intricate Disputes of this cause haue led men into, how should a vertuously disposed minde better resolute with it selfe then thus? Varietie of iudgements and opinions argueth obscuritie in those things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receiue for Truth, that which euerie one hauing sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs bee matter of infallible certitie. Whereas therefore there are but three Expositions made of, *This is my Bodie*, the first, *This is in it selfe before participation really and truly the naturall substance of my bodie, by reason of the*

coexistence which my Omnipotent Body hath with the sanctified Element of Bread ,,
which is the Lutherans interpretation: the second, This is in it selfe and before ,,
participation the very true and naturall substance of my body, by force of that Deitie ,,
which with the words of consecration abolishes the substance of bread, and substitueth ,,
in the place thereof my body which is the Popish construction: the last, This ,,
hallowed food, through concurrence of diuine power, is in veritie and truth, vnto ,,
faithfull Receiuers, instrumentally a cause of that mysticall participation, whereby ,,
as I make my selfe wholly theirs, so I giue them in hand and actuall possession of all ,,
such sauing grace as my sacrificed body can yeeld, and as their soules doe presently ,,
need: this is to them, and in them my body: of these three reherfed Interpretations, ,,
the last hath in it nothing but what the rest doe all approue and acknowledge to be ,,
most true, nothing but that which the wordes of Christ are on all sides confest to ,,
inforce nothing but that which the Church of God hath alwayes though necessarie, ,,
nothing but that which alone is sufficient for euery Christian man to beleue ,,
concerning the vse and force of this Sacrament, finally, nothing but that wherewith ,,
the Writings of all Antiquitie are consonant, and all Christian confessions agreeable. ,,
And as truth in what kinde soeuer is by no kind of truth gaine-said, so the minde ,,
which resteth it selfe on this, is neuer troubled with those perplexities which ,,
the other doe both find, by meanes of so great contradiction betweene their ,,
opinions, and true principles of Reason grounded vpon Experience, Nature and ,,
Sense. Which albeit with boysterous courage and breath they seem oftentimes ,,
to blow away, yet who so obserueth how againe they labour and sweate by ,,
subtletie of wit to make some shew of agreement betweene their peculiar ,,
conceits, and the generall Edicts of Nature, must needs perceiue they struggle ,,
with that which they cannot fully master. Besides, sith of that which is ,,
proper to themselves, their Discourses are hungry and vnpleasant, full of ,,
tedious and irkesome labour, hartlesse and hitherto without fruit, on the ,,
other side reade wee them, or heare wee others, bee they of our owne or of ,,
ancienter times, to what part soeuer they bee thought to incline touching ,,
that whereof there is controuersie, yet in this where they all speake but one ,,
thing, their Discourses are heavenly, their wordes sweet as the Honey-Combe, ,,
their Tongues melodiously tuned Instruments, their sentences meere consolation ,,
and ioy: are wee not hereby almost euen with voyce from Heauen admonished ,,
which wee may safeliest cleaue vnto? Hee which hath said of the one ,,
Sacrament, Wash and be cleane, hath said concerning the other likewise, ,,
Eate and liue. If therefore without any such particular and solemne warrant ,,
as this is, that poore distressed Woman comming vnto Christ for health, ,,
could so constantly resolue her selfe, May I but touch the skirts of his garment, ,,
I shall be whole, what moueth vs to argue of the manner how life should come ,,
by bread, our dutie being heere but to take what is offered, and most assuredly ,,
to rest perswaded of this, that can wee but eate wee are safe? when I behold ,,
with mine eyes some small scarce discernable Graine or Seed whereof Nature ,,
maketh a promise that a Tree shall come; and when afterwards of that Tree ,,
any skilfull Artificer vndertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious Worke, ,,
I looke for the euent, I moue no question about performance either of the one ,,
or of the other. Shall I simply credit Nature in things ,,
naturall,

" naturall, shall I in things artificiall relye my selfe on Arte, neuer offering to
 " make doubt, and in that which is about both Art and Nature refuse to beleue
 " the Authour of both, except hee acquaint mee with his wayes, and lay the se-
 " cret of his skill before mee? Where God himselfe doth speake those things
 " which eyther for height and sublimitie of matter, or else for secrecie of per-
 " formance wee are not able to reach vnto, as wee may bee ignorant without
 " danger, so it can bee no disgrace to confesse wee are ignorant. Such as loue
 " Pietie will as much as in them lyeth, know all things that God commandeth,
 " but especially, the duties of seruice which they owe to God. As for his darke
 " and hidden workes, they preferre, as becommeth them in such cases, simpli-
 " citie of Faith before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should
 " adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search,
 " chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeale; and bringeth soundnesse of be-
 " liefe many times into great hazard. Let it therefore bee sufficient for mee pre-
 " senting my selfe at the Lords Table, to know what there I receiue from him,
 " without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his pro-
 " mise; let Disputes and Questions enemies to Pietie, abatements of true Deuoti-
 " on and hitherto in this cause but ouer-patiently heard, let them take their rest;
 " let curious and sharpe-witted men beate their heads about what Questions
 " themselues will, the very letter of the Word of Christ giueth plaine securitie,
 " that these Mysteries doe as nayles fasten vs to his very Crosse, that by them
 " wee draw out, as touching efficacie, force and vertue, euen the blood of his
 " gored side, in the wounds of our Redeemer wee there dip our tongues, wee
 " are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied and our thirst
 " for euer quenched, they are things wonderfull which hee seeleth, great which
 " hee seeth, and vheard of which hee vttered, whose soule is posselt of this Pas-
 " call Lambe, and made ioyfull in the strenght of this new Wine, this Bread
 " hath in it more then the substance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed
 " with solemne Benediction, auaieth to the endlesse life and welfare both of
 " Soule and Bodie, in that it serueth as well for a Medicine to heale our infirmi-
 " ties and purge our sinnes, as for a Sacrifice of Thanksgiuing, with touching it
 " sanctifieth, it enlightneth with beliefe, it truly conformeth vs vnto the Image of
 " Iesus Christ; what these Elements are in themselues it skilleth not, it is enough
 " that to me which take them, they are the Bodie and Blood of Christ, his pro-
 " mise in witness hereof sufficeth, his Word he knoweth which way to accom-
 " plish, why should any cogitation possesse the minde of a faithfull Communi-
 " cant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my soule thou art happy.* Thus therefore
 " wee see, that howsoeuer mens opinions doe otherwise varie, neuerthelesse
 " touching Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, wee may with consent of the
 " whole Christian World conclude they are necessarie, the one to initiate or be-
 " gin, the other to consummate or make perfect our life in Christ.

Of faults no-
 ted in the
 forme of ad-
 ministring the
 holy Commu-
 nion.

68 In administring the Sacrament of the Bodie and Blood of Christ, the
 supposed faults of the Church of England are not greatly materiall, and
 therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. *The first is that we doe not
 vse in a generalitie once for all to say to Communicants. Take eate, and drinke, but
 vnto euery particular person, Eate thou, drinke thou, which is according to the
 Popish*

Popish manner, and not the forme that our Sauour did vse. Our second oversight is by gesture. For in kneeling there hath bin Superstition; sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Sauour vsing that which was most fit did him selfe not kneele. A third accusation is for not examining all Communicants, whose knowledge in the mystery of the Gospell should that way be made manifest, a thing euerywhere they say vsed in the Apostles times, because all things necessarie were vsed, & this in their opinion, is necessary, yea, it is commanded, in as much as the ^a Leuites are commanded to prepare the people for the Pasche, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Pasche. The fourth thing misliked is, that against the Apostles ^b prohibition to haue any familiaritie at all with notorious offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they haue by their Religious and Gospell-like behaviour purged themselves of that suspicion of Popery which their former life hath caused. They are Dogges, Swine vncleane beasts, forrainers and strangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to be admitted though they offer themselves. Wee are firstly condemned, in as much as when there haue bin store of people to heare Sermons and Service in the Church, we suffer the Commuion to be ministred to a few. It is not enough that our Booke of Common Prayer hath goodly Exhortations to moue all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by Ecclesiasticall Discipline and cruil punishment prouide, that such as would withdraw themselves, might be brought to Communicate according both to the ^c Law of God and the ancient Church Canons. In the sixth and last place commeth the enormitie of imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the sicke. Thus farre accused, we answer briefly to the ^d first, that seeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular vnto euery mans person the grace which him selfe hath prouided for the benefit of all Mankind, there is no cause, why administering the Sacraments we should forbear to expresse that in our formes of speech, which hee by his Word and Gospell teacheth all to beleue. In the one Sacrament, *I baptize thee* displeaseth them not. If *Eate thou* in the other offend them, their fancies are no Rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last Supper did speake generally once to all, or to euery one in particular, is a thing vncertaine. His words are recorded in that forme which serueth best for the setting downe with Historicall breuitie what was spoken, they are no manifest prooffe that hee spake but once vnto all which did then Communicate, much lesse that wee in speaking vnto euery Communicant severally doe amisse, although it were cleere that wee herein doe otherwise then Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously our selues vnto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the Heauenly direction of that inspired Diuine Wisdome, which teacheth diuers wayes to one end, and doth therein controule their boldnesse, by whom any profitable way is censured as reprocueable, onely vnder colour of some small difference from great Examples going before, to doe throughout euery the like Circumstance, the same which Christ did in this action, were by following his footsteps in that sort to erre more from the purpose he aymed at, then we now do by not following them with so nice & seuerer strictnes. They little weigh with themselves how dull, how heauie, and almost how without sense the greatest part of the common multitude euerywhere is, who thinke it

2. Chro; 5. 6.
 1. Cor. 5. 11.
 c Num. 9. 13.
 Can. 6. Apost.
 Council. Traca.
 cap. 83.
 d 1. Cl. 3. p. 166
 Besides that it
 is good to
 leaue the Po-
 pish forme in
 the e things
 which we may
 fo conveniently
 doe, it is best
 to come as
 neere the man-
 ner of celebra-
 tion of the
 Supper which
 our Sauour
 Christ vsed as
 may be. And
 if it see a good
 Argument to
 prouee that
 therefore wee
 must rather say
 Take thou,
 then Take yee,
 because the
 Sacrament is
 an application
 of the benefits
 of Christ, it be-
 hooueth that
 the Prea her
 should direct
 his Admoniti-
 ons particular-
 ly one at er
 another vnto
 all thole which
 heare his Ser-
 mon, which is
 a thing absurd.

either vnmeet or vnnecessary to put them euen man by man, especially at that time in mind whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons we doe not vse to repeat our sentences severally to euery particular hearer, a strange madnesse it were if we should. The softnes of wax may induce a wise-man to set his stampe or image therein; it perswadeth no man, that because wooll hath the like qualitie, it may therefore receiue the like impreffion. So the reason taken from the vse of Sacraments in that they are instruments of grace vnto euery particular man, may with good congruities lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit this forme, which being in Sermons a thing impossible, without apparent ridiculous absurditie, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleged as a reasonable prooffe of conueniencie; for the one prooueth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not inforce the other to be administred in like sort. For equall principles doe then auaille vnto equall conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equall and not else. ¹ Our kneeling at Communions is the gesture of Pietie. If wee did there present our selues but to make some shew or dumbe resemblance of a Spirituall Feast, it may bee that sitting were the fitter Ceremonie; but coming as Receiuers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better be seeme our bodies at that houre, then to bee sensible Witnesses of mindes vnfaignedly humbled? Our Lord himselfe did that which custome and long vsage had made fit; we, that which fitnessse and great decencie hath made vsuall. The tryall of our selues before we eate of this Bread and drinke of this Cup, is by expresse Commandement euery mans precise dutie. As for necessitie of calling others vnto account besides our selues, albeit wee bee not thereunto drawne by any great strength which is in their Arguments, who first presse vs with it as a thing necessarie, by affirming that the Apostles did vse it, and then proue ^m the Apostles to haue vsed, it by affirming it to be necessary; againe, albeit we greatly muse how they can auouch, that God did command the Levites to prepare their Brethren against the Feast of Pasche, and that the Examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleaged to this purpose doth but charge the Leuit, saying, *Make ready Laabhechem for your Brethren*, to the end they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moses*. Wherefore in the selfe same place it followeth how Lambes, and Kids, and Sheep, and Bullockes were deliuered vnto the Levites, and that thus *the seruice was made ready*: it followeth likewise how the Levites hauing in such sort provided for the people, they made provision for *themselves, and for the Priests, the Sonnes of Aaron*, so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of examination, argueth their wonderfull great forwardnesse in framing all things to serue their turne, neuer beleesse the Examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable vse it may haue in such cases wee reiect not. Our fault in admitting Popish Communicants, is it in that wee are ^m forbidden to eate and therefore much more to communicate with notorious Malefactors? The name of a Papist is not giuen vnto any man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering of Papists to communicate, so that bee their life and conuersation whatsoever in the sight of man, their Popish opinions

I T. C. L. i. p. 165.
Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship, sitting agreeth better w. h. the action of the Supper. Christ and his Apostles kneeling not.
m T. C. L. i. p. 164
All things necessary were vsed in the Churches of God in the Apostles times, but examination was a necessary thing, therefore vsed. In the Booke of *Chronicles*, 2. *Chron* 35. 6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the Pasche, in place whereof wee haue the Lords Supper. Now Examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandement of the Examination.
n I. Cor. 5. 11.
T. C. L. i. p. 167.

nions are in this case laid as barres and exceptions against them, yea those opinions which they haue held in former times, * although they now both professe by word, and offer to shew by fact the contrarie. All this doth not iustifie vs which ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till their Gospel-like behauiour haue remooued all suspicion of Poperie from them, because Papiſts are *Dogs, Swine, Beasts, Forrainers and Strangers* from the house of God, in a word, they are *not of the Church*. What the termes of Gospel-like behauiour may include, is obscure and doubtfull. But of the *visible Church* of Christ in this present world, from which they separate all Papiſts; we are thus perswaded: *Church* is a word which Art hath deuised, thereby to seuer and distinguish that societie of men, which professeth the true Religion from the rest which professe it not. There haue bene in the world from the very first foundation thereof, but three Religions; *Paganisme*, which liued in the blindness of corrupt and depraued nature; *Iudaisme*, imbracing the Law which reformed Heathenish impietie, and taught saluation to be looked for through One, whom God in the last daies would send and exault to be Lord of all; finally, *Christian beliefe*, which yeeldeth obedience to the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Sauour whom God did promise. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name, which Art hath giuen to *Professors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man. are to passe by those qualities wherein one man doth excell another, and take onely those essentiall properties, whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds: so he that will teach what *the Church* is, shall neuer rightly performe the worke thereabout hee goeth, till in *matter of Religion* hee touch that difference which seuereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs, who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, wee must define the Church, which is a religious societie, by such differences as doe properly explaine the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter thereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conuerſant. For so all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon, because the *onely object* which separateth ours from other Religions, is *Iesus Christ*, in whom none but the Church doth beleue, and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles doe euery-where distinguish hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accounting *them which call upon the name of our Lord Iesus Christ to be his Church*. If we goe lower, we shall but adde vnto this certaine casuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popish definitions that hitherto haue bene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that which wherein they imagine their owne more perfect then the rest are. Touching parts of eminencie and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawne vnto any certaine account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the Vnitie that ought to be in the Church of Christ, which notwithstanding may haue not onely without offence or

* Although they would receiue the communion, yee they ought to be kept backe, vntill such time as by their Religious and Gospel-like behauiour, they haue purged themselves of that suspicion of Poperie, which their former life and conuersation hath caused to be conceived,
T.C.L.I. p. 167.

breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance, yea, her schismes, factions, and such other evils whereunto the bodie of the Church is subiect, found and sicke remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retaine by outward profession that vitall substance of truth, which maketh Christian Religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our Lord Iesus Christ the blessed Sauour of mankind, giue no credit to his glorious Gospel, and haue his Sacraments the seales of eternall life in derision. Now the priuiledge of the visible Church of God (for of that wee speake) is to bee herein like the Arke of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheepe; yet in this was the Arke of *Noah* priuiledged aboue the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternall life our profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdome of God, although from the Church they separate not. In the Church there arise sundrie grievous stormes, by meanes whereof whole Kingdomes and Nations professing Christ, both haue bene heretofore, and are at this present day diuided about Christ. During which diuisions and contentions amongst men, albeit each part doe iustifie it selfe, yet the one of necessitie must needs erre, if there bee any contradiction betweene them, be it great or little, and what side soeuer it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and consequently, reiect the other as an enemy, *in that case fallen away from the true Church*. Wherefore of Hypocrites and Dissemblers, whose profession at the first was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwards tooke occasion to oppugne certaine principle Articles of Faith, the Apostles which defended the truth against them, pronounce them *gone out* from the fellowship of sound and sincere Beleuers, when as yet the Christian Religion they had not vtterly cast off. In like sense and meaning throughout all ages, *Heretikes* haue iustly bene hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet onely so farre forth cut off as their Heresies haue extended. Both Heresie, and *many other crimes*, which wholly seuer from God, doe seuer from the Church of God in *part onely*. The Mysterie of Pietie, saith the Apostle, is without peraduenture great, *God hath bene manifested in the Flesh, hath bene iustified in the Spirit, hath bene scene of Angels, hath bene preached to Nations, hath bene beleued on in the World, hath bene taken vp into Glory*. The Church a pillar and foundation of this World, which no where is knowne or profest, but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that professe it. In the meane while it cannot be denied, that many professe this, who are not therefore cleered simply from all either faults or errors, which make separation betweene vs and the Wel-spring of our happinesse. Idolatrie seuered of old the Israelites; Iniquity, those Scribes and Pharisies from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the seed of *Abraham*, a part of that very seed which God did himselfe acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore containe both them which indeed are not his, yet must be reputed his by vs that know not their inward thoughts, and them whose apparent wickednesse testifieth euen in the sight

1. Iohn 2. 19.

1. Tim. 3. 16.

fight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose, are meant those Parables, which our Saviour in the Gospell hath concerning mixture of Vice with Vertue, Light with Darkenesse, Truth with Error, as well and openly knowne and seene as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which separateth therefore *utterly*, that which cutteth off *cleane* from the visible Church of Christ, is plaine Apostasie, *direct* denyall, vtter reiection of the whole Christian Faith, as farre as the same is professedly different from Infidelitie. Heretikes, as touching those points of doctrine wherein they faile: Schismatikes, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they diuide themselves from their Brethren: Loose, licentious and wicked persons, as touching their seuerall offences or crimes, haue all forsaken the true Church of God, the Church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of Vnitie, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Lawes of righteousness, which they transgresse; this very true Church of Christ they haue left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church vpon the maine foundations whereof they continue built; notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* asunder. Now because for redresse of professed errors and open Schismes it is, and must be the Churches care that all may in outward conformitie be one, as the laudable Politie of former Ages, euen so our owne to that end and purpose hath established diuers Lawes, the moderate seueritie whereof is a meane both to stay the rest, and to reclaime such as heretofore haue beene led awry. But seeing that the offices which Lawes require are alwayes definite, and when that they require is done they goe no farther, whereupon sundry ill affected persons, to saue themselves from danger of Lawes, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before, by meānes whereof it falleth out, that receiuing vnworthily the blessed Sacrament at our hands, they eate and drinke their owne damnation; it is for remedie of this mischiefe * here determined, that whom the Law of the Realme doth punish vnlesse they communicate, such if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their Gospell-like behauiour. Wherein they first set no time how long this supposed probation must continue; againe, they nominate no certaine iudgement, the verdict whereof shall approoue mens behauiour to be Gospell-like; and that which is most materiall, whereas they seeke to make it more hard for dissemblers to be receiued into the Church, then Law & Politie as yet

Mat. 13. 24 47

* T. C. l. p. 167.

If the place of the fist to the Corinthians, doe forbid that we should haue any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they should be receiued to the Communion. And therefore Papists being such as which are notoriously knowne to hold hereticall opinions, ought not to be admitted, much lesse compelled to the Supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his Supper amongst his Disciples, and those only which were, as S. Paul speake, which, it is euident, that the Papists being without, & Forraiers and Strangers from the Church of God, ought not to be receiued if they would offer themselves:

and that Minister that shall giue the Supper of the Lord to him, which is knowne to be a Papist, and which hath neuer made any cleere renouncing of Poperie, with which he hath beene defiled, doth prophane the Table of the Lord, and doth giue the meate that is prepared for the Children, vnto Dogs, and he bringeth into the pasture, which is provided for the Sheepe, Swine and vncleane beasts, contrarie to the faith and trust that ought to be in a Sieward of the Lords house, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of those which are now Papists, pertaine to the election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithstanding, they ought to be vnto the Minister and vnto the Church, touching the ministering of Sacraments, as strangers and as vncleane beasts. The ministering of the holy Sacraments vnto them, is a declaration and seale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them, and a plaine preaching, partly, that they be washed alreadie from their sinne, partly, that they are of the household of God, and such as the Lord will feed to eternall life, which is not lawfull to be done vnto those which are not of the household of Faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papists vnto the Communion, and the dismissing and letting of them goe, when as they be to be punished for their stubbornesse in Poperie (with this condition, if they will receiue the Communion) is very vnlawfull, when as although they would receiue it, yet they ought to be kept backe till such time as by their Religious and Gospell-like behauiour, &c.

bath

hath done, they make it in truth more easie for such kind of persons, to wind themselves out of the Law, and to continue the same they were. The Law requireth at their hands that dutie which in conscience doth touch them nearest, because the greatest difference betweene vs and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ, whose name in the seruice of our Communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error of their Masse prophane. As therefore on our part to heare Masse, were an open departure from that sincere profession wherein we stand, so if they on the other side receiue our Communion, they giue vs the strongest pledge of fidelitie that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and Man, shall once apprehend this advantage giuen them, whereby they may falsifie Law, in pretending themselves conformable (for what can Law with Reason or Iustice require more?) And yet be sure the Church will accept no such offer, till their Gospel-like behauiour be allowed, after that our owne simplicities hath once thus fairely eased them from sting of Law, it is to be thought they will learne the mysterie of Gospel-like behauiour when leisure serueth them. And so while without any cause we feare to prophane Sacraments, we shall not only defeat the purpose of most wholesome Lawes, but lose or wilfully hazzard those soules, from which the likeliest meanes of full and perfect recovery, are by our indiscretion withheld. For neither doth God thus bind vs to diue into mens consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselves. To him they seeme such as they are, but of vs they must be taken for such as they seeme. In the eye of God they are against Christ, that are not truly and sincerely with him; in our eyes they must be receiued as with Christ, that are not to outward show against him. The case of impenitent and notorious sinners is not like vnto theirs, whose only imperfection is error, severed from pertinacie, Error in appearance content to submit it selfe to better instruction, Error so far already cured, as to craue at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and vtter refusall whereof was the waightiest point wherein heretofore they swarued and went astray. In this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge vs with remisse dealing, or with carelesnesse to whom we impart the mysteries of Christ, but they haue giuen vs manifest occasion to thinke it requisite, that we earnestly aduise rather and exhort them to consider as they ought, their sundry ouer-sights, first, in equalling vndistinctly crimes with errors, as touching force to make vncapable of this Sacrament: secondly, in suffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome, to blind and withhold their iudgements, from seeing that which withall they should acknowledge, concerning so much neuertheless still due to the same Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limme of the visible Church of Christ: thirdly, in imposing vpon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper search of their consciences, then any Law of God or reason of Man inforceth: fourthly and lastly, in repelling vnder colour of longer triall such from the mysteries of heavenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the Lawes of God, for any thing we heare to the contrarie, and should in diuers considerations bee cherished according to the mercifull examples

amples and Precepts whereby the Gospell of Christ hath taught vs towards such to shew compassion, to receiue them with lenitie and all meekenesse, if any thing be shaken in them to strengthen it, not to quench with delays and ielousies that feeble smoke of conformitie which seemeth to breathe from them, but to build wheresoeuer there is any foundation, to adde perfection vnto slender beginnings, and that as by other offices of pietie, euen so by this very food of Life, which Christ hath left in his Church, not onely for preseruatiō of strength, but also for reliefe of weakenesse: but to returne to our owne selues, in whom the next thing seuerely reprooued is the paucitie of Communicants, if they require at Communicants frequencie, we wish the same, knowing how acceptable vnto God such seruice is, when multitudes cheerefully concurre vnto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we also (themselues acknowledge it) are not vtterly forgetfull to doe the like; if they require some publike coaction for remedie of that, wherein by milder and softer meanes little good is done, they know our Lawes and Statutes provided in that behalfe, whereunto whatsoeuer conuenient helpe may be added more by the wisdom of man, what cause haue we giuen the world to thinke that we are not readie to hearken to it, and to vse any good meanes of sweet compulsion, to haue this high and heavenly Banquet largely furnished? Onely we cannot so farre yeeld as to indge it conuenient, that the holy desire of a competent number should be vnsatisfied, because the greater part is carelesse and vndisposed to ioyne with them. Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselues to communicate, when so many are gone away, because this Sacrament is a token of our coniunction with our Brethren, and therefore by communicating a part from them, we make an apparent shew of distraction. I aske then on which side Vnitie is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind doe communicate? First, in the one it is not denyed, but that they may haue reasonable causes of departure, and that then euen they are deliuered from iust blame. Of such kind of causes two are allowed, namely, danger of impaying health, and necessarie businesse requiring our presence elsewhere. And may not a third cause, which is *vnfitnessse*, at the present time detaine vs as lawfully backe as either of these two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuse our selues, for that we ought to prevent this and doe not. But if we haue committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse, the crime of vnworthy participation? He that abstaineth, doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants haue, but he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, receiueth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyson. Notwithstanding whatsoeuer be the cause for which men abstaine, were it reason that the fault of one part should any way abridge their benefit that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemne communicating amongst a few; when the rest are departed from them. As for the last thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the sicke, whereas there haue bene of old (they grant) two kinds of necessity, wherein this Sacrament might be priuately administred, of which two, the one being erroneously imagined,

T.C.L.I. p. 147.

2.Chron. 30. 13.

Psal. 122. 1.

Luke 14. 23.

T.C.L.I. p. 146.

imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in vse, there remaineth vnto vs no necessitie at all, for which that custome should be retained. The falsly surmised necessitie is that, whereby some haue thought all such excluded from possibilitie of saluation, as did depart this life, and neuer were made partakers of the holy Eucharist. The other case of necessitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of persecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet receiued againe vnto the fellowship of this Communion, did at the houre of their death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietnesse and comfort of mind, being thereby assured of departure in vnitie of Christs Church, which vertuous desire the Fathers did thinke it great impietie not to satisfie. This was *Serapions* case of necessitie. *Serapion* a faithfull aged person, and alwayes of very vpright life, till feare of persecution in the end caused him to shrinke backe, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence, and sute oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grieuous sicknesse, and being readie to yeeld vp the Ghost, was then more instant then euer before to receiue the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was necessarie in this case, not that *Serapion* had bene deprived of euerlasting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we thinke that all cases of *such necessitie* are cleane vanished? Suppose that some haue by misperswasion liued in Schisme, withdrawn themselues from holy and publike Assemblies, hated the Prayers, and lothed the Sacraments of the Church, falsly presuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichristian corruptions, which errour the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they doe not onely repent them of the euill which they haue done, but also in token thereof desire to receiue comfort by that whereunto they haue offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poore seduced soules euen at this day) God forbid we should thinke that the Church doth sinne, in permitting the wounds of such to be supplied with that Oile, which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their brused minds not onely need but begge. There is nothing which the soule of man doth desire in that last houre so much, as comfort against the naturall terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience, which commonly doe then most trouble and perplexe the weake, towards whom the verie Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian linitie and indulgence can afford. Our generall consolation, departing this life, is the hope of that * glorious and blessed Resurrection, which the Apostle * *S. Paul* uameth ἐξανάστασιν, b to note that all men shall haue their ἀνάστασις, and be rayfed againe from the dead, so the iust shall be taken vp and exalted aboue the rest, whom the power of God doth but raise and not exalt. This Life and this Resurrection our Lord Iesus Christ is for all men, as touching the sufficiencie of that he hath done; but that which maketh vs partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Christ, and this Sacrament a principall meane, as well to strengthen the bond, as to multiply in vs the fruits of the same Communion, for which cause * *Saint Cyprian* termeth it a ioyfull solemnitie of expedite and speedie Resurrection; ^d *Ignatius*, a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preuenteth death; ^e *Irenaeus*, the nourishment of our bodies

* 1. Cor. 15. 21.

a Phil. 3. 11.

b Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπασιον, Theophil. πάντες οἱ ἀσπαστοι ἀνίσταται μὲν δὲ πρὸς ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, Ammon vide.

1. Thef. 4. 17.

c *Ma* uale re-
surrectionis le-
tabunda solemn-
nia, Cyp. de
Cæn. Dom.
cap. 10.d *καρπυακον ἀ-
δασίας ἀν-
τίδοτον μὴ-
δασείν*, Ignat.
Epist. ad Ephc.
Iren. 4. c. 31.e *Et si nihil fa-
cile mutandum
est ex solemnibus,
tamen ubi equi-
tas euident poscit
subueniendum
est*, Lib. 183. ff.
de Reg. Iur.

to eternall life and their preferuatiue from corruption. Now because that Sacrament, which at all times we may receiue vnto this effect, is then most acceptable and most fruitfull, when any speciall extrarodinarie occasion neerely, and presently vring kindleth our desires towards it, their seueritie, who cleaue vnto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and so make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to diuers troubled and grieved mindes, of whose particular estate, particular respect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein wee liue, there insueth vnto God that glorie, which his righteous Saints comforted in their greatest distresses doe yeeld, and vnto them which haue their reasonable Petitions satisfied, the same contentment, tranquillitie and ioy, that others before them by meanes of like satisfaction haue reaped, and wherein we all are or should bee desirous finally to take our leaue of the World, whensoever our owne vncertaine time of most assured departure shall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our vsuall and receiued forme of administring the same in the Church of England, let thus much suffice.

69 As the substance of God alone is infinite, and hath *no kind* of limitation, so likewise his continuance is from euermlasting to euermlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion, being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things are finite, both in substance and in continuance. If in substance all things be finite, it cannot bee, but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all haue, it cannot be denied, their set and their certaine termes, before which they had no being at all. This is the reason, why first we doe most admire those things which are greatest, and secondly, those things which are ancientest, because the one are least distant from the infinite substance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that onely God hath true immortalitie or eternitie, that is to say, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the noblest and perfectest of all things besides, haue continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, so that they could not heretofore bee said to haue continued so long as now, neither now so long as hereafter. Gods owne Eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their Perpetuitie; their Perpetuitie, the hand that draweth out celestially Motion, the Line of which Motion and the Threed of Time are spunne together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, so wee by Motion haue learned how to diuide Time, and by the smaller parts of Time, both to measure the greater, and to know how long all things else endure. For Time considered in it selfe, is but the flux of that very instant, wherein the Motion of the Heauen began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantitie of their continuance measured by the distance of two instants: As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the instant of his first breath, till the instant of his last gaspe Hereupon, some haue defined Time to bee the Measure of the Motion of Heauen, because the first thing which Time doth measure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the helpe whereof it measureth other things, as when the Pro-

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uenient insti-
tution.

phet *David* saith, that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceed three-score and tenne yeeres, hee vseth the helpe both of Motion and Number to measure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in Nature before Time, ought to haue considered with themselues, that albeit we should deny as *Melissus* did all Motion, wee might notwithstanding acknowledge Time, because Time doth but signifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may be in things that rest and are neuer mooued. Besides, wee may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future, yea, farther euen length and shortnesse in e- uery of these, although we neuer had conceit of Motion. But to *define* without Motion, *how long* or *how short* such continuance is, were impossible. So that herein we must of necessitie vse the benefit of Yeeres, Dayes, Houres, Mi- nutes, which all grow from Celestiall Motion. Againe, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby we make our diuisions of Time, and the Com- passe of that Circuit such, that the Heauens which are therein continually mo- ued, and keepe in their Motions vniforme celerity, must needs touch often the same points, they cannot choose but bring vnto vs by equall distances fre- quent returnes of the same times. Furthermore, whereas Time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all things haue that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper vnto all quantities agreeth also to this kind, so that Time doth but measure other things, and neither- worketh in them any reall effect, nor is it selfe euer capable of any. And there- fore when commonly we vse to say, that Time doth eate or fret out all things that Time is the wisest thing in the World, because it bringeth forth all Know- ledge, and that nothing is more foolish then Time, which neuer holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one Day learneth, the same another Day forget- teth againe, that some men see prosperous and happie Dayes, and that some mens Dayes are miserable, in all these and the like speeches that which is vtte- red of the Time is not verified of Time it selfe, but agreeth vnto those things which are in Time, and doe by meanes of so neere coniunction either lay their burthen vpon the backe, or set their Crowne vpon the head of Time. Yea the very * oportunities which we ascribe to Time doe in truth cleaue to the things themselues wherewith time is ioyned, as for Time it neyther causeth things nor oportunities of things, although it comprize & containe both. All things whatsoever hauing their time, the Workes of God haue alwayes that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His Workes are some ordinary, some more rare, all worthy of obseruation, but not all of like necessitie to bee often remembred, they all haue their times, but they all doe not adde the same esti- mation and glorie to the times wherein they are. For as God by being eue- ry- where, yet doth not giue vnto all places one and the same degree of holinesse, so neyther one and the same dignitie to all times by working in all. For if all eyther places or times, were in respect of God alike, wherefore was it said vnto *Moses* by particular designation, *This very place wherein thou standest is holy ground?* Why doth the Prophet *David* choose out of all the dayes of the yeere but one, wherof he speaketh by way of principall admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as Gods extraordinary presence hath hallowed & fan-

• χρόνος ἔστιν
ἐν ᾧ καιρός, καί
καιρός ἐν ᾧ χρό-
νος ἔστω. *Hippo.*
lib. qui
Præceptiones
intribuit.

Exod. 3. 5.

Psal. 118. 24.

fan-

Deut. 16. 14.
Nehem. 8. 9.

as a signe of their owne ioy in the goodnesse of God towards them, and partly as a meane whereby to refresh those poore and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and ioy with others doe the more religiously blesse God, whose great mercies were a cause thereof, & the more contentedly iadure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all Motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in vs are iournies, and euen in them which feele no wearinesse by any worke, yet they are but waies whereby to come vnto that which bringeth not happinesse till it do bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is vnattained, we rest not. Let vs not here take rest for idleness. They are idle, whom the painfullnesse of action causeth to avoid those labors, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them: they rest, which either cease from their worke when they haue brought it vnto perfection, or else giue ouer a meane labour, because a worthier and better is to be vndertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore, man doth consist of different and distinct parts, euery part indued with manifold abilities, which all haue their seuerall ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great varietie of duties which belong to men, that dependencie and order, by meanes whereof the lower sustained alwaies the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondencie, labours of bodily and daily toile purchase freedome for actions of religious ioy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest: a thing most naturall and fit to accompanie the Solemne Festiuall duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principall workes of God, the memorie whereof we vse to celebrate at such times, be but certaine tastes and saies, as it were of that finall benefit, wherein our perfect felicitie and blisse lyeth folded vp, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and desires towards the other, it giueth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectation, when the very outward countenance of that wee presently doe, representeth after a sort that also whereunto wee tend, as Festiuall rest doth that Celestiall estate whereof the

“ Οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἕ-
δενός υδρεία
μεταβολῆ τὴν
ὑπερῆξωτά τω
φερομένην πορῶν
ἀλλ' ἀγαλλώω-
τα καὶ ἀπαθῆ
τιμὴ ἀρίστην ἔ-
χοντα ἕων καὶ
τιμὴ ἀνταρμι-
στῆτον διατε-
λεῖσι τὴ ἀπαντα
κίβωνα. Arist.

very * Heathens themselves which had not the meanes whereby to apprehend much, did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and haue therefore taught, that about the highest moouable Sphere there is nothing which seeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, vnsubiect to passion, blest with eternall continuance in a life of the highest perfection, and of that complete abundant sufficiencie within it selfe, which no possibilitie of want, maime or defect can touch. Besides, whereas ordinarie labours are both in themselves painefull, and base in comparison of Festiuall Services done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them shew that the one as it were by way of submission and homage should surrender themselves to the other wherewith they can neither easily concurre, because painefullnesse and ioy are opposite, nor decently, because while the minde hath iust occasion to make her abode on the House of gladnesse, the Weed of ordinarie toyle and trauell becommeth her not? Wherefore euen Nature hath taught
the

the Heathens, and God the Iewes, and Christ vs, first, that Festiuall Solemnities are a part of the publike exercise of Religion; secondly, that Praise, Liberalitie, and Rest are as naturall Elements whereof Solemnities consist. But these things the Heathens conuerted to the honour of their false gods, and as they failed in the end it selfe, so neither could they discern rightly what forme and measure Religion therein should obserue. Whereupon, when the Israelites impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in euery degree noted to haue done amisse, their Hymnes or Songs of praise were Idolatrie, their bountie excessfe, and their rest wantonnesse. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them dayes of Solemnitie, taught them likewise in what manner the same should bee celebrated. According to the patterne of which Institution, *Dauid* establishing the state of Religion, ordained praise to be giuen vnto God in the Sabbaths, Moneths and appointed times, as their custome had bene alwaies before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God himselfe in the Law of *Moses* particularly specified, there were, through the wisdome of the Church, certaine other deuised by occasion of like occurrents to those, whereupon the former had risen, as namely, that which *Mardocheus* and *Ester* did first celebrate in memorie of the Lords most wonderfull protection, when *Haman* had laid his ineuitable plot, to mans thinking, for the vtter extirpation of the Iewes euen in one day. This they call the Feast of *Lots*, because *Haman* had cast their life and their death, as it were vpon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added, that other also of *Dedication*, mentioned in the tenth of *Saint Johns* Gospell, the institution whereof is declared in the Historie of the *Maccaebes*. But for as much as their Law by the coming of Christ is changed, and wee thereunto no way bound, *Saint Paul*, although it were not his purpose to fauour inuectiues against the speciall sanctification of dayes and times to the seruice of God, and to the honour of *Iesus Christ*, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion, which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewish Legal obseruations, as if the whole world ought for euer, & that vpon paine of condemnation, to keepe and obserue the same. Such as in this perswasion halloved those Iewish Sabbaths, the Apostle sharply reproveth, saying, ^a *Yee obserue dayes and moneths, and times and yeers, I am in feare of you, lest I haue bestowed vpon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit so farre off was ^b *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such dayes as the Church of Christ doth obserue, that the obseruation of these dayes hee vseth for an Argument whereby to prooue, it could not bee the Apostles intent and meaning to condemne simply all obseruing of such times. Generally therefore touching Feasts in the Church of Christ, they haue that profitable vse whereof *Saint Augustine* speaketh, *By Festiuall Solemnities and set-dayes wee dedicate and sanctifie to God the memorie of his benefits, lest vnto thankfull forgetfulnesse thereof should creepe vpon vs in course of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords Day, that is, the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep vs in perpetuall remembrance of a far better World, begun by him which came to restore all things, to make both Heauen & Earth new. For which cause

1. Cl' ro7. 23. 30.

Hc' 9. 27.

Iob. 10. 22.

1. Mac. 4. 53.

a Gal. 4. 10.

b Si omnem in
sorum deuotio-
nem temporum
& diuini &
mensium & an-
norum (tasi A-
postolus, cur
Pascha celebra-
mus annuo cir-
culo in mense
primo? Cur
quinguenta
exinde diebus in
omni exultatione
decimus? Li:
aduerf. Pfyck.
Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei lib. 16. c. 4.

c Luke 1.26.

d Luke 2.21.

they honoured the last day, wee the first in euery seven throughout the yeere. The rest of the dayes and times which we celebrate, haue relation all vnto one head. We begin therefore our Ecclesiasticall yeere with the glorious ^cAnnuntiation of his birth by Angelicall Embassage. There being hereunto added his blessed Natiuitie it selfe, the mysterie of his legall ^dCircumcision; the testification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the World, his Resurrection, his Ascension into Heauen, the admirable sending downe of his Spirit vpon his chofen and (which consequently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible Trinitie thereby giuen to the Church of God; againe, for as much as we know that Christ hath not only been manifested great in himselfe, but great in other his Saints also, the dayes of whose departure great of the World are to the Church of Christ, as the Birth and Coronation dayes of Kings or Emperors, therefore especiall choise being made of the very flowre of all occasions in this kinde, there are annuall selected times to meditate of Christ glorified in them which had the honor to suffer for his sake, before they had age and abilitie to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as *Stephen* had the sight of that before death, whereinto so acceptable death did leade; glorified in those Sages of the East, that came from farre to adore him, and were conducted by strange light; glorified in the second *Elias* of the world, sent before him to prepare his way; glorified in euery of those Apostles, whom it pleased him to vse as Founders of his Kingdome here; glorified in the Angels as in *Michael*; glorified in all those happie soules that are already possessed of Heauen.ouer and besides which number not great, the rest bee but foure other dayes heretofore annexed to the Feast of Easter and Pentecost, by reason of generall Baptisme vsuall at those two Feasts, which also is the cause why they had not as other daies any proper name giuen them. Their first institution was therefore through necessitie, and their present continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals, whereupon they still attend. If it be then demanded, whether we obserue these times as being thereunto bound by force of Diuine Law, or else by the only Positiue Ordinances of the Church, I answer to this, that the very Law of Nature it selfe, which all men confesse to be Gods Law, requireth in generall no lesse the sanctification of times then of places, persons and things vnto Gods honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore as of the rest, so of times likewise to exact some parts by way of perpetuall homage, neuer to be dispensed withall nor remitted, againe, to require some other parts of time with as strict exaction but for lesse continuance, and of the rest which were left arbitrarie, to accept what the Church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily vnto like Religious vses. Of the first kind amongst the Iewes was the Sabbath Day; of the second, those Feasts which are appointed by the Law of *Moses*; the Feast of Dedication inuented by the Church, standeth in the number of the last kind. The Morall Law requiring therefore a seuenth part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with vs the day be changed in regard of a new reuolution begun by our Sauior Christ, yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more

more of Renouation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the sanctification of one day in seuen, a dutie which Gods immutable Law doth exact for euer. The rest, they say, wee ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men, besides, they are all abused by Papiests, the enemies of God, yea, certaine of them, as Easter and Pentecost, euen by the Iewes.

71 Touching Iewes, their Easter and Pentecost haue with ours as much affinitie, as *Philip* the Apostle with *Philip* the Macedonian King. As for *imitation of Papiests*, and the *breeding of superstition*, they are now become such common ghetts, that no man can thinke it discourteous to let them goe as they came. The next is a rare obseruation and strange. You shall find if you marke it (as it doth deserue to be noted well) that many thousands there are, who

if they haue vertuously during those times behaved themselves, if their deuotion and zeale in prayer haue bene feruent, their attention to the Word of God, such as all Christian men should yeeld, imagine that herein they haue performed a good dutie, which notwithstanding to thinke is a very dangerous error, in as much as the Apostle *Saint Paul* hath taught, that wee ought not to keepe our Easter as the Iewes did for certaine dayes, but in the vnleauened bread of sinceritie & of truth to feast continually, whereas the restraint of Easter to a certaine number

of dayes causeth vs to rest for a short space in that neere consideration of our duties, which should be extended throughout the course of our whole liues, and so pulleth out of our minds the Doctrine of Christs Gospellere wee be aware. The Doctrine of the Gospell which here they meane or should meane, is, that Christ hauing finished the Law, there is no Iewish Paschall Solemnitie, nor abstinence from sowe Bread now required at our hands, there is no Leauen which we are bound to cast out, but malice, sin and wickednesse, no Bread but the food of sincere Truth, wherwith we are tied to celebrate our Passeouer. And seeing no time of sinne is granted vs, neither any intermission of sound believe, it followeth that this kind of feasting ought to endure alwaies. But how are standing Festiuall Solemnities against this? That which the Gospell of Christ requireth, is the perpetuities of vertuous duties: not perpetuities of exercise or action, but disposition perpetuall, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Iust, valiant, liberall, temperate and holy men are they, which can whensoever they will, and will whensoever they ought, execute what their severall perfections import. If vertues did alwaies cease to bee when they cease to worke, there should bee nothing more pernicious to Vertue then

sleepe:

Exception against our keeping of o-ther festiuall dayes besides the Sabbath, T. C. I. p. 151.

If they had

been neuer abused, neither by the Papiests, nor by the Iewes, as they haue bene, and are daily, yet such making of Holy dayes is neuer without some great danger of bringing in some euill and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will cite an example in one, and that the chiefe of Holy dayes, and most generally, and of longest time obserued in the Church, which is the feast of Easter, which was kept of some more dayes, of some fewer. How many thousands are there, I will not say of the ignorant Papiests, but of those also which professe the Gospell, which when they haue celebrated those dayes with diligent heed taken vnto their life, and with some earnest deuotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, doe not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the Feast of Easter, and yet haue they thus notably deceiued themselves? For *Saint Paul* teacheth, 1. Cor. 5. 8. that the celebrating of the Feast of the Christians Easter, is not as the Iewes was for certainedayes, but sheweth that we must keepe this Feast all the dayes of our life in the vnleauened bread of sinceritie and of truth. By which we see that the obseruing of the Feast of Easter for certaine dayes in the yeere doth pull out of our mindes, ere euer wee bee aware, the Doctrine of the Gospell, and causeth vs to rest in that neere consideration of our duties, for the space of a few dayes, which should be extended to all our life.

sleepe: neyther were it possible that men, as *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* should in all the Commandements of God walke vnreproouable, or that the Chaine of our conuersation should contayne so many linkes of diuine vertues, as the Apostles in diuers places haue reckoned vp, if in the exercise of each vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not possible at one and the same time to bee discharged, duties of all sorts must haue necessarily their feuerall successions and seasons, in which respect the Schoole-men haue well and soundly determined, that Gods affirmatiue Lawes and Precepts, the Lawes that inioyne any actuall dutie, as Prayer, Almes, and the like, doe bind vs *ad semper velle*, but not *ad semper agere*, we are tyed to iterate and resume them when neede is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermission. Feasts, whether God himselfe hath ordayned them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath giuen, they are of Religion such publike seruices, as neither can, nor ought to bee continued otherwise then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a most effectuall meane to bring vnto full maturitie and growth those sedes of godlinesse, that these very men themselues doe grant to bee sowne in the hearts of many thousands, during the while that such feasts are present. The constant habite of well-doing is not gotten without the custome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect, but by the manifold workes of vertue often practised. Before the powers of our mindes be brought vnto some perfection, our first assayes and offers towards vertue must needs bee raw, yet commendable, because they tend vnto ripenesse. For which cause the wisdome of God hath commanded especially this circumstance amongst others in solemne feasts, that to Children and Nouices in Religion, they minister the first occasion to aske and inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but so much pietie as hath bene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecillitie with prayer, *Preserue, Lord these good and gracious beginnings, that they suddenly drie not vp like the morning dew, but may prosper and grow as the trees which riuers of waters keepe alwayes flourishing*; let all mens acclamations bee *grace, grace vnto it*, as to that first layd corner stone in *Zerubbabels* buildings. For who hath despised the day of those things which are small? Or how dare wee take vpon vs to condemne that very thing which voluntarily wee grant, maketh vs of nothing somewhat, seeing all wee pretend against it is onely that as yet this somewhat is not much? The dayes of solemnitie which are but few, cannot choose but soone finish that outward exercise of godlinesse, which properly appertayneth to such times, howbeit mens inward disposition to vertue, they both augment for the present, and by their often returnes bring also the same at the length vnto that perfection which wee most desire. So that although by their necessarie short continuance, they abridge the present exercise of pietie in some kinde, yet because by repetition they enlarge, strengthen and confirme the habites of all vertue, it remaineth that wee honour, obserue and keepe them as ordinances, many wayes singularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken against Holy dayes, for that they restraine the praises of God vnto cer-

taine

raine times, another followeth condemning restraint of men from their ordinarie Trades and Labours at those times. ^a It is not they say in the power of a T.C. lib. r. pag. 152. I confesse that it is in the power of the Church to appoint so many that if they thinke good to bestow fixe whole dayes in labour they may, neyther is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath granted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laid vpon them, and to countermand what he doth expressly inioyne. They denie not but in times of publike calamitie, that men may the better assemble themselves to fast and pray, the Church, because it hath receiued Commandemēt from God to proclaime a Prohibition from ordinarie works, standeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without some expresse Commandement from God, there is no power they say vnder Heauen which may presume by any Decree to restraine the libertie that God hath giuen. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther then to this present cause, shaketh vniuersally the Fabricke of Government, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confusion, dissolueth Families, dissipateth Colledges, Corporations, Armies, overthroweth Kingdomes, Churches, and whatsoeuer is new, through the prouidence of God, by authoritie and power vpheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greatest weight, and hath therein precisely defined, as well that which euery man must performe, as that which no man may attempt, leauing all sorts of men in the rest, either to be guided by their owne good discretion, if they bee free from subiection to others, or else to be ordered by such Commandements and Lawes as proceed from those Superiours vnder whom they liue; the Patrones of Libertie haue here made Solemne Proclamation, that all such Lawes and Commandements are void in as much as euery man is left to the freedome of his owne minde, in such things as are noteither exacted or prohibited by the Law of God; and because onely in these things the Positiue Precepts of men haue place, which Precepts cannot possible

possibly be giuen without some abridgement of their libertie, to whom they are giuen: therefore if the Father command the Sonne, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Seruant, or the Leader the Souldier, or the Prince the Subiect, to goe or stand, sleepe or wake, at such times as God himselfe in particular commandeth neither, they are to stand in defence of the freedome which God hath granted, and to doe as themselves list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things vtterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaueth free. The plaine contradictorie whereunto is vnfallibly certaine. Those things which the Law of God leaueth arbitrarie and at libertie, are all subiect to the positiue Lawes of men, which Lawes for the common benefit abridge particular mens libertie in such things, as farre as the rules of equitie will suffer. This we must either maintaine, or else ouerturne the world, and make euery man his owne Commander. Seeing then that labour and rest vpon any one day of the sixe throughout the yeere, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Ecclesiasticall Law, except we deprive the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrencie of rest, with extraordinary occasions of dolefull euent, befalling peradventure some one certaine Church, or not extending vnto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when pietie triumpheth with ioy and gladnesse, maketh solemne commemoration of Gods most rare and vnwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of Mankind doth or might participate?* Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow, the onely cause is, for that the generall publique prayers of the whole Church, and our owne priuate busineses, cannot both bee followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of publique ioy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of naturall repugnancie, which maketh labours (as hath bene prooued) much more vsfit to accompanie Festiuall praises of God, then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe, if we sfit what they bring for prooffe and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant, and as strictly command rest, whensoever the Church hath equal reason by feasts, and glad some solemnities to testifie publique thankfulnessse towards God? I would know some cause, why those words of the Prophet IOEL, *Sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assembly*, which words were vttered to the Iewes, in miserie and great distresse, should more bind the Church to doe at all times after the like, in their like perplexities, then the words of *Moses*, to the same people in a time of ioyfull deliuerance from miserie, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefits, no lesse importing the good of men; and also iustifie as touching the manner and forme thereof, what circumstance soeuer they imitate onely in respect of naturall fitnessse or decencie, without any Iewish regard to Ceremonies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by vs expedient to bee continued. According to the rule of which generall directions, taken from the Law of God, no lesse in the one then the other, the practice of the Church commended vnto vs in holy Scripture, doth not onely make for the iustification of blacke and dismall dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainly offereth

Joel 2. 15.

Exod. 13. 3.

Ies. 9.

offereth it selfe to bee followed by such ordinances (if occasion require) as that which *Mardocheus* did sometime deuise, *Hester* what lay in her power helpe forward, and the rest of the Iewes establish for perpetuities, namely, that the fourteenth and fiftenth dayes of the moneth *Adar*, should be euery yeere kept throughout all Generations, as dayes of fasting and ioy, wherein they would rest from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie bestowed vpon the poore; what by other liberall signes of amitie and loue, all testifie their thankefull mindes towards God, which almost beyond possibilitie had deliuered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they * say, was Diuine not Ecclesiasticall, as may appeare in that there is another decree in another Booke of Scripture, which decree is plaine, not to haue proceeded from the Churches authoritie, but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore simple man sometime was fully perswaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not bene a Saint, the Apostles would neuer haue suffered his name to stand in the Creede, so these men haue a strong opinion, that because the Booke of *Hester* is Canonically, the decree of *Hester* cannot be possibly Ecclesiasticall. If it were, they aske how the Iewes could binde themselues alwayes to keepe it, seeing Ecclesiasticall Lawes are mutable? As though the purposes of men might neuer intend constancie in that, the nature whereof is subiect to alteration. Doth the Scripture, it selfe make mention of any diuine Commandement? Is the Scripture witness of more, then onely that *Mardocheus* was the Author of this custome, that by Letters written to his brethren the Iewes, throughout all Prouinces, vnder *Darius* the King of Persia, he gaue them charge to celebrate yeerely those two dayes, for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliuerance and mercie, that the Iewes hereupon vnder-tooke to doe it, and made it with generall consent an order for perpetuities, that *Hester*, secondly, by her Letters confirmed the same, which *Mardocheus* had before decreed, and that finally, the ordinance was written to remaine for euer vpon record? Did not the Iewes in Prouinces abroad obserue at the first the fourteenth day, the Iewes in Susis the fiftenth? Were they not all reduced to an vniforme order by means of those two decrees, and so euery where three dayes kept, the first with fasting, in memorie of danger; the rest, in token of deliuerance, as festiuall and ioyfull dayes? Was not the first of these three, afterwards the day of sorrow and heavinesse abrogated, when the same Church saw it meete

that

* T. C. L. 3. p. 193. The example our of *Hester* is no sufficient warrant for these

feasts in question. For first, as in other cases, so in this case of dayes, the estate of Christians, vnder the Gospel, ought not to be so ceremonious, as was theirs vnder the Law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a speciall direction of the Spirit of God, either through the ministerie of the Prophets which they had, or by some other extraordinary means, which is not to be followed by vs. This may appeare by another place, *Zach. 8* Where the Iewes changed their fasts into feasts, onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the ministerie of the Prophet. For further proofe whereof, first I take the 18. verse, where it appeareth, that this was an order, to indure alwayes, euen as long as the other Feasts dayes, which were instituted by the Lord himselfe. So that what abuses focuer were of that Feast, yet as a perpetuall decree of God, it ought to haue remained, whereas our Churches can make no such decree, which may not vpon change of times, and other circumstances be altered. For the other proofe hereof, I take the last verse. For the Prophet contenteth not himselfe with that, that he had rehearsed the decree, as he doth sometimes the decree of profane Kings, but addeth precisely, that as soone as euer the decree was made, it was registred in this Booke of *Hester*, which is one of the Bookes of the Canonically Scripture, declaring thereby in what esteeme they had it. If it had bene of no further authoritie then our decrees, or then a Canon of one of the Councils, it had bene presumption to haue brought it into the Librarie of the holy Ghost. The summe of my answer is, that this decree was Diuine and not Ecclesiasticall onely.

2. Mac. 15. 36.

1. Mac. 4. 55.

2. Co. om. ora.

t. o. A. solica

passiois totius

Christianitatis

magistr. a. cun-

ctis. ure. cele-

brata. Cod.

1. 3. cir. 12. l. 7.

b. T. C. l. 1. p. 153.

For so much

as the old

people did ne-

uer keepe any

Fest or Holy

day for re-

membrance either

of Moses, &c.

c. T. C. l. 3. p. 153.

The

people, when it is

called S. Pauls day,

or, the blessed

Virgin Maries day,

can vnderstand

nothing thereby,

but that they are

instituted to the

honour of Saint Paul,

or the Virgin

Maris, vnlesse

they be otherwise

taught. And

if you say, let

them o be taught,

I haue answered,

that the teaching

in this land,

cannot by any

order which is

yet taken, come

to the most part

of thoe, which

haue drunke

this poyson, &c.

d. Scilicet ignora

it nos nec

Christi-

stus unquam

linguere,

qui pro totius

seruanorum mundi

salute passus est

nec alium quem iam

colere posse. Nam

hunc quidem

tanquam filium

Dei adoramus,

martyres vero tan-

quam Discipulos

et imitatores

Domini degue

propter insupa-

rabilem in

Regem ipsorum

ac Praeceptorem

beniuolentiam

diligimus,

quam et nos

confites et

discipulus fieri

optamus.

Euseb. h. st. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 15.

e. T. C. l. 1. p. 153

As for all the

commodities,

&c.

f. T. C. l. 1. p. 154

g. T. C. l. 1. p. 153

154. We con-

demne not the

Church of England,

neither in this,

nor in other things,

which are meete

to be reformed.

For it is one thing

to mislike

another thing

to condemne

and it is one thing

to condemne

something in the

Church, and another

thing

to condemne

the Church for it.

that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliuerance, out of the bloody hands of *Nicanor*, should succeed in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no end of answering fruitlesse oppositions, let it suffice men of sober minds, to know that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally, dayes of rest and festiuall solemnitie, to be obserued by way of thankfull and ioyfull remembrance, if such miraculous fauours be shewed towards mankind as require the same; that such graces God hath bestowed vpon his Church, as well in later as in former times, that in some particulars, when they haue fallen out, himselfe hath demanded his owne honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisdome of the Church, directed by those precedents, and inlightned by other meanes, alwayes to iudge when the like is requisite. About questions therefore concerning Dayes and Times, our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memorie of *a Paul* should be rather kept then the memorie of *b Daniel*; we are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true that the least in the Kingdome of Christ, is greater then the greatest of all the Prophets of God that haue gone

before; wee neuer yet saw cause to despaire, but that the *c* simplest of the people might be taught the right construction of as great mysteries, as the *d* name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeere goe on in their wonted course; we had rather glorifie and blesse God, for the fruit we daily behold, reaped by such ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wisdome of this Nationall Church to bring forth, then vainely boast of our owne peculiar and priuate inuentions, as if the skill of *e* profitable Regiment

had left her publike habitation, to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one liuerie; we make not our childish *f* appeales sometimes from our owne forraigne Churches, sometime from both vnto Churches ancienter then both are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne selues, but as becommeth them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, we honour, reuerence and obey, in the very next degree vnto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we liue. They, whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebbe, they which haue risen and swollen so high, that the walls of ordinarie Riuers are vnable to keepe them in, they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we haue spoken, doe make all where they goe, a Sea, euen they at their highest flote are constrained both to see and grant, that what their fancie will not yeeld to like, their iudgement cannot with reason condemne. Such is euer more the small victorie of all truth, that they which haue not the hearts to loue her, acknowledge, that to hate her they haue no cause.

Touching those festiuall Dayes therefore which wee now obserue, their number

number being no way felt a discommodious to the Common-wealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath bene shewed, what remaineth, but to keepe them throughout all Generations holy, seuered by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true, vertuous and celestially ioy? To which intent, because surcease from labour is necessarie, yet not so necessarie, no not on the Sabbath or Seuenth Day it selfe, but that rarer occasions in mens particular Affaires subiect to manifest detriment vnlesse they be presently followed, may with verie good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinarie rule, considering the fauourable dispensation which our Lord and Sauiour groundeth on this Axiome,

Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordayned for man, so farre forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall Sanctification thereof, howsoeuer the rigour of the Law of *Moses* may bee thought to import the contrary, if we regard with what seueritie the violation of Sabbaths hath bene sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Iewes by reason of their long abode in a place of continuall seruile toyle, could not suddenly be wayned and drawne vnto contrarie Offices, without some strong impressiō of terror, and also for that there is nothing more needfull, then to punish with extremitie the first transgressions of those Lawes, that require a more exact obseruation for many Ages to come; therefore as the Iewes superstitiously addicted to their Sabbaths rest for a long time, not without danger to themselves, and ^b obloquio to their very Law, did afterwades perceiue and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by ^c necessitie veniall, though otherwise, especially on that Day, rest be more conuenient, so at all times the voluntarie scandalous contempt of that rest from labour, wherewith publicly God is serued, wee cannot too ^d seuerely correct and bridle.

The Emperour ^e *Constantine* hauing with ouer-great facilitie licensed Sundayes labours in Countrie Villages, vnder that pretence, whereof there may iustly no doubt sometime consideration bee had, namely, lest any thing which God by his prouidence hath bestowed, should miscarry not being taken in due time, *Leo*, which afterwards law that this ground would not beare so generall and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrarie Edict, both reuerse and seuerely censure his Predecessours remissenesse, saying, ^f *Wee ordaine according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles thereby directed, that on the sacred Day, wherein our owne integrity was restored, all doe rest and surcease labour, that neither Husbandman nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden workes. For if the Iewes did so much reuerence their Sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not we which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honor that day which the Lord himselfe hath honoured, and hath therein deliuered vs both from dishonour and from death? are we not bound to keepe it singular and inuiolable, well contenting our selues with so liberall a grant of the rest, and not incroaching vpon that one, which God hath chosen to his owne honour? Were it not wretchlesse neglect of Religion, to*

α πολλὰς μὲν
 ζούσας πολλάς
 δὲ καὶ ἱεροπέλω-
 νας παύσασθαι
 τὸ γὰρ πλεον
 του ἑτους εἰς
 αὐτὰς ἀντλιό-
 κστο καὶ τὸ ἀ-
 μοσίαν ἐπιβία
 οὐκ ἐλαχίστη
 ἐγγίγνεται, de
 Claudio dictū
 apud Dio. l. 60.
 δι' αὐτὴ 1. 27.
 Numb. 15. 32.

^b Hi uiccare
 consueti sunt
 septima die, &
 neq, arma por-
 tare in prediis diebus, neq, terre culturam contingere, neq, aliter us
 ciuiliam curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis extendentes ma-
 nus adorare usq, ad uesperam soliti sunt. Ingreddente uero in ciui-
 tatem Ptolomæo Lago cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum ci-
 florire debuerunt ciuitatem, ipsis stultitiam obseruantibus pronuncia
 quidem Dominum suscepit amarissimum, lex uero manifestata est,
 malam habere solennitatem. Agatharchid. apud Ioseph. li. 1. cont.
 Apion. uide & Dion. l. 37.

^c 1. Mac. 2. 40.
^d Neh. 13. 15.
^e Cod. l. 3. tit.
 12. l. 3.

^f Leo consti. 54

^a T. C. l. 3. tit. 12.
Dies festos.

make that very day cōmon, & to think we may do with it as with the rest? Imperial Lawes which had such care of hallowing, especially, our Lords Day, did not omit to prouide that * other Festiuall times might bee kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the suddaine, as extraordinarie occasions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yeerly, for Politike & Ciuill considerations, or finally, such dayes as Christian Religion hath ordayned in Gods Church. The ioy that setteth aside labour, disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladnesse doth alwayes rise from a kind of fruition and happinesse, which happinesse banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the bestowing of that it hath, in as much as the greatest felicitie that felicitie hath, is to spread and inlarge it selfe, it commeth hereby to passe, that the first effect of ioyfulness is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth to giue. The roote of both is the glorious presence of that ioy of minde which riseth from the manifold considerations of Gods vnspokeable mercie, into which considerations wee are led by occasion of sacred times. For how could the Iewish Congregations of old be put in minde by their weekly Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodnesse, which did of nothing create the World; by their yeerely Passeouer, what farwell they tooke of the Land of Egypt; by their Pentecost what Ordinances, Lawes and Statutes, their Fathers receiued at the hands of God; by their Feast of Tabernacles, with what protection they iourneyed from place to place, through so many feares and hazards, during the tedious time of fortie yeeres trauaile in the Wildernesse; by their Annuall Solemnitie of Lots, how neere the whole iSeed of Israel was vnto vtter extirpation, when it pleased that great God which guideth all things in Heauen and Earth, so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same hand which had signed a Decree in the opinion both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the generall massacre of Man, Woman and Childe, became the Buckler of their preservation, that no one haire of their heads might be toucht; the same dayes which had bene set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood, were made the dayes of their execution, whose malice had contriued the plot thereof, and the selfe-same persons that should haue indured whatsoeuer violence and rage could offer, were employed in the iust reuenge of crueltie, to giue vnto bloud-thirstie men the taste of their owne Cup? or how can the Church of Christ now endure to bee so much called on and preached vnto by that which euery * Dominicall Day throughout the yeere, that which yeere by yeere so many Festiuall times, ^b if not commanded by the Apostles themselves, whose care at that time was of greater things, yet instituted eyther by such ^c vniuersall authoritie, as no man, or at the least such as wee with no

^a Mat. 28. 1.
Marke 16. 1.
Luke 24. 1.
Iohn 20. 1.
1. Cor. 16. 2.
Apo. 1. 10.

^b *Apostolis propositum fuit non ut leges de festis diebus celebrandis sancirent, sed ut recte viuendi rationis & pietatis nobis cuthores essent.* Socrat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. ^c *Que 1010 terrarum orbe seruantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel Concilijs generalibus quorum est saluberrima in Ecclesia autoritas statuta esse intelligere licet: sicuti quod Domini Passio & Resurrectio, & in Calum Ascensus, & Aduentus Spiritus sancti amiuersaria sollemnitate celebrantur.* August. Epist. 118. * Luke 2. 14.

reason may despise, doe as sometime the holy Angels did from Heauen sing, * *Glory be vnto God on high, peace on Earth, towards men good will* (for this in effect is very the Song that all Christian Feasts doe apply as their seueral occasions require) how should

the dayes and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and wee refuse

refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances, that very benefit which caused *Moses* to acknowledge those Guides of Day and Night, the Sunne and Moone which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature by giuing all things life, then they are to the Church of God, by occasion of the vse they haue, in regard of the appointed Festiuall Times? That which the head of all Philosophers hath said of Women, if they be good, the halfe of the Common-wealth is happy, wherein they are, the same wee may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate these Religious and sacred dayes, is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendor and outward dignitie of our Religion, forcible Witnesse of ancient Truth, prouocations to the exercises of all Pietie, shadowes of our endlesse felicitie in Heauen, on Earth euerlasting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot bee drawne to hearken vnto that wee teach, may onely by looking vpon that wee doe, in a manner reade whatsoeuer we beleuee.

72 The matching of contrarie things together, is a kind of illustration to both. Having therefore spoken thus much of Festiuall Dayes, the next that offer themselves to hand, are dayes of pensiue humiliation and sorrow. Fastings are either of mens owne free and voluntarie accord, as their particular deuotion doth moue them thereunto, or else they are publicly inioyned in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether disallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, so that it bee vpon extraordinarie occasions onely, and after one certaine manner exercised. But yeerly or weckly Fasts, such as ours in the Church of Englād, they allow no farther, then as the Temporall State of the land doth require the same, for the maintenance of Seafaring men, and preseruation of Cattell, because the decay of the one, & the wast of the other could not well be prevented but by a Politike order, appointing some such vsuall change of Dyet as ours is. Wee are therefore the rather to make it manifest in all mens eies, that set times of fasting appointed in spirituall considerations to be kept by all sorts of men, tooke not their beginning either from *Montanus*, or any other, whose Heresies may prejudice the credit and due estimation thereof, but haue their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in Gods sight, were in all Ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be obserued, not without singular vse and benefit. Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God, through a false imagination, that Fasting standeth men in no stead for any spirituall respect, but onely to take downe the frankenesse of Nature, and to tame the wildnesse of flesh. Wherevpon the World being bold to surset, doth now blush to fast, supposing that men when they fast, doe rather bewray a Disease, then exercise a Vertue. I

Of Dayes appointed as well for ordinarie, as for extraordinarie Fasts in the Church of God.

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

I will not enter

now to discusse whether it were well done to fast in all places according to the custome of the place. You oppose *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, I could oppose *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*, whereof the one saith, it is nefas, a detestable thing to fast vpon the Lords Day, the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertul. de Coron. Mil. Ignat. Epist. ad Philippen.* And although *Ambrose* and *Augustine* being priuate men of Rome would haue so done, yet it followeth not, that if they had bene Citizens and Ministers there, that they would haue done it. And if they had done so, yet it followeth not, but they would haue spoken against that appointment of Dayes, and *quododestitit* of Fasting, whereof *Eusebius* saith, that *Montanus* was the first Authour. I speake of that which they ought to haue done. For otherwise I know, they both thought corruptly of Fasting, when as the one saith it was remedie, or reward to fast other dayes; but in Lent not to fast, was sinne: and the other asketh, what Saluation we can obtayne, if we blot not out our sinnes by Fasting, seeing that the Scripture saith, that Fasting and Almes doth deliuer from sinne, and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that shut out the merit of Fasting *Aug. de temp. 62. Scrm. Ambros. lib. 10. Epist.*

much wonder what they who are thus perswaded doe thinke, what conceite they haue concerning the Fastes of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apostles, our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe. The affections of *Ioy* and *Griefe* are so knit vnto all the actions of mans life, that whatsoever we can doe, or may bee done vnto vs, the sequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore considering that they which grieve and ioy as they ought, cannot possibly otherwise liue then as they should, the Church of Christ, the most absolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the speciall direction of Gods good Spirit hitherto alwayes inured men from their infancie, partly with dayes of Festiuall exercise, for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary sort, for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit ouer and besides this, wee must note, that as resting, so fasting likewise attendeth sometimes no lesse vpon the Actions of the higher, then vpon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Fasting, saith *Tertullian*, is a worke of reuerence towards God. The end thereof sometimes eleuation of minde; sometime the purpose thereof cleane contrarie. The cause why *Moses* in the Mount did so long fast, was meere diuine speculation: the cause why *Dauid*,^a humiliation. Our life is b a mixture of good with euill. When wee are partakers of good things, we ioy, neither can wee but grieue at the contrarie. If that befall vs which maketh glad, our Festiuall Solemnities declare our reioycing to be in him whose meere vnderferued mercie is the Authour of all happinesse; if any thing be either imminent or present which wee shun, our Watchings, Fastings, Cryes and Teares are vnfayned testimonies, that our selues wee condemne as the onely causes of our owne miserie, and doe all acknowledge him no lesse inclinable then able to saue. And because as the memorie of the one, though past, reneweth gladnesse; so the other called againe to minde, doth make the wound of our iust remorse to bleede anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that wee are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then sinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to haue frequent repetition of the other. Neuer to seeke after God, sauing onely when either the Crib or the Whip doth constraene, were brutish seruitie, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is most predominant in man, if sometimes it had not a kinde of voluntarie accessse to God, and of conference as it were with God, all these inferiour considerations layd aside. In which sequestration for as much as c higher cogitations doe naturally drowne and burie all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget natural both food and sleepe, by being carried about it selfe with serious and heavenly Meditation, as by being cast downe with heauinesse, drowned and swallowed vp of sorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewish Abstinence from certaine kindes of meates, as being vnclane, the Apostle doth teach that^d the Kingdome of Heauen is not meate nor drinke, that food commendeth vs not vnto God, whether we take it, or abstaine from it, that if we eate, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his sight, nor the lesse if wee eate not; his purpose notwithstanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that Fasting, which is no such scrupulous Abstinence, as onely refuseth some kindes of meates and dringes, lest they make them vnclane that taste them, but

a Tert. de ieiun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia maioris sequela est.
 b Μινδ'εις δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἀκρατον καὶ ἀμύην λύπης χαρὰ ἢ ἀ' ὀυρανὴ καὶ ἀβιδανειῶσι τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἀλλ' ἐγκράταται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡς γὰρ εἰσὶν ὁ πατήρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπᾶται καὶ ὀδυραίνεται καὶ ἀχθεῖται ἀνίατοις ἐμψύρωθαι παρήμεις δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμεινονος φύσεως, ἐνδίασας πένθ' καὶ γαλλιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν διανοήσας. Philo. lib. de Abrah.
 c Iohm 4. 34.
 d Rom. 14. 17.

an Abstinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kind of outward exercise, the serious intention of our mindes, fixed on Heauenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger and thirst whereof depriueth the bodie of those vsuall contentments, which otherwise are not denied vnto it. These being in Nature the first causes that induce Fasting, the next thing which followeth to be considered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the Iewes. Touching whose priuate voluntary Fasts, the precept which our Sauour gaue them, was; *When ye fast, looke not* Mat. 6. 16.
lowre, as hypocrites: For they disfigure their faces, that they might seeme vnto men to fast: Verily I say vnto you, they haue their reward. When thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seeme not vnto men to fast, but vnto thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee openly. Our Lord and Sauour would not teach the manner of doing, much lesse propose a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods sight. The Pharises weekly bound themselues vnto double Fasts, neyther are they for this reproofed. Often Fasting, which was a vertue in *Iohns*
 Disciples, could not in them of it selfe be a vice, and therefore not the ostensse of their Fasting, but their hypocrisie therein was blamed. Of ^a publike in-
 ioynd Fasts, vpon causes extraordinary, the Examples of Scripture are so frequent, that they need no particular rehearfall. Publike extraordinarie Fastings were sometimes for ^b one onely day, sometimes for ^c three, sometimes for ^d seuen. Touching Fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but eyther yeerely, or monethly, or weekly obserued and kept; first, vpon the ^e ninth day of that moneth, the tenth whereof was the Feast of Expiation, they were commanded of God, that every soule, yeere by yeere, should afflict it selfe. Their yeerely Fasts every fourth moneth in regard of the Citie of Ierusalem, entred by the Enemy; every fift, for the memory of the ouerthrow of their Temple; every seuenth, for the treacherous destruction and death of *Godolias*, the very last stay which they had, to leane vnto in their greatest miserie; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege beganne first to be layde against them; all these not commanded by God himselfe, but ordayned by a publike Constitution of their owne; the Prophet ^f *Zacharie* expressly toucheth. That Saint *Jerome*, following the tradition of the Hebrewes, doth make the first, a memoriall of the breaking of those two Tables, when *Moses* descended from Mount Sinay; the second, a memoriall as well of Gods indignation, condemning them to forty yeeres trauaile in the Desart, as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burne and destroy their Citie; the last, a memoriall of heauy tydings, brought out of Iury, to *Ezechiel* and the rest, which liued as Captiues in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally euermore a Register of all such grieuous euent as haue hapned, either in, or neere about the same time. To these I might adde ^g sundry other Fasts, aboue twentie in number, or dayned amongst them by like occasions, and obserued in like manner, besides their weekly Abstinence, Mundayes and Thursdayes, throughout the whole yeere. When men fasted, it was not alwayes after one and the same sort, but either by depriuing themselues wholly of all food, during the time that their Fasts

^a 2. Chro. 20.
1. Ierem. 36.

Exod. 8.

1. Sam. 7.

^b Iud. 20. 26.

^c 2. Mac. 13. 12.

^d 1. Sam. 31. 13.

1. Chron. 10. 12.

^e Levit. 23.

Leuit. 16.

Philo. de huius
sisti ieiunio ita
loquitur.

Ου στίον, ου
πόδν εζει επι προ-
σέγκασθαι

καβαρπίς υπας
διανοίας με-
δενδε ενος λο-
ωτος μηδ εμ-
σεν υζοντος

σωματικη πά-
θους οσπία
φιλει συμβαί-
νειν εκ πλημο-
νης ορτάζουσι

ηλασκήμενοι
τον πατέρα
τε παντος

αίσιοις συχαι
διον αμνησίαν
μην παλαιών
εμαρτημάτων

κτθσιν δε η
ασίλαουσι
νέον αγαθών
επίδασιν α-
τίσθαι. p. 447.

f Zach. 8. 16.

Exod. 32.

Num. 14.

g Vide Ribber.

h 5. c. 21.

Dan. 10. 2, 3.

a Puram & sine animalibus carnam. Apul. in Asclep. in fine. Pafsum & potum pura nosse non ventris scilicet sed anime causa.

Tertul. de panite. vide Phil. lib. de vita contem. Rom. 14. 2.

Hieron. lib. 2. contr. Iovinian. Indith. 8. 6. R. Mos. in Munt. Tera. lib. 3. qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Ieiun. b Neh. 8. 3. 12. Hora sexta que Sabbatis nostris ad prandium vocare solet superuenit. Ieseph. lib. de vita sua. c Sabbatis Iudeorum à Mose in omne auum ieiunio dicata. Iustin. lib. 36. Ne Iudeus quidem mi Tiberiam libenter Sabbati ieiunium seruat, quam ego hodie seruamus. Sueton. in Octau. cap. 76. Actis 2. 15. d 1. Cor. 7. 5. 2. Cor. 6. 5. 11. 27. Col. 4. 4.

continued, or by abating both the quantitie and kind of Dyet. We haue of the one a plaine Example in the Niniutes Fasting, and as plaine a precedent for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*; *I was, (saith he) in heauinesse for thre weekes of dayes, I ate no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh, nor wine.* Their tables, when they gaue themselues to fasting, had not that vsuall furniture of such Dishes as doe cherish bloud with bloud, but ^a for food they had bread, for suppage, salt, and for sawce, herbes. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude, saying, *One beleeueth he may eate all things, another which is weake (and maketh a conscience of keeping those customes which the Iewes obserue) eateth herbes.* This austere repast they tooke in the Euening, after Abstinence the whole day. For, to forfeite a noones Meale, and then to recompence themselues at night, was not their vse. Nor did they euer accustome themselues on Sabbaths, or Festiuall Dayes to fast. And yet it may bee a question whether in some sort they did not alwayes fast the Sabbath. Their Fastings were partly in token of penitencie, humiliation, griefe and sorrow, partly in signe of deuotion and reuerence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abstaine till noone, as their manner was on fasting dayes to doe till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the sacred ^b Scripture doth giue some secret kinde of Testimonie? *Iosephus* is plaine, that the sixt houre (the day they diuided into twelue) was wont on the Sabbath alwayes to call them home vnto meate. Neither is it improbable but that the Heathens did therefore so often vpbraide them with Fasting on that day. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples, for rubbing a few eares of Corne in their hands on the Sabbath Day, are not vnkely to haue aymed also at the same marke. For neither was the bodily paine so great that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there vseth, is more direct and literall to iustifie the breach of the Iewish custome in Fasting, then in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselues when God first gaue them the gift of Tongues, whereas some in disdaine and spight termed grace drunkennesse, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but onely a fourth part of the day spent, they vse this as an Argument against the other cauill, *These men, saith PETER, are not drunke as you suppose, since as yet the third houre of the day is not ouer-past.* Howbeit, leauing this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainly knowne, and to come from Iewes to Christians, we finde that of priuate voluntarie Fastings the Apostle *Saint Paul* speaketh ^d more then once. And (saith *Tertullian*) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church, *ex aliqua sollicitudine Ecclesiastica causa*, the care and feare of the Church so requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apostles ordayned any set and certaine dayes to bee generally kept of all. Notwithstanding for as much as Christ had fore-sigified, that when himselfe should be taken from them, his absence would soone make them apt to fast, it seemeth that euen as the first Festiuall day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lords returne from the dead, so the first sorrowfull and mourning day was that which we now obserue in memorie of his departure out of this World. And because there could be no abatement of griefe, till they saw him rayfed whose death

was the occasion of their heauineffe; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulcher hath beene also kept and obserued as a weeping day. The custome of fasting these two dayes before Easter is vndoubtedly most ancient, in so much that *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholique Christian man which did not abhorre (and as the state of the Church was then) auoid fasting on the Iewes Sabbath, doth notwithstanding except for euer that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-ene, as with vs it alwayes doth, and did somerimes also with them which kept at that time their Easter the 14. day of March as the custome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to be an order, that euen as the day of Christs resurrection, so the other two, in memorie of his death and burisll, were weckely. But this when Saint *Ambrose* liued, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Millan where himselfe was Bishop. And for that cause he saith, that although at Rome he obserued the Saturdayes fast, because such was then the custome in Rome, neuerthelesse in his owne Church at home he did otherwise. The Churches which did not obserue that day, had another in stead thereof, which was the Wednesday, for that when they iudged it meet to haue weckely a day of humiliation, besides that whereon our Sauour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially, whereon the Iewes are thought to haue first contriued their treason together with *Indas* against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these and all other times of like exercise, is as the Church shall iudge expedient for mens good. And concerning euery Christian mans dutie herein, surely that which *Augustine* and *Ambrose* are before alleadged to haue done, is such, as all men fauouring equitie must needs allow, and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntarie fasting with a vertuous purpose of mind, be any medicinable remedie of euill, or a dutie acceptable vnto God, and in the world to come euen rewardable, as other offices are which proceed from Christian pietie; whether wilfully to breake and despise the wholesome Lawes of the Church herein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truely it may not be said that penitent both weeping and fasting, are meanes to blot out sinne, meanes whereby through Gods vspeakeable and vnderferued mercie we obtaine or procure to our selues pardon, which attainment vnto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the Phrase of antiquitie vseth to expresse by the name of merit; but if either Saint *Augustine* or Saint *Ambrose* haue taught any wrong opinion, seeing they which reprocue them are not altogether free from errour, I hope they will thinke it no errour in vs so to censure mens smaller faults, that their vertues be not thereby generally preiudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not subject to power or iurisdiction, discretion should teach vs for peace and quietnesse sake to frame our selues to other mens example, is it meete that at home where our freedome is lesse, our boldnesse should be more? Is it our dutie to oppugne, in the Churches whereof we are Ministers, the rites and customes, which in forraine Churches pietie and modestie did teach vs as strangers not to oppugne, but to keepe without shew of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they the name of a Minister in this case vnto the state of a priuate

*Tenz. Ep. ad
Philip.*

man?

man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Lawes? That which their office and place requireth, is to shew themselves patternes of reuerend subiection, not Authors and Masters of contempt towards ordinances, the strength whereof when they seeke to weaken, they doe but in truth discover to the world their owne imbecillities, which a great deale wiselier they might conceale. But the practice of the Church of Christ, we shall by so much the better both vnderstand and loue; if to that which hitherto hath bene spoken, there bee somewhat added for more particular declaration, how heretiques haue partly abused Fasts, and partly bene themselves against the lawfull vse thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath said, If any keepe Sundayes or Saturdayes Fast (one only Saturday in the yeere excepted) that man is no better then a murtherer of Christ; the cause of such his earnestnesse at that time was the impietie of certaine heretiques, which thought^a that this world being corruptible, could not be made but by a very euill Author. And therefore as the Iewes did by the festiuall solemnitie of their Sabbath, reioyce in the God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodnesse: so those heretiques in hatred of the Maker of the world, sorrowed, wept and fasted on that day, as being the birth-day of all euill. And as Christian men of sound beliefe, did solemnize the Sunday, in ioyfull memorie of Christs resurrection; so likewise at the selfe-same time, such heretiques as denied his resurrection, did the contrarie to them which held it; when the one sort reioyced, the other fasted. Against those heretiques, which haue vrged perpetuall abstinence from certaine meates, as being in their verie nature vnclene, the Church hath still bent her selfe as an enemy; Saint *Paul* giuing charge to take heed of them, which vnder any such opinion, should vtterly forbid the vse of meates or drinks. The Apostles themselves forbad some, as the order taken at Ierusalem declareth. But the cause of their so doing, we all know. Againe, when *Tertullian*, together with such as were his followers, beganne to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the seueritie of Christian Discipline, brought in sundrie vnaccustomed dayes of fasting, continued their Fasts a great deale longer, and made them more rigorous then the vse of the Church had bene; the mindes of men being somewhat moued at so great, and so suddaine noueltie, the cause was presently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montanists held these additions to be supplements of the Gospell, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecie did now meane to put as it were the last hand, and was therefore newly descended vpon *Montanus*, whose orders all Christian men were no lesse to obey^b, then the Lawes of the Apostles themselves; this abstinence the Church abhorred likewise, and that iustly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming euen open warre to the Church, maintained Montanisme, wrote a Booke in defence of the new Fast, and intituled the same; A Treatise of Fasting, against the opinion of the carnall sort. In which Treatise neuertheless, because so much is sound and good, as doth either generally concerne the vse, or in particular declare the custome of the Churches fasting in those times, men are not to reiect whatsoever is alledged out of that booke, for confirmation of the truth. His error discloseth it selfe in those places, where he defendeth his Fasts to be duties necessarie for the whole Church

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ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΩΝ ἢ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ ἢ ἑτέρας ἡμέρας ἐπέσει, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Κανόσι τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἐστὶν. *Epist. ad Philip.*
 a Vide *Irena.* l. 1. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. *Epist. ad Rome.* 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28. c. 41, 42.
 Vide Canon *Apost.* 55.

of Christ to obserue as commanded by the holy Ghost, and that with the same authoritie from whence all other Apostolicall ordinances came, both being the Lawes of God himselfe, with any other distinction or difference, sauing onely that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reueale the same by *Montanus* also. *Against vs yee pretend, saith Tertullian; that the publique orders which Christianitie is bound to keepe, were deliuered at the first, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can vpon this point; For behold, I challenge you for fasting more then at Easter your selues. But in fine yee answer, that these things are to be done as established by the voluntarie appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any diuine commandement. Well then (he addeth) Yee haue remooued your first footing, and gone beyond that which was deliuered by doing more then was at the first imposed vpon you. You say, you must doe that which your owne iudgements haue allowed: we require your obedience so that which God himselfe doth institute. Is it not strange that men to their owne will should yeeld that which to Gods commandement they will not grant? Shall the pleasure of men preuaile more with you then the power of God himselfe?* These places of *Tertullian* for fasting haue worthily benee put to silence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for opposition against fasting. The one indeuoured to bring in such fasts as the Church ought not to receiue, the other to ouerthrow such as already it had receiued and did obserue; the one was plausible vnto many by seeming to hate carnall loosenesse and riotous excesse much more then the rest of the world did, the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Christian liberty; the one thought his cause very strongly vpheld by making inuectiue declamations with a pale & a withered countenance against the church, by filling the eares of his starued Hearers with speech suitable to such mens humours, and by telling them no doubt to their maruailous contentment and liking, *Our new Prophecies are refused, they are despised. Is it because MONTANVS* Epiph. Heres. 75. *doth preach some other God, or dissolve the Gospel of Iesus Christ, or ouerthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, wee teach that men ought to fast more often then marrie, the best feast-maker is with them the perfectest Saint, they are assuredly meere Spirit, and therefore these our corporall deuotions please them not:* thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superstition. The other in a cleane contrarie tune against the Religion of the Church, *These set-Fasts, away with them, for they are Iewish, and bring men vnder the yoke of seruitude: if I will fast, let mee choose my time that Christian libertie be not abridged:* Hereupon their glorie was to fast especially vpon the Sunday, because the order of the Church was on that day not to fast. *On Church fasting dayes, and especially the weeke before Easter, when with vs (saith EPIPHANIUS) custome admitteth nothing but lying downe vpon the earth, abstinence from fleshy delights and pleasures, sorrowfulness, drie and vnsauourie dyet, prayer, watching, fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can minister, they are vp betimes so take in of the strongest for the belly, and when their veines are well swolne, they make themselues mirth with laughter at this our seruice, wherein wee are perswaded wee please God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appeare, not onely what fastings the Church of Christ in those times vsed, but also what other parts of Discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient vse and custome of bringing all men

men at certaine times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of publike penitencie, the one belonging to notorious offenders, whose open wickednesse had bene scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and vnto every feuerall person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind it may be exercised wel enough by men in priuate. No doubt, but penitencie is as Praier, a thing acceptable vnto God, be it in publike or in secret. Howbeit as in the one, if men were wholly left to their owne voluntary Meditations in their Closets, and not drawne by Lawes and Orders vnto the open Assemblies of the Church, that there they may ioyne with others in Prayer, it may be soone coniectured, what Christian deuotion that way would come vnto in a short time: euen so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sinnes with teares of Repentance, and so to leaue them altogether vnto themselves. O Lord, what heapes of grieuous transgressions haue we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst vs all, and yet cleane passe them ouer vnrepented of, and vnrepented of, onely because the Church hath forgotten vtterly how to bestow her wonted times of Discipline, wherein the publike example of all was vnto every particular person, a most effectuall meane to put them often in mind, and euen in a manner, to draw them to that which now we all quite and cleane forget, as if penitencie were no part of a Christian mans dutie. Againe, besides our priuate offences which ought not thus loosely to be ouerslipt, suppose we the bodie and corporation of the Church so iust, that at no time it needeth to shew it selfe openly cast down, in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they doe not properly belong vnto any one, had notwithstanding a speciall Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moses*, and being common to the whole Societie which containeth all, must needs so farre concerne euerie man in particular, as at sometime in solemne manner to require acknowledgement with more then daily and ordinarie testifications of griefe. There could not herenunto a fitter preamble bee deuised, then that memorable commination set downe in the Booke of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suteable. The head alreadie so well drawne, doth but with a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that verie part of the English Liturgie, it may appeare how at the first setting downe thereof, no lesse was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words, wherein restitution of the Primitiue Church-Discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of publike penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but hauing framed in their minds the conceit of a new Discipline, farre vnlike vnto that of old, they make themselves beleene, it is vndoubtedly this their Discipline, which at the first was so much desired. They haue long pretended that the whole Scripture is plaine for them. If now the Communion Booke make for them too (I well thinke the one doth as much as the other) it may bee hoped that being found such a wel-willer vnto their cause, they will more fauour it then they haue done. Hauing therefore hitherto spoken, both of Festiual daies and so much of solemne Fasts, as may reasonably serue to shew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature, the practice partly appointed, & partly allowed
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of God in the Iewish Church, the like continued in the Church of Christ, together with the sinister oppositions, either of Heretikes erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will onely collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance, as of difference betweene them, and so end. First, in this they agree, that because nature is the generall root of both, therefore both haue bene alwayes common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen men. Secondly, they also herein accord, that as oft as ioy is the cause of the one, and griefe the well-spring of the other, they are ^a incompatible. A third degree of affinitie betweene them, is, that neither being acceptable to God it selfe, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signifie, so that if herein the mind dispose not it selfe aright, whether we ^b rest or ^c fast we offend. A fourth thing common vnto them is, that the greatest part of the World hath alwayes grossly and palpably offended in both; Infidels because they did all in relation to false gods; godlesse sensuall and carelesse minds, for that there is in them no constant true and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea, certaine flattering ouersights there are, wherewith sundrie, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led awry, euen through abundance of loue and liking to that which must be imbraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, wheteer we celebrate their glorie or follow them in humilitie, whether we laugh or weepe, mourne or reioyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of loue) apt to deceiue, and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchfull guide, seeing there is manifestly both wayes, euen in them whom we honour that which we are to obserue and shun. The best haue not still bene sufficiently mindfull, that Gods very Angels in Heauen are but Angels, and that bodily exercise considered ^d in it selfe is no great matter. Finally, seeing that both are Ordinances well deuised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them, as for ^e other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable Law for euer tyeth, it is but equitie to wish or admonish that whereby vniforme order they are not as yet receiued, the example of ^f Victors extremities in the one, and of ^g Johns Disciples curiositie in the other be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithstanding ^h we auoid Iudaisme, and as in Feastiuall dayes, mens necessities for matter of labour, so in times of Fasting, regard be had to their imbecillities, lest they should suffer harme, doing good. Thus therefore we see how these two customes are in diuers respects equall. But of Fasting the vse and exercise though lesse pleasant, is by so much more requisite then the other, as griefe of necessitie is a more familiar guest then the contrarie passion of mind, albeit gladnesse to all men be naturally more welcome. For first, we our selues doe many moe things amisse then well, and the fruit of our owne ill doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to it selfe that it should do the contrary. Againe, for as much as the world ouer-abundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good vnto other men, there is no man so seldome crost as pleased at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot be chosen, but euery mans woes most double in that respect

^a Con. Laod. ca. 51. 52. vetat Natalitia Martyrum, Quadragesimae celebrari.
^b Eysay 1. 13.
^c Eysay 58. 3.

^d 1. Tim. 4. 8.
^e Eccle. 12. 13.
^f Eysay 58. 6, 7.
^g Rom. 14. 17.
^h Iac. 1. 27.
ⁱ Heb. 12. 14.
^j Ephes. 2. 4.
^k Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. c. 5. 23.
^l Matth. 9. 14.
^m Col. 2. 16.

spect the number and measure of his delights. Besides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well considered, there is cause why our Saviour should account them happiest that doe most mourne, and why Salomon might iudge it better to frequent mourning then feasting houses, not better simply and in it selfe (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of vs and our common weakenesse better. *Iob* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets though tending to amitie, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of vs all need to be taught that in things which delight, we ^m easily swarue from mediocritie, and are not easily led by a right direct line. On the other side, the sores and diseases of mind which inordinate pleasure breedeth, are by dolour and griefe cured. For which cause as all offences vse to seduce by pleasing, so all punishments indeuour by vexing to reforme transgressions. We are of our owne accord apt enough to giue intertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lacke what flesh and blood doth desire, and by vertue to forbear what by nature we couet this, no man attaineth vnto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riseth that in former Ages, abstinence and fasting more then ordinarie, was alwayes a speciall branch of their praise, in whom it could be obserued and knowne, were they such as continually gaue themselues to austere life; or men that tooke often occasions in priuate vertuous respects to lay *Salomons* counsell aside, ⁿ *Eat thy bread with ioy*, and be followers of *Dauids* Example, which saith, ^o *I humbled my soule with fasting*; or but they who otherwise worthy of no great commendation, haue made of hunger, some their gaine, some their Physicke, some their Art, that by mastering sensuall appetites without constraint, they might grow able to indure hardnesse whensoever need should require. For the bodie accustomed to emprinesse, pineth not away so soone as hauing still vsed to fill it selfe. Many singular effects there are which should make fasting euen in publike considerations the rather to be accepted. For I presume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martiall enterprises, that lead Armies of men trained in a Schoole of abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some, that patience of hunger and thirst hath giuen them many victories; in others that because if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plentie to moderate themselues, he which can either bring them to hunger or ouercharge them, is sure to make them their owne ouerthrow. What Nation soeuer doth feele these dangerous inconueniences, may know that sloth and fulnesse in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedie a strict obseruation of that part of Christian Discipline, which teacheth men in practice of Ghostly warfare against themselues, those things that afterwards may helpe them, iustly assaulting or standing in lawfull defence of themselues against others. The verie purpose of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Fasts, hath bin not only to preferue, thereby throughout all Ages, the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in our selues out of which they haue risen, that men considering the one might feare the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind, lest contrarie affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute, in which respect it seemeth

Matth. 6. 4.
Eccles. 7. 4.

Iob 1. 5.

αὐτὸ πάντες οὐκ
 ἔμαρτοσαν φυλακ-
 τήν τὸ σῆμα
 οὐ τὴν ἡδονήν.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνα-
 στος κρινόμενος ἀν-
 τίσταται. Arist. Eth.
 2. cap. 13.

n Eccles. 9. 7.
o Psal. 35. 13.

meth

meth that Fasts haue bene set as Vñers of Festiuall Dayes, for preuention of those disorders, as much as might bee, wherein, notwithstanding the World alwayes will deferue, * as it hath done, blame; because such euils beeing not possible to be rooted out, the most we can do, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit wee looke for) to create in the mindes of men, a loue towards frugall and seuerer life, to vndermine the Palaces of Wantonnesse, to plant Parlimonie as Nature, where Riotousnesse hath bene studie, to harden whom pleasure would melt, and to helpe the tumours which alwayes fineesse breedeth, that Children as it were in the Wooll of their Infancie dyed with hardnesse, may neuer afterwards change colour; that the poore, whose perpetuall Fasts are necessitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger, which Vertue causeth others so often to choose, and by aduice of Religion it selfe so farre to esteeme above the contrarie; that they, which for the most part doe lead sensuall and easie liues; they which, as the Prophet *David* describeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publike spectacle of all be still put in minde what themselues are; finally, that euery man may bee euerie mans daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare humilitie, as by prayse to expresse ioy in the sight of God, although it haue herein besalne the Church as sometime *David*, so that the speech of the one may bee truely the voice of the other, *My Soule fasted, and euen that was also turned to my reproofe.*

73 In this World there can be no societie durable, otherwise then onely by propagation. Albeit therefore single Life bee a thing more Angelicall and Diuine, yet sith the replenishing first of Earth with blessed Inhabitants, and then of Heauen with Saints euerlastingly praying God, did depend vpon conjunction of Man and Woman, he which made all things complete and perfect, saw it could not bee good to leaue man without an Helper, vnto the forealleaged end: In things which some farther end doth cause to bee desired, choice seeketh rather proportion then absolute perfection of goodnesse. So that woman being created for mans sake to bee his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned, namely, the hauing and the bringing vp of Children, whereunto it was not possible they could concurre, vnlesse there were subalternation betweene them, which subalternation is naturally grounded vpon inequality, because things equall in euery respect are neuer willingly directed one by another, Woman therefore was euen in her first estate framed by Nature, not onely after in time, but inferiour in excellencie also vnto man, howbeit in so due and sweete proportion, as being presented before our eyes, might bee sooner perceiued then defined. And euen herein doth lye the reason, why that kind of loue, which is the perfectest ground of Wedlocke, is seldom able to yeeld any reason of it selfe. Now, that which is borne of Man, must be nourished with farre more trauell, as being of greater price in Nature, and of slower pace to perfection, then the Off-spring of any other Creature besides. Man and Woman being therefore to ioyne themselues for such a purpose, they were of necessitie to bee linked with some straight and insoluble knot. The bond of Wedlocke hath bin alwayes more or lesse esteemed of, as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the very Heathenis themselues doe thereunto oftentimes giue, is * *Holy*. Those Rites and Orders which were institu-

* *Valde admirandum est nimia sauritate velle honorare m. xry. rem quem iudas Des placuisse ieiunij Hieron. Epist. ad Eustach.*

Psal. 73.5.

Psal. 69.10.
The celebration of Matrimonic.
T. C. L. I. p. 199.

* *ἁγίου ἵερῶς γάμου.* Dionys. Halicarnasensis.

tuted in the solemnization of Marriage, the Hebrewes terme, by the name of coniugall ^a *sanctifications*. Amongst our selues, because sundry things appertaining vnto the publike order of Matrimonie, are called in question, by such as know not from whence those Customes did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them shall not bee superfluous, although wee doe not hereby intend, to yeeld so farre vnto Enemies of all Church-orders sauing their owne, as though every thing were vnlawfull, the true cause and reason, whereof at the first might hardly, perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to beginne with the times wherein the libertie of Marriage is restrained. *There is, saith Salomon, a time for all things, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn.* That duties belonging vnto Marriage, and Offices pertayning to Penance, are things vsurable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselues doe witness. Vpon which ground, as we might right well thinke it marvellous absurd to see in a Church, a Wedding on the day of a publike Fast, so likewise in the selfe-same consideration, our Predecessors thought it not amisse to take away the common libertie of Marriages, during the time which was appointed for preparation vnto, and for exercise of generall humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the deliuering vp of the woman, either by her Father or by some other, wee must note, that in ancient times, ^b all women which had not Husbands nor Fathers to governe them, had their Tutors, ^c without whose authority there was no act which they did, warrantable. And for this cause, they were in Marriage deliuered vnto their Husbands by others. Which custome retained, hath still this vse, that it putteth women in minde of a dutie, whereunto the very imbecillitie of their nature and sexe doth bind them, namely, to be alwayes directed, guided and ordered by others, although our Positiue Lawes doe not tye them now as Pupils. The custome of laying downe money, seemeth to haue bene deriued from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their Wiues. But, seeing there is not any great cause, wherefore the memorie of that custome should remayne, it skillerh not much, although we suffer it to lye dead, euen as wee see it in a manner alreadie worne out. The Ring hath bene alwayes vsed as an especiall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to serue as a Token of our purposed endlesse continuance in that which wee neuer ought to reuoke. This is the cause wherefore the Heathens themselues did in such cases vse the Ring, whereunto *Tertulian* alluding, saith, that in ancient times; ^d *No woman was permitted to wear gold, sauing only vpon one finger, which her husband had fastned vnto himself, with that ring which was vsually given for assurance of future marriage.* The cause why the Christians vse it, as some of the Fathers thinke, is ^e either to testifie mutual loue, or rather to serue for a pledge of coniunction in heart and minde agreed vpon betweene them. But what right and custome is there so harmlesse, wherein the wit of man bending it selfe to derision, may not easily finde out somewhat to scorne and iest at? Hee that should haue beheld the Iewes when they stood with ^f a foure-cornerd Garment, spread ouer the heads of espoused couples, while their Espousals were in making, he that should haue beheld their ^g praying ouer a Cup, and their deliuering the same at the Marriage Feast with set formes of Benediction, as the order amongst them was, might being

^a *Ridduschin. in Rituali Heb. de benediction. nuptiarum.*

Eccles. 3. 1. 1. Cor. 7. 5.

^b *Mulieres antiquo iure iure a perpetua continentur. Recedebant vero à maritis potestate, que in manum conuenissent. Boet. in Topic. Cic. c Nullam ne privatam quidem rem suam sine auctore agere maiores nostri voluerunt. Liu. lib. 4.*
The reason yeelded by *Tully*, this *Propter infirmitatem consilij Cic. pro Mur. Vide leges. Saxon. ut. 6. & 17.*
^d *Aurum nulla nonat iure et unico digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pro nubo annulo. Tertul. Apologet. c. 6.*
^e *Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. lib. 2. c. 19.*

^f *Elias Theb. in dict. Ebu. ba.*

^g *In Rituali de benediction. nuptiarum.*

Jewdly affected, take thereat as iust occasion of scornfull cauell, as at the vse of the Ring in Wedlocke amongst Christians. But of all things the most hardly takē, is the vttering of those words, *With my body I thee worship*, in which words, when once they are vnderstood, there will appeare as little cause as in the rest, for any Wise man to bee offended. First therefore, in as much as vnlawfull co-
 pulation doth pollute and dishonour both parties, this protestation that wee doe worship and honour another with our bodies, may import a denyall of all such lets and impediments to our knowledge, as might cause any stayne, blemish or disgrace that way, which kind of construction being probable, would easily approoue that speech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apostle doth so expressly affirme, that parties vnmarried haue not any longer intyre power over themselues, but each hath interest in others person, it cannot bee thought an absurd construction to say, that worshipping with the bodie, is imparting of that interest in the bodie vnto another, which none before had, save onely our selues. But if this were the naturall meaning; the words should perhaps bee as requisite to bee vsed on the one side as on the other, and therefore a third sence there is which I rather relye vpon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference betweene a lawfull Wife and a Concubine was onely ^c in the different purpose of man betaking himselfe to the one or the other. If his purpose were onely fellowship, there grew to the woman by this meane no worship at all, but the contrarie. In professing that his intent was to adde by his person honour, and worship vnto hers, hee tooke her plainly and cleerly to his Wife. This is it which the Ciuill Law doth meane, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in ^d dignitie; a Wife to bee taken where ^e Coniugall honour and affection doe goe before. The worship that grew vnto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was that her Children became by this meanes legitimate and free; her selfe was made a Mother ouer his Family; last of all, shee receiued such aduancement of state, as things annexed vnto his person might augment her with, yea, a right of participation was thereby giuen her both in him, and euen in all things which were his. This doth somewhat the more plainly appeare, by adding also that other clause, *wish all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch hauing granted the principall, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publike Solemnicie of Marriage, with receiuing the Blessed Sacrament, is a custome so Religious and so Holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this respect, it is not for suffering it to bee so much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put in vre. The Lawes of *Romulus* concerning Marriage are therefore extolled aboue the rest amongst the Heathens which were before, in that they established the vse of certaine speciall Solemnicities, whereby the mindes of men were drawne to make the greater conscience of Wedlocke, and to esteeme the bond thereof, a thing which could not be without impietie dissolved. If there bee any thing in Christian Religion strong and effectually to like purpose, it is the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist, in regard of the force whereof *Tertullian* breaketh out into these words, concerning Matrimonie there-

b Rom. 4. 24.
1. Cor. 7. 4.

c L. penul. D. de concub.

d L. item legato
S. penult. D. de legat. 3.
* L. donationes
D. de donationibus.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τὸ γυναικας ἀνάγκαστε τὰς γαμετὰς οἶα μεθ' ἑμὴν ἔχουσας ἑτέραν ἀποσπορῶν πρὸς ἐνὸν τοῦ γυναικώτερος ζῶν τρέπον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ὡς ἀνάγκαστε καὶ ἀπὸ σαυρῆτον χρημάτων τῆς γυναικας κρατεῖν. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. 2.

Textull. Lib. 2. ad uxorcm.

with sealed; *Vnde sufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem eius Matrimonij quod Ecclesia conciliat & confirmat oblatio?* I know not which way I should bee able to shew the happinesse of that Wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth fasten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirme. Touching Marriage therefore, let thus much be sufficient.

Churching of
Women.
T.C. l. 1. p. 150.

74. The fruit of Marriage is birth, and the companion of birth trauaile, the griefe whereof being so extreme, and the danger alwayes so great, dare we open our mouthes against the things that are holy, and presume to censure it, as a fault in the Church of Christ, that women after their deliuerance doe publickly shew their thankfull minds vnto God? But behold what reason there is against it: Forsooth, *if there should be solemne and expresse giuing of thanks in the Church for euery benefit, either equall, or greater then this which any singular person in the Church doth receiue, wee should not onely haue no preaching of the Word, nor ministring of the Sacraments, but we should not haue so much leisure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but should bee like those Malsilian Heretikes which doe nothing else but pray.* Surely better a great deale to bee like vnto those Heretikes which doe nothing else but pray, then those which doe nothing else but quarrell. Their heads it might happily trouble somewhat more then as yet they are aware of, to find out so many benefits greater then this, or equivalent therunto, for which if so be our Lawes did require solemne & expresse thanksgiuing in the Church, the same were like to prooue a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there bee such store of mercies euen inestimable powred every day vpon thousands (as indeed the earth is full of the blessings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and aboue measure) shall it not bee lawfull to cause solemne thanks to bee giuen vnto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are received, no Law binding men in regard thereof to performe the like dutie? Suppose that some bond there bee that tyeth vs at certaine times to mention publickly the names of sundry our Benefactors. Some of them it may bee are such, that a day would scarcely serue to reckon vp together with them the Catalogue of so many men besides, as we are either more or equally beholden vnto. Because no Law requireth this impossible labour at our hands, shall wee therefore condemne that Law whereby the other being possible and also dutifull is inioyned vs? So much wee owe to the Lord of Heauen, that wee can neuer sufficiently prayse him nor giue him thanks for halfe those benefits for which this Sacrifice were most due. Howbeit, God forbid wee should cease performing this dutie, when publicke Order doth draw vs vnto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath bene so long executed by deuout and vertuous people; God forbid, that being so many wayes prouoked in this case vnto so good a dutie, we should omit it, onely because there are other cases of like nature, wherein we cannot so conueniently, or at leastwise doe not performe the same most vertuous Office of Pietie. Wherein wee trust that as the action it selfe pleaseth God, so the order and manner thereof is not such as may iustly offend any. It is but an ouer-flowing of Gall, which causeth the Womens absence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to bee traduced and interpreted as though she were so long iudged *vnholly*, and were thereby shut

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out or sequestred from the House of God, according to the ancient Leuiticall Law. Whereas the very Canon Law it selfe doth not so hold, but directly * professeth the contrarie, shee is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any vnholinesse, forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abstayning from publike Assemblies, and her abode in separation for the time bee^b most conuenient. To scoffe at the manner of attire, the which there could be nothing deuised for such a time more graue and decent, to make it a token of some folly commited, for which they are loth to shew their faces, argueth that great Diuines are sometime more mercifull then wise. As for the Women themselves, God accepting the seruice which they faithfully offer vnto him, it is no great disgrace though they suffer pleasant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeale scorne. The name of *Oblations* applyed not onely heere to those small and petite payments which yet are a part of the Ministers right, but also generally giuen vnto all such allowances as serue for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and conuenient. For as the life of the Clergie is spent in the Seruice of God, so it is sustayned with his reueneue. Nothing therefore more proper then to giue the name of *Oblations* to such payments, in token that we offer vnto him whatsoever his Ministers receiue.

75 But to leaue this, there is a dutie which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of England is said to doe those things which are, though *not vnlawfull*, yet *inconuenient*, because it appointeth a prescript forme of Service at Burials, suffereth mourning Apparell to bee worne, and permitteth Funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will bee necessarie, although it bee needlesse to dwell long vpon it. The end of Funerall Duties is, first, to shew that loue towards the partie deceased which Nature requireth; then to doe him that honour which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the qualitie of his person; last of all, to testify the care, which the Church hath to comfort the liuing, and the hope which we all haue concerning the Resurrection of the dead. For signification of loue towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to bee a thing conuenient. As in truth the Scripture euery-where doth approoue lamentation made vnto this end. The Iewes by our Sauours teares therefore, gathered in this case that his loue towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as mourning at such times is fit, so likewise that there may bee a kind of Attire suitable to a sorrowfull affection, and conuenient for Mourners to wear, how plainly doth *Dauids* example shew, who being in heauinesse went vnto the Mount with his head covered, & all the people that were with him in like sort? White garments being fit to vse at Mariage-feasts, and such other times of joy, whereunto *Salomon* alluding, when hee requireth continuall cheerefulnesse of

D. H. 5. c. Hec que. in lege prescribitur ut mulier si masculum pareret. o. si femina 80. diebus a tempore

placessaret ingressu. Nunc autem statim post partem Ecclesiam ingressam prohibetur. b. Leo consil. 17. Quod profecto non tam proprie muliebrem immunditiam, quam ob alias causas in intima legislatione recondita, & veteri prohibetum esse lege & gratia temporis traditionis loco suscepisse potest. Existit o. si quidem sacra legem id. pr. scripsisse, quo proteruum corum qui intemperanter viuerent coaculescentiam castigaret, quemadmodum, & alia multa et alia precepta ordinantur & prescribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres stimulus et nudatur. Quin & hoc providentie que legem constituit voluntas est, ut parus a d. prauitate liberi sint. Quia enim quicquid a uera supernacitiam est idem corruptum est & inutile, quod hic sanguis superfluous sit, que illi obnoxie essent in immunditie, ad id temporis uicte illa lex iubet quo ipso etiam rominus suo lasciuia concupiscentia a d. tempor. miam redigatur, ne eximium & corrupta materia ipsam an. m. n. c. a. g. mentetur.

Of the Rites of Buriall. T. C. 1. 3. p. 236.

John 11. 36.

2. Sam. 15. 30.

Eccles. 9. 8.

mind, speaketh in this sort, *Let thy garments be alwayes white*: what doth hinder the contrary from being now as conuenient in grieffe, as this heretofore in gladnesse hath bin? *If there be no sorrow*, they say, *it is hypocriticall to pretend it, & if there be, to prouoke it by wearing such attire, is dangerous*. Nay, if there be to shew it, is naturall, & if there be not, yet the signes are meet to shew what should be, especially, sith it doth not come oftentimes to passe, that men are faine to haue their mourning Gowns puld off their backs, for feare of killing themselues with sorrow that way nourished. The honour generally due vnto all men, maketh a decent interrings of them to bee conuenient euen for very humanities sake. And therefore so much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the Widdowes Sonne, the carrying of him forth vpon a Beere, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath bin vsed euen amongst Infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme desirution, not to haue at the least this honour done them. Some mans estate may require a great deale more, according as the fashion of the Country where he dyeth doth afford. And vnto this appertained the ancient vse of the Iewes, to embalme the Corps with sweete Odours, and to adorne the Sepulchres of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men, it hath bene iudged fit to commend them vnto the World at their death, amongst the Heathen in Funerall Orations, amongst the Iewes in * sacred Poemes; and why not in Funerall Sermons also amongst Christians? Vs it sufficech, that the knowne benefit hereof doth counteruaile Millions of such inconueniences as are therein surmised, although they were not surmised onely but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods sight. Let it not seeme odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other bee spoken of, then especially, when the present occasion doth make mens mindes the more capable of such speech. The care no doubt of liuing, both to liue and to dye well must needes bee somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded vp in silence, but the eares of many be made acquainted with it. Moreouer when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their last need, besides the prayse which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or should haue by reason of their fellowship and Communion with Saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their owne dissolution? Againe, the sound of these things doth not so passe the eares of them that are most loose and dissolute in life, but it causeth them one time or other to wish, O that I might dye the death of the Righteous, and that my end might bee like his! Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of publike instruction common vnto Funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whose mindes are through naturall affection pensue in such cases, no man can iustly mislike the custome which the Iewes had to end their Burials with Funerall Baquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Jeremie* spake, concerning the people whom God had appointed vnto a grieuous manner of destruction, saying, that men should not *giue them the Cup of consolation to drinke for their Faether or for their Mother*, because it should not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Ancestors vnto the Graue with weeping eyes, haue

Luke 7.12.

Psal. 79.3.
Iohn 19.40.
Mat. 23.27.

1. SAM. 1.19.

ZECH. 16.7.

haue notwithstanding meanes wherewith to be recomforted. *Giue wine,* saith PROV. 31. 6. SALOMON, *vnto them that haue griefe of heart.* Surely, he that ministrerth vnto them * comfortable speech, doth much more then giue them wine. But the greateft thing of all other about this dutie of Christian buriall, is an outward testification of the hope which we haue touching the Resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable iudgement examine, whether it be more conuenient for a companie of men, as it were in a dumbe show, to bring a Corse to the place of buriall, there to leaue it couered with earth, and so end, or else to haue the Exequies deuoutly performed with solemne recitall of such Lectures, Psalmes and Prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring vp of mens minds vnto a carefull consideration of their estate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is obiected, that neither the people of God vnder the Law, nor the Church in the Apostles times did vse any forme of seruice, in buriall of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken vp without any good example or precedent followed therein; first, while the world doth stand, they shall neuer be able to prooue, that all things which either the one or the other did vse at Burials, are set downe in holy Scripture, which doth not any-where of purpose deliuer the whole manner and forme thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime another which was in vse, as speciall occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Againe, if it might be prooued that no such thing was vsuall amongst them, hath Christ so depriued his Church of iudgement, that what Rites and Orders soeuer the later Ages thereof haue deuised, the same must needs be inconuenient? Furthermore, that the Iewes before our Sauours comming had any such forme of seruice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Priests to be present at burials, letteth not but that others might discharge that dutie, seeing all were not Priests which had roomes of publike Function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no such forme of seruice, thus much there is to make the contrarie more probable. The Iewes at this day haue, as appeareth in their forme of Funerall Prayers, & in certaine of their Funerall Sermons published, neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that order from vs, besides, that the forme thereof is such as hath in it sundrie things, which the very words of the Scripture it selfe doe seeme to allude vnto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulcher vnto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their buriall Feast, and a consolatorie forme of prayers, appointed for the Master of the Synagoge thereat to vtter, albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoeuer the Iewes custome was before the dayes of our Sauour Christ, hath it once at any time bene heard of, that either Church or Christian man of sound beliefe did euer iudge this a thing vnmeet, vndecent, vnfit for Christianitie, till these miserable dayes, wherein vnder the colour of remoouing superstitious abuses, the most effectuall meanes, both to testifie and to strengthen true Religion, are plucked at, and in some places euen pulled vp by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at burials, the peculiar hope of the Church
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of God concerning the Dead, and in the manner of those dumbe Funerals, what one thing is there whereby the World may perceiue wee are Christian men?

Of the nature of that ministerie, which serueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happinesse not eternall only, but also temporal, doth depend vpon it.

76 I come now vnto that function which vnder-taketh the publike ministerie of holy things, according to the Lawes of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth in action, is knowne by the object whereabout they are conuersant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and men; God, in that he is publicly worshipped of his Church, and Men, in that they are capable of happinesse, by meanes which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the summe of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God, and to saue men. For whether we seuerally take, and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one societie and bodie, as it hath bene before declared, that euery mans Religion is in him the Well-spring of all other sound and sincere vertues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full ioy and felicitie ariseth, because while they liue, they are blessed of God, and when they die, their works follow them: so at this present we must againe call to mind, how the very worldly peace and prosperitie, the secular happinesse, the temporall and naturall good estate both of all Men, and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly vpon Religion, and doth euermore giue plaine testimonie, that as well in this as in other considerations the Priest is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein he faithfully serueth God. For if these Assertions be true, first, that nothing can be inioyed in this present world, against his will which hath made all things: secondly, that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to haue, yet impietie permitteth them not to inioy, no nor temporall blessings on earth: thirdly, that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as hand-maids vpon Religion: and fourthly, that without the worke of the ministerie, Religion by no meanes can possibly continue, the vse and benefit of that sacred Function, euen towards all mens worldly happinesse must needs be granted. Now the * first being a Theoreme both vnderstood and confest of all, to labour in prooffe thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may be called in question, except it be perfectly vnderstood. By good things temporall therefore, we meane length of dayes, health of bodie, store of friends and well-willers, quietnesse, prosperous successe of those things we take in hand; riches with fit oportunities to vse them during life, reputation following vs both aliue and dead, children or such as in stead of children, we wish to leaue Successors and partakers of our happinesse. These things are naturally euery mans desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same, them we confesse he graciously blessing. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefeft. For which cause we esteeme the gaine of honour an ample recompence for the losse of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certaine perpetuities of goodnesse, nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their owne sake, but with reuerence and relation to somewhat independantly good, as is the exercise of vertue and speculation of

* Si creature Dei merito & dispensatio Dei sumus: Quis enim rra, is dignit quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem oramatus regit, quam is qui & fecit & dirigit? Quis vero salutem, & fortis ordinatio & regere facit? Quis potest, qui & facienda prouidit, & prouisa perficit? Quis propter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, & qui non legerunt sentunt, & qui legerunt cognoscunt? Paul. O. rosi. Hist. aduer. Pagan. lib. 2.

Οὗτοι τὰ χρίματ' ἰδία κέκτηνται βρότοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελέμεθα, Eurip. Phœnis. truth.

truth. None, whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to live to breathe and mooue, without performance of those actions which are becoming mans excellencie. Wherefore hauing not how to employ it, wee waxe wearie euen of life it selfe. Health is precious, because sicknesse doth breed that paine which disableth action. Againe, why doe men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many, doe need many helping hands to further them? Betweene troublesome and quiet dayes we should make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt; the other vphold our libertie of action. Furthermore, if those things we doe, succeed, it reioycest vs not so much for the benefit we thereby reape, as in that * it probably argueth our actions to haue beene orderly and well guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contempt. Honour is commonly presumed a signe of more then ordinarie vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious mindes thirst after it, their indeouours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possesse that body, the very shaddow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally, such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh vs, still our desires to continue action, and to worke though not by our selues, yet by them whom wee leaue behind vs, causeth vs prouidently to resigne into other mens hands, the helps wee haue gathered for that purpose, diuising also the best wee can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporall felicitie are onely good in relation to that which vseth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth euer stay or rest it selfe. Now temporall blessings are inioyed of those which haue them, know them, *esteeme them according to that they are in their owne nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his vsuall and ordinarie speeches are, That bloud-thirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue out halfe their dayes; that God shall cause a pestilence to cleaue vnto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grieffe, with feauers, burning diseases and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men shall tread them downe, and none shew countenance of loue towards them, as much as by pitying them in their miserie; that the sinnes of the vngodly shall bereaue them of peace; that all counsels, complots, and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the vniust is beggerie; that the name of vnrighteous persons shall putrifie, and the posteritie of Robbers starue. If any thinke that Iniquitie and Peace, Sinne and Prosperitie can dwell together, they erre, because they distinguish not aright betweene the matter, and that which giueth it the forme of happinesse, betweene possession and fruition, betweene the hauing and the inioying of good things. The impious cannot inioy that they haue, partly because they receiue it not as at Gods hands, which onely consideration maketh temporall blessings comfortable, and partly because through errour, placing it about things of farre more price and worth, they turne that to poyson which might be food, they make their prosperitie their owne snare, in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those Egges, out of which their wofull ouer-throw is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it commeth to passe, that wise and iudicious men obseruing the vaine behaviours

* διμεσθα γὰρ τὸν ἐπιπορευόμενον πάντ' ἐπισσάσαι καλῶς.
Eurip. Hecul.

Psal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prov. 10.

Prov. 16. 18.
 Ante vultum
 elatio.
 φιλέει ὁ θεός
 πάντα τὰ ἠπα-
 ρήχοντα καὶ
 λυφ. ἢ γὰρ
 ἐὰν ὀροῦνται ἀλλο-
 λον μέγα ἢ
 ἑαυτὸν, Hero-
 dot. lib. 7.

* Ἐπει τὰ γὰρ
 ἀρῶνθ' ἱκανὰ
 τοῖς γὰρ σώφρο-
 σιν, Eurip.
 Phœnif.
 α τῶν ἀνοτέρων
 ὁ λογισμὸς ἴ-
 σως, ἀλλ' ἐν
 ἀφαιεσέρων,
 ἴσον ἀπερεῖν
 χ' ὄψιν ἐπ' ἰσ-
 ματος, Greg.
 Naq. Apolog. 3.
 They may
 seeme haply
 for their owne
 safetic, which
 feare clymyng
 no lesse then
 falling.
 b Arist. Polit.
 lib. 1. cap. 11.

behaviours of such as are risen to vnwonted greatnesse, haue thereby beene able to prognosticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceiue easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but onely the good estate which fat Oxen haue about leane, when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruine. The grosse and bestiall conceit of them which want vnderstanding is onely, that the fullest bellies are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicitie they wish to the Common-wealth wherein they liue, is, that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may haue to powre out without stint; that the poore may sleepe, and the rich feed them, that nothing vnpleasant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselues haue a lust to follow, that Kings may prouide for the ease of their subiects, and not bee too curious about the manners, that wantonnesse, excessse, and lewdnesse of life may be left free, and that no fault may be capitall, besides dislike of things ettled in so good termes. But be it farre from the iust to dwell either in or neere to the Tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirme, that Religion and the feare of God, as well induceth secular prosperitie as euerlasting blisse in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godlinesse could not be said to haue the promises of both liues, to be that ample reuener, wherein there is alwayes sufficiencie, and to carrie with it a generall discharge of want, euen so generall, that *Dauid* himselfe should protest, he neuer saw the Iust forsaken. Howbeit to this we must adde certaine speciall limitations, as first, that we doe not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heavenly Physician must iudge) receiue often-times most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially giuen, as appeareth in that which the Wise-man hath noted concerning them, whose liues God mercifully doth abridge, lest wickednesse should alter their vnderstanding; againe, that the measure of our outward prosperitie be taken by proportion with that, which euery mans estate in this present life requireth. Externall abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise Artificers to haue their instruments proportionable to their worke, rather fit for vse then huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a seruant doe not need that which may be necessarie for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects, that haue wherewith to performe* sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they haue no more. For by reason of mans imbecillitie and pronenesse to elation of mind, * too high a flow of prosperitie is dangerous, too low an ebbe againe as dangerous; for that the vertue of patience is rare, & the hand of necessitie stronger, then ordinarie vertue is able to withstand. *Salomons* discreet & moderate desire we all know: *Giue me, O Lord, neither riches nor penurie.* Men ouer-high exalted either in honor, or in power, or in nobilitie, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrarie hand sunke either with beggerie, or through deiection, or by basenesse doe not easily giue care to reason, but the one exceeding apt vnto outrages, and the other vnto petty mischiefs. For greatnesse delighteth to shew it selfe by effects of power, and basenesse

benefesse to helpe it selfe with shifts of malice. For which cause, a moderate, indifferent temper, betweene fulnesse of bread; and emptinesse hath bene euermore thought and found (all circumstances duely considered) the safest and happiest for all Estates, euen for King and Princes themselues. Againe, we are not to looke, that these things should alwayes concurre, no not in them which are accounted happie, neither that the course of mens liues or of publike affaires should continually be drawne out as an euen thred (for that the nature of thing will not suffer) but a iust suruey being made, as those particular men are worthily reputed good, whose vertues be great, and their faults tolerable, so him we may register for a man fortunate, and that for a prosperous or happy State, which hauing flourished, doth not afterwards feele any Tragick alteration, such as might cause them to be a spectacle of misery to others. Besides, whereas true felicitie consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of man, which sheweth sometime greatest perfection, not in vsing the benefits which delight nature, but in suffering what nature can hardliest indure, there is no cause why either the losse of good, if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery, the issue whereof, is their greater praise and honour that haue sustained it, should be thought to impeach that temporall happinesse, wherewith Religion, we say is accompanied, but yet in such measure, as the seuerall degrees of men may require by a competent estimation, and vnlesse the contrary do more aduance, as it hath done those most Heroicall Saints, whom afflictions haue made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamitie falleth, but whom neither miserie nor prosperitie is able to moue from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and vnpartial Iudges to haue proceeded from Diuine reuenge, it passeth in the number of Humane casualties whereunto we are all alike subiect. No miserie is reckoned more them common or humane, if God so dispose that we passe thorow it, and come safe to shore, euen as contrariwise, men doe not vse to thinke those flourishing dayes happie which doe end with teares. It standeth therefore with these cautions firme and true, yea, ratified by all mens vnfeined confessions drawne from the verie heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and state, or else the same men with themselues, whether we conferre one Dominion with another, or else the different times of one and the same Dominion, the manifest oddes betweene their very outward condition, as long as they stedfastly were obserued to honour God, and their successe being false from him, are remonstrances more then sufficient, how al our welfare euen on earth dependeth wholly vpon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired, or bettered alwayes their worldly affaires, as their loue and zeale towards it, did waine or grow. Of the Iewes, did not euen their most malicious and mortall Aduersaries all acknowledge, that to striue against them, it was in vaine, as long as their amitie with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apostasie? In the whole course of their owne proceedings, did they euer find it otherwise, but that during their faith & fidelity towards God, euery man of them was in war, as a thousand strong, and

as much as a grand Senate, for counsell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwise that if they swarued, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimitie forsooke them vtterly, their Souldiers and Military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and sate in counsell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their grauest Senators could not discerne, their Prophets saw darkeness in stead of Visions, the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht, euen that which they knew (being such as might stand them in stead) they had not the grace to vtter, or if any thing were well proposed, it tooke no place, it entred not into the minds of the rest to approue and follow it, but as men confounded with strange and vnusuall amazements of Spirit, they attempted tumultuously they saw not what, and by the issues of all attempts, they found no certaine conclusion but this, *God and heauen are strong against vs in all we doe.* The cause whereof was secret feare, which tooke heart and courage from them, and the cause of their feare, an inward guiltinesse that th y all had offered God such apparant wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be, the case is now altogether changed, and that in Christian Religion, there is not like force towards temporall felicitie. Search the ancient Records of time, looke what hath happened by the space of these sixteene hundred yeeres, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and cleere, yea, all things so manifest, that for euidence and prooff herein, wee need not by vncertaine darke coniectures surmise any to haue bene plagued of God for contempt, or blest in the course of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them, whom we find in that respect on the one side, guiltie by their owne confessions, and happie on the other side by all mens acknowledgement, who behoiding the prosperous estate of such as are good and vertuous, impute boldly the same to Gods most speciall fauour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth aboue others, with them he hath cause to be more offended. For Vertue is alwaies plaine to be seene, rarenesse causeth it to be obserued, and goodnesse to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquitie and sinne, it lyeth many times hid, and because we be all offenders, it becommeth vs not to incline towards hard and seuerer sentences touching others, vnlesse their notorious wickednesse did sensibly before proclaime that which afterwards came to passe. Wherefore the summe of euery Christian mans dutie is, to labour by all meanes towards that, which other men seeing in vs may iustifie, and what we our selues must accuse, if we fall into it, that by all meanes we can to auoid, considering especially, that as hitherto vpon the Church there neuer yet fell tempestuous storme; the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldnesse in affection, and from backwardnesse in duties of seruice towards God, so if that which the teares of Antiquitie haue vttered concerning this point should be here set downe, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollifie an heart of Steele. On the contrary part, although we confesse with Saint *Augustine* most willingly, that the chiefest happinesse for which we haue some Christian Kings in so great admiration aboue the rest, is not because of their long Raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this present life, the settled establishment of their owne flesh and blood, succeeding them in Royaltie,

tie and power, the glorious ouerthrow of forraine enemies, or the wise prevention of inward danger, and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our vnquiet life, it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which haue no societie or part in the ioyes of Heauen, giuing thereby to vnderstand, that these in comparison are toys and trifles farre vnder the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands: but in truth the reason wherefore we most extoll their felicitie, is, if so be they haue vertuously reigned, if honour haue not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power haue bene seruice and attendance vpon the Maiestie of the most High, if they haue feared him as their owne interiours and subiects haue feared them, if they haue loued neither pompe nor pleasure more then heauen, if reuenge haue slowly proceeded from them, and mercie willingly offered it selfe, if so they haue tempered rigour with lenitie, that neither extreme seueritie might viterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easinesse of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that what soeuer they doe their potencie may beare it out, they haue bene so much the more carefull not to doe any thing but that which is commendable in the best, rather then vsuall with greatest personages, if the true knowledge of themselues haue humbled them in Gods sight, no lesse then God in the eyes of men hath raised them vp; I say, albeit wee reckon such to bee the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happinesse, neuertheless, considering what force there is euen in outward blessings, to comfort the mindes of the best disposed, and to giue them the greater ioy when Religion and Peace, heauenly and earthly happinesse are wreathed in one Crowne, as to the worthiest of Christian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen, let it not seeme vnto any man a needlesse and superfluous waste of labour, that there hath bene thus much spoken, to declare how in them especially it hath bene so obserued, and withall vniuersally noted euen from the highest to the very meanest how this peculiar benefit, this singular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heauenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth vs safe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giueth honours, promotions and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them then if wee had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plentie of all good things, or maketh a Sallet of greene herbs, more sweet then all the sacrifices of the vngodly. Our fourth Proposition before set downe was, that Religion without the helpe of spiritual ministerie is vnable to plant it selfe, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their owne accord. Which last Assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did, I could easily declare, how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderfull arte and wisdom sodored, as it were, together with the glue of mutuall assistance, appointing the lowest to receiue from the neere to themselues, what the influence of the highest yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all his works, was in reason to be also ordered with like harmonic, that what hee worketh, might no lesse in grace then in nature be effected by hands and instruments, duely subordinated vnto the power of his owne Spirit. A

thing both needfull for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debter to any, but to himselfe, and of no smal effect to nourish that diuine loue, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Ministeriall actions tending immediatly vnto Gods honour, and mans happinesse, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principall worke of the Ministerie, or else they are parts of that principall worke of administration it selfe, which worke consisteth in doing the seruice of Gods house, and in applying vnto men the soueraigne Medicines of grace already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appeare, that we ^a owe to the guides of our soules euen as much as our soules are worth, although the debt of our temporall blessings should be stricken off.

Luke 12. 42.
1. Cor. 4. 1.
Tit. 1. 7.
1. Pet. 4. 10.
Eph. 3. 2.

α κ' τσαυτον
μοι προσοφει-
λεις. Epist. ad
Phile.

Of power gi-
uen vnto men
to execute that
haeuely Of-
fice; of the gift
of the holy
Ghoſt in ordi-
nation; and
whether con-
ueniently the
power of Or-
der may be
ſought or ſued
for.

77 The ministerie of things diuine is a function, which as God did himselfe institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto Man in necessaries, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his haeuely Truth, because without that inestimable benefit, wee must needs haue wandred in darknesse, to our endlesse perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordayned certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men, therevnto assigned, doe hold their authoritie from him, whether they be such as himselfe immediatly, or as the Church in his Name inuesteth, it being neither possible for all, nor for euery man without distinction conuenient to take vpon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore Ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as Princes and ciuill Magistrates, whose execution of iudgement and iustice the supreme hand of diuine providence doth vphold, but Ministers of God, as from whom their authoritie is deriued, and not from men. For in that they are Christs Embassadors and his Labourers, who should giue them their Commission, but hee whose most inward affaires they manage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not Soules the purchase of Iesus Christ? What Angell in heauen could haue said to Man, as our Lord did vnto PETER, *Feede my sheepe? Preach? Baptize? Doe this in remembrance of me? Whose sinnes yee retaine, they are retayned, and their offences in Heauen pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgive? What thinke we? Are these terrestriall sounds, or else are they voices vttered out of the clouds about? The power of the ministerie of God translateth out of darknesse into glorie, it rayseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himselfe downe from heauen, by blessing visible elements it maketh them inuisible grace, it giueth daily the holy Ghoſt, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was giuen for the life of the world, and that blood which was powred out to redeeme soules, when it powreth malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they perish, when it reuoketh the same they reuiue. O wretched blindnesse, if wee admire not so great power, more wretched if wee consider it aright, and notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath imparted power both ouer that mysticall Body which is the societie of soules, and ouer that naturall which is himselfe for the knitting of both in one, (a worke which antiquitie doth call the making of Christs Body) the same*

power

power is in such not amisse both termed a kind of marke or Character, and acknowledged to be indeleble. Ministeriall power is a marke of separation, because it severeth them that haue it from other men, and maketh them a speciall order consecrated vnto the seruice of the most High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a distinct order. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And *Saint Paul* himselfe diuiding the body of the Church of Christ into two moieties, nameth the one part *idiotas*, which is as much as to say, the order of the Laitie, the opposite part whereunto we in like sort terme the order of Gods Clergie, and the spirituall power which hee hath giuen them, the power of their order, so farre forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affaires of God. For of the power of their iurisdiction ouer mens persons wee are to speake in the bookes following. They which haue once receiued this power, may not thinke to put it off, and on, like a cloke, as the weather serueth, to take it, reiect and resume it as oft as themselves list, of which prophane and impious contempt these latter times haue yeilded, as of all other kinds of iniquitie and Apostasie, strange examples, but let them know which put their hands vnto this plough, that once consecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suspensions may stop, and degradations vterly cut off the vse or exercise of power before giuen: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder whar God by his authoritie coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert degradation, as there may be cause of iust separation after Matrimony; yet if (as sometime it doth) restitution to former dignitie, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one, nor the other euer iterate the first knot. Much lesse is it necessarie, which some haue vrged, concerning the reordination of such, as others in times more corrupt, did consecrate heretofore. Which error already queld by *Saint Ierome*, doth not now require any other reuixation. Examples I graunt there are which make for restraint of those men from admittance againe into roomes of spirituall function, whose fall by heresie, or want of constancie in professing the Christian faith, hath bene once a disgrace to their calling. Neuerthelesse, as there is no law which bindeth, so there is no cause that should alwayes leade to shew one and the same severitie towards persons culpable. Goodnesse of nature it selfe more inclineth to clemencie then rigour. And we in other mens offences doe behold the plaine image of our owne imbecillitie. Besides also them that wander out of the way, it cannot be vnexpedient to win with all hopes of fauour, lest strictnesse vsed towards such as reclaime themselves, should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore after that the Church of Alexandria had somewhat recovered it selfe from the Tempests and stormes of *Arrianisme*, being in consultation about the reestablishment of that which by long disturbance had bene greatly decayed and hindred, the seruenter fort gaue quicke sentence, that touching them which were of the Clergie, and had tained themselves with heresie, there should bee none so receiued into the Church againe, as to continue in the order of the Clergie. The rest which considered how many mens cases it did concerne, thought it much more safe and conso-

*Tertull. de Ad-
hort. castu.*

Heb. 2. 17.

Matth. 19.

*b In 12. tabulis
cantum est, ut
idem iuris esset
sanantibus quod
fortibus, id est,
bonis & que
nunquam dese-
cerunt à populo
Romano Fest. in
ver. Samnites.
c Ruffin. Hist.
Eccles. lib. cap. 28.*

nant to bend somewhat downe towards them which were fallen, to shew severity vpon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation, without any other demaund sauing onely the abiuration of their error, as in the Gospell that walkfull young man which returned home to his Fathers house, was with ioy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his owne fidelitie & vertue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whose v unexpected recouerie ought to haue blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanors and faults past. But of this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giuing Orders, is our vsing those memorable words of our Lord and Sauour Christ, *Receiue the holy Ghost*. The holy Ghost they say wee cannot giue, and therefore wee ^a foolishly bid men receiue it. Wise men for their authorities sake must haue leaue to befoole them whome they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding, if it may please their wisdom as well to heare what fooles can say, as to controll that which they doe, thus we haue heard some wise men teach, namely, that the ^b *holy Ghost* may be vsed to signifie not the person alone, but the gifts of the holy Ghost, and wee know that spirituall gifts are not onely abilities to doe things miraculous, as to speake with tongues which were neuer taught vs, to cure diseases without art, and such like, but also that the very authoritie and power which is giuen men in the Church to bee Ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the holy Ghost is authour, and therefore he which giueth this power, may say without absurditie or folly, *Receiue the holy Ghost*, such power as the Spirit of Christ hath indued his Church withall, such power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæsar on earth can giue. So that if men alone had deuised this forme of speech, thereby to expresse the heauenly welspring of that power which Ecclesiasticall ordinations doe bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might beare with it. If then our Lord and Sauour himselfe haue vsed the selfe-same forme of words, and that in the selfe-same kind of action, although there bee but the least shew of probability, yea, or any possibilitie, that his meaning might bee the same which ours is, it should teach sober and graue men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to haue in it more profoundnesse of wisdom then flesh and blood should presume to controll. Our Sauour after his resurrection from the dead gaue his Apostles their commission, saying. *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth: Goe therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghost, teaching them to obserue all things whatsoeuer I haue commaunded you.* In sum, *As my Father sent me, so send I you.* Whereunto Saint Iohn doth adde farther, that *hauing thus spoken, hee breathed on them and said, Receiue the holy Ghost.* By which words hee must of likelihood vnderstand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed vpon them, as both the speech of actuall deliuerie in saying *Receiue*, and the visible signe thereof, his breathing, did shew. Absurd it were to imagine our Sauour did both to the eare and also to the verie eye expresse a reall donation, and they at that time receiue nothing. It resteth then that wee search what speciall grace they did

^a Papiſticus quidam ritus, ſultè quidem ab illis & ſine vllò ſcripturæ fundamento inſtitutus, & à diſcipline noſtræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non in ſuo primo iudicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retineatur. Eccleſiaſt. diſci.

p. 55.
^b Eccleſi. diſcip.
ſol. 52. p. 2. lin. 1.

Matth. 28. 18.

Iohn 20. 21.

at that time receiue. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, most apparent it is, that as then they receiued it not, but the promise thereof was to bee shortly after performed. The words of Saint *Luke*, concerning that power, are therefore set downe with signification of the time to come, *Behold, I will send the promise of my Father vpon you, but tarrie you in the Citie of Ierusalem, vntill yee bee indued with power from on high.* Wherefore, vndoubtedly, it was some other effect of the Spirit, the holy Ghost in some other kinde which our Sauour did then bestow. What other likelier then that which himselfe doth mention, as it should seeme of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the holy Ghost, which he then gaue, was an holy and a ghostly Authoritie, authoritie ouer the soules of men, authoritie, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retaine sinnes? Receiue the holy Ghost, *Whose sinnes soeuer yee remit, they are remitted, whose sinnes yee retayne, they are retayned.* Whereas therefore the other Euangelists had set downe, that Christ did before his suffering, promise to giue his Apostles the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and being risen from the dead, promised moreouer at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghost: Saint *Iohn* addeth, that hee also inuested them euen then with the power of the holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the Keyes did import. Seeing therefore, that the same power is now giuen, why should the same forme of words expressing it be thought foolish? The cause why we breathe not as Christ did on them vnto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor spirital authoritie may be thought to proceed from vs, which are but delegates or assignes to giue men possession of his graces. Now besides that the power and authoritie deliuered with those words is it selfe *χρηστικα*, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly perswade our selues, that the hand which imposeth vpon vs the function of our ministry, doth vnder the same forme of words so tie it selfe thereunto, that hee which * receiueth the burthen, is thereby for euer warranted to haue the Spirit with him, and in him for his assistance, aide, countenance and support in whatsoever he faithfully doth to discharge dutie. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination, we also receive the presence of the holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct, and strengthen vs in all our wayes, and partly to assume vnto it selfe for the more authoritie, those actions that appertayne to our place and calling, can our eares admit such a speech vttered in the reuerend performance of that solemnitie, or can wee at any time renew the memorie, and enter into serious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and ioy? Remoue what these foolish words doe imply, and what hath the Ministerie of God besides wherein to glorie? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghost, which our Sauour in his first ordinations gaue, doth no lesse concurre with spirituall vocations throughout all ages, then the Spirit which God deriueth from *Moses* to them that assisted him in his government, did descend from them to their successors in like authoritie and place, we haue for the least and meanest ducties performed by vertue of Ministeriall power, that, to dignifie, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemne, giue

Luke 24. 49.

Iohn 20. 23.

* Et si necessarium est trepidare de merito, religio sum estiamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi onus est auer, esse fiet administrator, et mihi adiutor, et in magnitudine ne gratie succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. Leo, serm. 1. in Annuer. die A. τὸ τίς ἕξασ τὸ ἀγίων ἐσθὲν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων τῶν ἁγίων. G. eg. Nazian. Num. 11. 17.

absolution, or whatsoever, as disposers of Gods mysteries, our words, iudgements, acts and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghosts. Enough if vnfaignedly and in heart we did beleue it, enough to banish whatsoever may iustly be thought corrupt, either in bestowing, or in vsing, or in esteeming the same other wise then is meete. For prophanely to bestow, or loofely to vse, or vileyly to esteeme of the holy Ghost, we all in shew and profession abhorre. Now because the Ministerie is an office of dignitie and honour; some are doubtfull whether any man may seeke for it without offence, or to speake more properly, doubtfull they are not, but rather bold to accuse our Discipline in this respect, as not only permitting, but requiring also ambitious suites & other oblique waies or means whereby to obtaine it. Against this they pleade, that our Sauiour did stay till his Father sent him, and the Apostles till hee them; that the ancient Bishops in the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of the same modestie. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let vs therefore at the length amend that custome of repairing from all parts vnto the Bishop at the day of ordination, & of seeking to obtaine orders, let the custome of bringing commendatory letters be remooued; let men keepe themselves home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authoritie of such as may call them to vnder take charge.* Thus seuerely they censure and controll ambition, if it be ambition which they take vpon them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to doubt. Ambition, as we vnderstand it, hath bene accounted a vice which seeketh after honors inordinately. Ambitious minds esteeming it their greatest happinesse to bee admired, reuerenced and adored about others, vse all means lawfull & vnlawfull which may bring them to high roomes. But as for the power of order considered by it selfe, and as in this case it must be considered, such reputation it hath in the eye of this present world, that they which affect it, rather neede encouragement to beare contempt, then deserue blame as men that carrie aspiring mindes. The worke whereunto this power serueth is commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the Apostle for good. Neuerthelesse because the burthen thereof is heauie and the charge great, it commeth many times to passe, that the minds euen of vertuous men are drawne into cleane contrarie affections, some in humilitie declining that by reason of hardnesse, which others in regard of goodnesse onely doe with seruent alacritie couet. So that there is not the least degree in this seruice, but it may be both

1. Tim. 3. 1.

* τῶν παλαιῶν τοῖς ἐνδοκίμοις ἀνακοτῶν εὐρίσκο ὅσους πάποτε εἰς ἐπιστάσιαν ἢ προσητέριαν ἢ χάρις προβαλέω τοῖς μὲν εἴ-
 ατας προθύμως τῆ κλίσει τοὺς δ' ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ
 χάρισμα καὶ ὑπετέραν μεμπτικῶν οὐτε τῶν ὑποχωρη-
 σάντων τῶν δειλιῶν, οὐτε τῶν ἑρμισάντων τῶν φρο-
 συλίαν, οἱ μετὰ γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ἐυ-
 λαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν καλῶν ἰπέσυστασις ἠκολούθησαν,
 Greg. Nazian. Apologt.

in reuerence slanned and of very deuotion longed for. If then the desire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profession of that desire bee so likewise? Wee are not to thinke it so long good as it is dissembled, and euill if once wee begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beseech you,

is there in opening it, there where it may be furthered and satisfied, in case they to whome it appertaineth thinke meete? In vaine are those desires allowed, the accomplishment whereof it is not lawfull for men to seeke. Power therefore of Ecclesiasticall order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which professe themselves that way inclined, may endeavour

to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessitie of euill. Is it the bringing of testimoniall letters wherein so great obliquitie consisteth? What more simple, more plaine, more harmelesse, more agreeable with the law of common humanitie, then that men where they are not knowne, vse for their easier access the credit of such as can best giue testimonie of them? Letters of any other construction our Church Discipline alloweth not, and these to allow, is neither to require, ambitious suings, nor to approue any indirect or vnlawfull act. The Prophet *Esay* receiuing his message at the hands of God, and his charge by heauenly vision, heard the voice of the Lord, saying, *Whome shall I send? Who shall goe for vs?* Whereunto he recordeth his own answer, *Then I said, Here, Lord I am, send me.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for solemne ordination, is but the publike demaund of the Church in the name of the Lord himselfe, *Whome shall I send, who shall goe for vs?* The confluence of men, whose inclinations are bent that way, is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of sundrie being offred, the Church hath freedome to take whome her agents in such case thinke meete and requisite. As for the example of our Sauiour Christ, who tooke not to himselfe this honour to bee made our high Priest, but receiued the same from him which said; *Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedec,* his waiting, and not attempting to execute the office till God saw conuenient time, may serue in reproofe of vsurped humours, for as much as wee ought not of our owne accord to assume dignities, whereunto wee are not called as Christ was. But yet it should bee withall considered, that a proud vsurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingnesse to obtaine admittance, which willingnesse of minde, I suppose, did not want in him whose answer was to the voyce of his heauenly calling, *Behold, I am come to doe thy will.* And had it bene for him, as it is for vs, expedient to receiue his commission signed with the hands of men, to seeke it, might better haue beseeemed his humilitie, then it doth our boldnesse, to reprehend them of Pride and Ambition, that make no worfe kind of futes then by letters of infotmation. Himselfe in calling his Apostles preuented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them, *Ye chose not me, but I of mine owne voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of vndesired nomination to Ecclesiasticall places, befell diuers of the most famous amongst the ancient Fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie consideration. For our Sauiours election respected not any merit or worth, but tooke them which were farthest off from likelihood of fitnesse, that afterwards their supernaturall abilitie and performance, beyond hope, might cause the greater admiration, whereas in the other, meere admiration of their singular and rare vertues was the reason why honours were inforced vpon them, which they of meekenesse and modestie did what they could to auoid. But did they euer iudge it a thing vnlawfull to wish or desire the Office, the onely charge and bare function of the Ministerie? Towards which labour, what doth the blessed Apostle else but encourage, saying, *Hee which desireth it, is desirous of a good worke?* What doth

Ecclesi. 7. 6.

doth he else by such sentences but stirre, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that desire ambition, which couereth more to testifie loue by painefulnesse in Gods seruice, then to reape any other benefit? Although of the very honour it selfe, and of other emoluments annexed to such labours, for more encouragement of mans industrie, we are not so to conceiue neither, as if no affection could be cast towards them without offence. Only as the Wiseman giueth counsell: *Seeke not to be made a Iudge, lest thou be not able to take way iniquitie, and lest thou fearing the person of the mighty, shouldst commit an offence against thine vprightnesse,* so it alwaies behoueth men to take good heede, lest affection to that, which hath in it as well difficultie as goodnesse, sophisticate the true and sincere iudgement which before-hand they ought to haue of their owne abilitie, for want whereof, many forward minds haue found in stead of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardnesse of things in themselves most excellent cooleth the seruencie of mens desires, vnlesse there be somewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of speculatiue knowledge doth by things which we sensibly perceiue conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though lesse sensible, and the method of vertuous actions is also to traine beginners at the first by things acceptable vnto the taste of naturall appetite, till our minds at the length be settled to embrace things precious in the eye of reason, meerey and wholly for their owne sakes) howsoeuer inordinate desires doe heereby take occasion to abuse the politie of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by vnseemely means that which was instituted, and should be reserued for better minds to obtaine by more approued courses, in which consideration the Emperours *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppose against such ambitious practices that ancient famous Constitution, wherein they haue these sentences, *Let not a prelate be ordained for reward or vpon request, who should be so far sequestred from all ambition, that they which aduance him might be faine to search where he hideth himselfe, to intreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity haue made him yeeld, let nothing promote him but his excuses to auoyd the burthen, they are unworthy of that vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly;* notwithstanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred euery poore request or sute wherein men may secme to affect honour; seeing that ambition and modestie doe not alwaies so much differ in the marke they shoote at, as in the manner of their prosecutions. Yea euen in this may bee error also, if wee still imagine them least ambitious, which most forbear to stirre either hand or foote towards their owne preferments. For there are that make an Idoll of their great sufficiencie, and because they surmize the place should bee happie that might enioy them, they walke euery where like graue Pageants, obseruing whether men doe not wonder why so small account is made of so rare worthinesse, and in case any other mans aduancement bee mentioned, they either smile or blush at the mauiolous folly of the world, which seeth not where dignities should offer themselves. Seeing therefore that sutes after spirituall functions may bee as ambitiously forborne as prosecuted, it remaineth that the best line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them, *without*

α Μέσος ἐπι τῆς
τῶν τῆ ἀγῶν
τολμηρῶν καὶ
τῶν λίαν δευ-
λῶν, τῶν μὲν
πασσῶς ἐπιση-
δούσαν προσ-
αίαις δευλοτε-
ρος τῶν δὲ φευ-
χούσαν πείσας
βαρβαλεώτερος.
C. ier. No. 7 an.
Apollonet.

conscience, nor of pride; to withdraw our selues vterly from them.

78. It pleaseth Almighty God to choole to himselfe, for discharge of the * legall Ministerie, one only Tribe out of twelue others, the Tribe of *Leui*, not all vnto euery diuine seruice, but *Aaron* and his sonnés to one charge, the rest of that sanctified Tribe to another. With what solemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his successors the high Priests ascended euery Sabbath and festiuall day, offred, and ministred in the Temple; with what sinne-offering once euery yeere they reconciled first themselues and their owne house, afterwards the people vnto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, laid all their trespasses vpon the head of a sacred Goate, and so carried them out of the Citie; how they purged the holy place from all vncleanesse, with what reuerence they entred within the Vaile, presented themselues before the Mercie-Seat, and consulted with the Oracle of God: What seruice the other Priests did continually in the holy place, how they ministred about the Lamps Morning and Euening; how euery Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord those twelue loaves with pure incense, in perpetuall remembrance of that mercie which the Fathers, the twelue Tribes, had found by the prouidence of God for their food, when hunger caused them to leaue their naturall soyle, and to seeke for sustenance in Egypt; how they employed themselues in sacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the *Leuites* discharged, and what duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I should collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records doe mention. Besides these, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time some cald of God as Prophets, fore-shewing them things to come, and giuing them counsell in such particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; some chosen of men to reade, studie, and interpret the Law of God, as the *Sonnes* or *Schollers* of the old Prophets, in whose roome afterwards *Scribes* and *Expounders* of the Law succeeded. And because where so great varietie is, if there should be equalitie, confusion would follow, the *Leuits* were in all their seruice at the appointment and direction of the sonnés of *Aaron*, or *Priests*, they subiect to the principall guides and leaders of their owne Order, and they all in obedience vnder the high Priest. Which diuision doth also manifest it selfe in the verie titles, that men for honours sake gaue vnto them, terming *Aaron* and his successors, High or great; the ancients ouer the companies of *Priests*, *Archpriests*; *Prophets*, *Fathers*; *Scribes* and interpreters of the Law, *Masters*. Touching the Ministerie of the Gospell of *Iesus Christ*, the whole Bodie of the Church being diuided into *Laitie* and *Cleargie*, the *Cleargie* are either *Presbyters* or *Deacons*. I rather terme the one sort *Presbyters* then * *Priests*, because in a matter of so small moment I would not willingly offend their eares, to whom the name of *Priesthood* is odious, though without cause. For as things are distinguished one from another by those true essentiall formes, which being really and actu-

Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of Ministers

* Πρὸς διακρίσιν ἡ εὐαγγελίου ὁ δὲ κληρικός ἡ ἐκκλησίας ἡ διακρίσιν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν τῆς θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀνατίθηται. p. 297.

A T.C. l. p. 198. For so much as the common and vsuall speech of England is to note by the word *Priest*, not a Minister of the Gospell, but a *Sacrificer*, which the Minister of the Gospell is not, therefore were ought not to call the Ministers of the Gospell *Priests*. And that this is the English

speech, it appeareth by all the English Translations, which translate alwayes *ιερείς*, which were sacrificers, *Priests*, and doe not of the other side, for any that euē I read, translate *κρηστούς* a *Priest*. Seeing therefore a *Priest* with vs; and in our Tongue, doth signifie both by the *Papists* judgement, in respect of their abominable Masse, and also by the judgement of the *Protestants*, in respect of the *Beasts* which were offered in the Law, a *sacrificing Office*, which the Minister of the Gospell neyther doth nor can execute, it is manifest that it cannot be without great offence so vied.

ally

ally in them, doe not onely giue them the very last and highest degree of their naturall perfection, but are also the knot, foundation and roote whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend: so if they that first doe impose names, did alwayes vnderstand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar speech, wee should still be taught what the things themselues most properly are. But because words haue so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not alwayes apparent, what the first inuentors respected, much lesse what euery mans inward conceit is which vseth their words. For any thing my selfe can discern herein, I suppose, that they which haue bent their studie to search more diligently such matters, doe for the most part finde that names aduisedly giuen, had either regard vnto that which is naturally most proper; or if perhaps, to some other specialtie, to that which is sensibly most eminent in the thing signified; and concerning popular vse of words, that which the wisdom of their inuentors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceiued in grosse, as may appeare in that if you aske of the common sort what any certaine word, for example, what a Priest doth signifie, their manner is not to answer a Priest is a Clergie-man which offereth the sacrifice to God, but they shew some particular person, whome they vse to call by that name. And if wee list to descend to Grammar, wee are told by

Etymol. mag.

that the word *Priest* hath his right place ἐπι τοῦ ἱερέως προσώτου της δερασίας τοῦ θεῦ, in him whose meere function or charge is the seruice of God. Howbeit because the most eminent part both of *Heathenish* and *Jewish* seruice did consist in sacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Priest doth properly signify, according to the mind of the first imposer of that name, their ordinary^a Schooles doe well expound it to imply sacrifice. Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the Church-Ministerie, how should the name of Priesthood bee thereunto rightly applyed? Surely euen as Saint Paul applyeth the name of *fish* vnto that very substance of fishes which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing.

Whereupon when Philosophers will speake warily, they make a difference betweene flesh in one sort of liuing creatures, and that other substance the rest which hath but a kind of analogie to flesh: the Apostle contrariwise hauing matter of greater importance whereof to speake, nameth indifferently both flesh. The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like securitie of speech call vsually the Ministerie of the Gospell *Priesthood*, in regard of that which the Gospell hath proportionable to auncient sacrifices, namely the *Communion* of the blessed body and blood of Christ, although it haue properly now no sacrifice. As for the people, when they heare the name, it draweth no more their mindes to any cogitation of sacrifice, then the name of a Senator or of an Alderman, causeth them to thinke vpon old age, or to imagine that euery one so termed must needs be ancient, because yeeres were respected in the first nomination of both. Wherefore to passe by the name, let them vse what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministerie, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seeme more

^a Hesy. *Christus homo dicitur, quia natus est Propheeta quia futura reuelauit, sacerdos, quia pro nobis hosti in se obtulit.* Isid. *Orig. lib. 7. cap. 2.*

^b 1. Cor. 1. c. 39.

^c Ἐχει δὲ ἀνομιαν τι τὸ αἰσθητικόν τὸ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀπλοχον, ὡς ἄλλοι ἢ σαφὲς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς τὸ ἀνόλογον ἢ οὐ. *Arist. d. Anim. l. 2. c. 11.*

fit, and in proprietic of speech more agreeable then *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospell of Iesus Christ. For what are they that imbrace the Gospell but sonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore wee receiue the adoption and state of Sonnes by their ministerie whom God hath chosen out for that purpose, seeing also that when we are the sonnes of God, our continuance is still vnder their care which were our Progenitors, what better title could there bee giuen them then the reuerend name of *Presbyters*, or fatherly guides? The holy Ghost throughout the body of the new Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not any where call them Priests. The Prophet *Esay*, I grant, doth, but in such sort as the ancient Fathers by way of analogie. A *Presbyter*, according to the proper meaning of the new Testament, is he, vnto whom our Sauiour Christ hath communicated the power of spirituall procreation. Out of twelue Patriarkes issued the whole multitude of *Israel* according to the flesh. And according to the mysterie of heauenly birth, our Lords Apostles wee all acknowledge to bee the Patriarkes of his whole Church. Saint *Iohn* therefore beheld sitting about the Throne of God in heauen ^a foure and twentie Presbyters, the one halfe, Fathers of the old, ^b the other of the new *Ierusalem*. In which respect the Apostles likewise gaue themselues the same title, albeit that name were not proper, but common vnto them with others. For of Presbyters, some were greater, some lesse in power, and that by our Sauiours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulnesse of spirituall power, the lesse they to whom lesse was graunted. The Apostles peculiar charge was to publish the Gospell of Christ vnto all Nations, and to deliuer them his Ordinances received by ^c immediate reuelation from himselfe. Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordayne and consecrate whom soeuer they thought meete, even as our Sauiour did himselfe assigne seuentie other of his owne Disciples inferior Presbyters, whose commission to preach and baptize, was the same which the Apostles had. Whereas therefore wee finde, that the very first Sermon which the Apostles did publicly make, was the conuersion of aboute three thousand soules, vnto whom there were euery day more and more added, they hauing no open place permitted them for the exercise of Christian Religion, thinke wee that twelue were sufficient to teach and administer Sacraments in so many priuate places, as so great a multitude of people did require? This haruest, our Sauiour (no doubt) foreseeing, provided accordingly Labourers for it beforehand. By which meanes it came to passe, that the growth of that Church being so great and so suddaine, they had notwithstanding in a readinesse Presbyters enow to furnish it. And therefore the historie doth make no mention by what occasion Presbyters were instituted in *Ierusalem*, onely wee reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elsewhere. To these two degrees appointed of our Lord and Sauiour, Christ his Apostles soone after annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore must know, saith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himselfe did elect Apostles, but Deacons after his Ascension into heauen the Apostles ordayned. Deacons were Stewards of the Church, vnto whom at the first was committed the distribution of Church goods, the care of prouiding therewith for the

Esay 66. 21.

^a *Reuel.* 4. 4.
^b *Reuel.* 21. 14.
Matth. 19. 28.
1. Pet. 5. 1.

^c οἱ τῶν ἑσπῶν
 δεσποτῶν ἑσπῶν
 ἐποποιῆτας Διο-
 κησῶν. *Act.* 6. 110
Act. 2. 41. 27.

Cyp. Ep. 9. 1. 3. ad
Rozatianum.

*Ignat. Epist.
ad Tral.*

the poore, and the charge to see that all things of expence might bee religiously and faithfully dealt in. A part also of their Office, was attendance vpon their Presbyters at the time of Diuine Seruice. For which cause *Ignatius*, to set forth the dignitie of their calling, saith, that they are in such case to the Bishop, as if Angelicall powers did serue him. These onely being the vses for which Deacons were first made, if the Church haue sithence extended their Ministerie farther then the circuit of their labour at the first was drawne, wee are not herein to thinke the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appeare some prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that libertie. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it seemeth a thing so monstrous, that Deacons should sometime bee licensed to preach, whose institution was at the first to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their owne vocations, and as breakers into that which appertayneth vnto others, is very hard. For when they are therevnto once admitted, it is a part of their owne vocation, it appertayneth now vnto them as well as others, neither is it intrusion for them to doe it being in such sort called, but rather in vs it were temeritie to blame them for doing it. Suppose wee the office of teaching to bee so repugnant vnto the office of Deaconship, that they cannot concurre in one and the same person? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apostles did not first discharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apostles found the burthen of Teaching so heauie, that they iudged it meete to cut off that other charge, and to haue Deacons which might vndertake it. Be it so. The multitude of Christians increasing in Ierusalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apostles to teach, and to minister vnto Tables also. The former was not to bee slacked, that this latter might bee followed. Therefore vnto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiome, that when the subiect wherein one mans labours of sundrie kindes are employed, doth waxe so great, that the same men are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before, the most naturall way to helpe this, is, by deuiding their charge into sliques and ordaying of vnder-officers, as our Sauour vnder twelue Apostles, seuentie Presbyters, and the Apostles by his example seuen Deacons to bee vnder both. Neither ought it to seeme lesse reasonable, that when the same men are sufficient both to continue in that which they doe, and also to vndertake somewhat more, a combination bee admitted in this case, as well as diuision in the former. Wee may not therefore disallow it in the Church of Geneua, that *Caluin* and *Beza* were made both Pastors and Readers of Diuinitie, being men so able to discharge both. To say they did not content themselues with their Pastorall vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alleage against them, *Hee that exhorteth in exhortation*, as against vs, *Hee that distributeth in simplicitie*, is alleaged in great dislike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient custome of the Church, was to yeeld the poore much reliefe, especially widdowes. But as poore people are alwayes querulous and apt to thinke themselues lesse respected then they should bee, wee see that when the Apostles did what they could without hinderance to their waightier businessse,

yet

Rom. 12. 3.

yet there were which grudged that other had too much, and they too little, the Grecian Widowes shorter Commons then the Hebrewes. By meanes whereof the Apostles saw it meete to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time hauing cleane worne out those first occasions, for which the Deaconship was then most necessary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Seruices, and so remaine as at this present day, a degree in the Clergie of God which the Apostles of Christ did institute. That the first seuen Deacons were chosen out of the seuentie Disciples, is an error in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of waightier, vnto roomes of meaner labour, had not bene fit. The Apostles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the Ministerie of Tables vnto Deacons. And shall we thinke they iudged it expedient to choose so many out of those seuentie to bee Ministers vnto Tables, when Christ himselfe had before made them Teachers? It appeareth therefore, how long these three degree of Ecclesiasticall Order haue continued in the Church of Christ, the highest and largest, that which the Apostles, the next that which Presbyters, and the lowest that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were such men as hauing otherwise learned, the Gospel had from aboue bestowed vpon them a speciall gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreshewing things to come. Of this sort *Agabus* was, and besides him in Ierusalem sundry others, who notwithstanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergie, because no mans gifts or qualities can make him a Minister of Holy things, vnlesse Ordination doe giue him power. And we no where find Prophets to haue bene made by Ordination, but all whom the Church did ordaine, were either to serue as Presbyters or as Deacons. Euangelists were Presbyters of principall sufficiencie, whom the Apostles sent abroad, and vsed as Agents in Ecclesiasticall affaires wherefoeuer they saw need. They whom we find to haue bene named in Scripture, Euangelists, ^m *Ananias*, ⁿ *Apollos*, ^o *Timosby*, and others were thus employed. And concerning Euangelists, afterwards in *Traians* dayes, the History Ecclesiasticall noteth that many of the Apostles, Disciples and Schollers which were then alieue, and did with singular loue of Wisedome affect the Heavenly Word of God, to shew their willing minds in executing that which Christ first of all requireth at the hands of men, they sold their Possessions, gaue them to the poore, betaking themselues to trauaile, vndertooke the labour of Euangelists, that is, they painefully preached Christ, and deliuered the Gospel to them, who as yet had neuer heard the Doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apostle nameth Pastors and Teachers, what other were they then Presbyters also, howbeit settled in some certaine charge, and thereby differing from Euangelists? I beseech them therefore which haue hitherto troubled the Church with questions, about Degrees and Offices of Ecclesiasticall calling, because they principally ground themselues vpon two places, that all partialitie laid aside, they would sincerely waigh and examine whether they haue not mis-interpreted both places, and all by surmising incomparable Offices, where nothing is meant but sundrie graces, gifts and abilities which Christ bestowed. To them of Corinth, his words are these, *God placed in the Church,* ^{1. Cor. 12. 28.} *first of all, some Apostles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; after them*
 S f
 powers,

Epiph. l. 1. c. 21.

Acts 21. 10.
Acts 11. 27.m Acts 9. 18.
n Acts 18. 24.
o 2. Tim. 4. 5. 9.
1. Tim. 3. 15, 5.
14. 2. 8.
Euseb. Ecclef.
hist. l. 3. c. 34.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

powers, then gifts of Cures, Aides, Governments, kinds of Languages. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Doe all speake with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you desirous of the better graces. They which plainly discern first, that some one generall thing there is which the Apostle doth here diuide into all these branches, & do secondly conceiue that generall to be Church-Offices, besides a number of other difficulties, can by no means possibly denie but that many of these might concur in one man, and peradventure, in some one all, which mixture notwithstanding, their forme of Discipline doth most shunne. On the other side, admit that *Communicants of speciall infused grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Christ, are here spoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole Discourse, and see if euery thing doe not answer in due place with that fitnesse, which sheweth easily what is likeliest to haue bin meant. For why are Apostles the first, but because vnto them was granted the Reuelation of all Trueth from Christ immediately? Why Prophets the second, but because they had of some things knowledge in the same manner? Teachers the next, because whatsoeuer was knowne to them it came by hearing, yet God withall made them able to instruct, which euery one could not doe that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow generall abilities to worke things about Nature, Grace to cure men of bodily Diseases, Supplies against occurrent Defects and Impediments, Dexterities to gouerne and direct by Counsell; Finally, Aptnesse to speake or interpret Forraigne Tongues. Which Graces not poured out equally, but diuersly sorted and giuen, were a cause why not onely they all did iurnish vp the whole Body, but each benefit and helpe other. Againe, the same Apostle other-where in like sort, *To euerie one of vs is giuen grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended vp on high, he led Captiuiety captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men. He therefore gaue some Apostles, & some Prophecs, & some Euangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the worke of the Ministry, for the edification of the Body of Christ.* In this place none but gifts of instruction are exprest. And because the Teachers some were Euangelists which neither had any part of their knowledge by Reuelation as the Prophets, and yet in abilitie to teach were farre beyond other Pastors, they are, as hauing receiued one way lesse then Prophets, and another way more then Teachers, set accordingly betweene both. For the Apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by Office or power giuen them through Ordination, but what by Grace they all had obtayned through miraculous infusion of the Holy Ghost. For in Christian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Beliefe, that the promises which God of olde had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderfull Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the Raigne of the true *Messias* should be made glorious, were immediately after our Lords Ascension performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apostles did take more often occasion to speake. Out of menthus indued with gifts of the Spirit vpon their Conuersion to Christian Faith, the Church had her Ministers chosen, vnto whom was giuen Ecclesiasticall power by Ordination. Now, because the Apostle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth mention

2 Ephef. 4. 7.
Psal. 68. 18.

mention Pastors and Teachers, although hee mention them not in respect of their Ordination to exercise the Ministerie, but as Examples of men especially enrich with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, diuers learned and skilfull men haue so taken it, as if those places did intend to teach what Orders of Ecclesiasticall persons there ought to bee in the Church of Christ, which thing wee are not to learne from thence, but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it cleerly appeareth, that Churches Apostolike did know but three degrees in the power of Ecclesiasticall Order, at the first Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons, afterwards in stead of Apostles, Bishops, concerning whose order wee are to speake in the seventh Booke. There is an error which beguileth many who much intangle both themselues and others by not distinguishing *Seruites, Offices and Orders* Ecclesiasticall, the first of which three, and in part the second may bee executed by the Laitie, whereas none haue, or can haue the third but the Clergie. Catechists, Exorcists, Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be considered, may in that respect seeme Clergie-men, euen as the Fathers for that cause terme them vsually Clerkes, as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp, which was to bee ordered when yeeres and experience should make them able. Notwithstanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laitie longer then during that worke of Seruice, which at any time they might giue ouer, being thereunto but admitted; not tyed by irreuocable Ordination, we find them alwayes exactly seuered from that bodie whereof those three before rehearsed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching Widowes, of whom some men are perswaded, that if such as Saint Paul describeth may be gotten, wee ought to retaine them in the Church for euer, certaine meane Seruices there were of Attendance, as about Women, at the time of their Baptisme, about the bodies of the sicke and dead, about the necessities of Trauailers, Wayfaring men and such like, wherein the Church did commonly vse them when need required, because they liued of the Almes of the Church, and were fittest for such purposes. Saint Paul doth therefore, to auoyde scandall, require that none but Women well experienced and vertuously giuen, neyther any vnder threescore yeeres of age should be admitted of that number. Widowes were neuer in the Church so highly esteemed as Virgines. But seeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Ecclesiasticall persons were absurd. The ancientest therefore of the Fathers mention those three degrees of Ecclesiasticall Order specified and no moe. *When your Captains* (saith TERTULLIAN) *that is to say, the Decans, Presbyters and Bishops flye, who shall teach the Laitie, that they must be constant?* Againe, *What should I mention Lay men* (saith OPTATVS) *yea, or diuers of the Ministry it selfe? To what purpose Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the second degree of Priesthood, when the very Heads & Princes of all, euen certaine of the Bishops themselues were content to redeeme life with the losse of Heauen? Heaps of allegations in a case so euident & plaine are needlesse. I may securely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other then the same degrees of Ecclesiasticall Order, namely, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Christ, & his blessed Apostles themselues. As for Deanes,*

T. C. l. 1. p. 191
1. Tim. 5. 9.

Tertull. de Persecut.

Optat. lib. 1.

Prebendaries, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Archdeacons, Chancelors, Officials, Commissaries, and such other the like names, which being not found in holy Scripture, we haue beene thereby through some mens errour thought to allow of Ecclesiasticall Degrees not knowne, nor euer heard of in the better Ages of former times, all these are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Ecclesiasticall persons, and partly others are in sundry formes and conditions admitted, as the state of the Church doth need Degrees of Order, still continuing the same they were from the first beginning. Now, what habit or attire doth beseme each order to vse in the course of common life, both, for the grauitie of his place, and for example sake, to other men is a matter friuolous to be disputed of. A small measure of Wisdome may serue to teach them how they should cut their Coats. But seeing all well ordered Politie haue euer iudged it meet and fit by certaine speciall distinct Ornaments to seuer each sort of men from other when they are in publike, to the end that all may receiue such Complements of Ciuill Honour, as are due to their Roomes and Callings, euen where their persons are not knowne, it argueth a disproportioned minde in them, whom so decent Orders displeaseth.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuities of Religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clear-gies certaine and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of Church-litings be made frustrate.

79 We might somewhat maruaile, what the Apostle Saint *Paul* should meane to say that Couetousnesse is Idolatrie, if the daily practice of men did not shew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, wee honour for the most part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our selues to beleue, that for worldly goods it sufficeth frugally & honestly to vse them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps conuert some small contemptible Portion thereof to Charitable vses, the whole dutie which we owe vnto God herein is fully satisfied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God, vnlesse both our Soules and Bodies be sometime employed meerey in his Seruice, againe, sith wee know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of so great a part of the time of our liues quite and cleane from our owne businesse, and the bestowing of the same in his, suppose weeth that nothing of our wealth and substance is immediately due to God, but all our owne to bestow and spend as our selues thinke meet? Are not our riches as well his as the dayes of our life are his? Wherefore, vnlesse with part we acknowledge his Supreme Dominion, by whose beneuolence we haue the whole, how giue wee Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are Gods? I would know what Nation in the World did euer Honour God, and not thinke it a point of their dutie to doe him honour with their very goods. So that this wee may boldly set downe as a Principle cleere in Nature, an Axiome which ought not to be called in question, a Truth manifest and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honor God with their substance, in token of thankfull acknowledgement that all they haue is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by spending them in lawfull manner, and by vsing them without offence, but also by alienating from our selues some reasonable part or portion thereof, and by offering vp the same to him as a signe that wee gladly confesse his sole and Soueraigne Dominion over all, is a dutie which all men are bound vnto, and a part of that very Worship of God, which as the Law of God
and

and Nature it selfe requireth, so wee are the rather to thinke all men no lesse strictly bound therunto then to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the hearts of men doe so cleaue to these earthly things, so much admire them for the sway they haue in the world, impute them so generally either to Nature or to Chance and Fortune, so little thinke vpon the Grace and Prouidence from which they come, that vnlesse by a kind of continuall tribute wee did acknowledge Gods Dominion, it may be doubted that in short time men would learne to forget whose Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their owne absolute, free and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiueth in that sort, we are to consider them, partly as first they proceed from vs, and partly as afterwards they are to serue for diuine vses. In that they are testimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt, but such they should bee as beseemeth most his Glorie to whom wee offer them. In this respect the fatnesse of *Abels* sacrifice is commended, the flower of all mens increase assigned to God by *Salomon*, the gifts and donations of the people reiected as oft as their colde affection to Godward made their presents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens saw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they vnto their gods did not thinke they might consecrate any thing which was *impure* or *unsound*, or *already giuen*, or else *not truly their owne to giue*. Againe, in regard of vse, for as much as we know that God hath himselfe no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them because it is our good to be so exercis'd, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to haue them vsed for the endlesse continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controuersie, but that wee in the choice of our gifts are to leuell at the same marke, and to frame our selues to his knowne intents and purposes. Whether we giue vnto God therefore that which himselfe by commandement requireth; or that which the publike consent of the Church thinketh good to allot; or that which euery mans priuate deuotion doth best like, in as much as the gift which wee offer, proceedeth not onely as a testimonie of our affection towards God, but also as a meane to vphold Religion, the exercise whereof cannot stand without the helpe of temporall commodities: if all men bee taught of Nature to wish, and as much as in them lyeth, to procure the perpetuities of good things; if for that very cause we honour and admire their wisdome, who hauing bene founders of Common-weales, could deuise how to make the benefit they left behinde them durable; if especially in this respect wee preferre *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the Spartan before the Athenian politic, it must needs follow, that as wee doe vnto God very acceptable seruice in honouring him with our substance, so our seruice that way is then most acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuities. The first permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which works doe so much set forward the exercise of Religion, that while the World was in loue with Religion, it gaue to no sort greater reuerence then to whom it could point and say, *These are the men that haue built vs Synagogues*. But of Churches we haue spoken sufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens deuotion hath added to remayne in the treasure of Gods house, not one-

Ручит, пробит,
профанит, шумит,
Евг. lib. 14.

ly for vles where in the exercise of Religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casuall necessities, whereunto the Church is on earth subiect, and partly to the end that while they are kept they may continually serue as testimonies, giuing all men to vnderstand, that God hath in euerie Age and Nation, such as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Ierusalem, arising out of voluntarie gifts and donations, were, as we commonly speake, *a nemo scit*, the value of them about that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furnished with all necessities and set vp, although in the wildernesse their habilitie could not possibly be great, the very mettle of those vessels which the Princes of the twelue Tribes gaue to God for their first presents, amounted euen then to two thousand and foure hundred shekels of Silver, an hundred and twenty shekles of Gold, euery shekell weighing halfe an ounce. What was giuen to the Temple which *Salomon* erected, wee may partly coniecture, when ouer and besides wood, marble, yron, brasse, vestment, precious stones, and money, the summe which *Dauid* deliuered into *Salomons* hands for that purpose, was of Gold in Masse eight thousand, and of Silver seauenteene thousand Cichars, euery Cichar contayning a thousand and eight hundred shekels which riseth to nine hundred ounces in euery one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount vnto 30. Cichars. After their returne out of Babylon, they were not presently in case to make their second Temple of equall magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding what they could they did. In so much that the building finished, there remained in the Coffers of the Church to vphold the fabrick thereof, 6. hundred and 50. Cichars of siluer, one hundred of Gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his owne gift a thousand drammes of Golde, fiftie vessels of Silver, fise hundred and thirtie Priests vestments; by other the Princes of the fathers twenty thousand drammes of Golde, two thousand and two hundred peeces of Silver; by the rest of the people twenty thousand of Gold, two thousand of Silver, threescore and seuen attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselues towards other charges to giue by the Polle in what part of the world soeuer they should dwell, the third of a Shekell, that is to say, the sixt part of an ounce yeerely. ^a This out of forraine prouinces, they alwayes sent in Golde. Whereof ^b *Mithridates* is said to haue taken vp by the way before it could passe to Ierusalem from Asia, in one aduerture eight hundred talants; *Craffus* after that to haue borrowed of the Temple it selfe eight thousand: at which time *Eleazar* having both many other rich ornaments and all the tapestrie of the Temple vnder his custodie, thought it the safest way to grow vnto some composition, and so to redeeme the residue by parting with a certayne beame of Gold about seuen hundred and a halfe in waight, a prey sufficient for one man, as hee thought who had neuer bargained with *Craffus* till then, and therefore vpon the confidence of a solemne oath that no more should be looked for, hee simply deliuered vp a large morfell whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moueable treasures are subiect, the Law of *Mo-*

a Cic. orat. pro
L. Flacc. Cum au-
rum Iudaorum
nomine quotan-
nis ex Italia &
ex omnibus ve-
stris prouincijs
Hierosolymam
exportari soleret
Flaccus Sanxit
editio, ne ex Asia
exportari lice-
ret.

b Ioseph. Antiq.
lib. 14. cap. 12.

c Euery talent
in value 600
crownes.

ses did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their fields and whole Territories in the land of Iurie, to be reserved for God himselfe; and not onely provide for the libertie of farther additions, if men of their owne accord should thinke good, but also for the safe preservation thereof vnto all posterities, that no mans avarice or fraud, by defeating so vertuous intents, might discourage from like purposes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old consist in lands. Furthermore, some cause no doubt there is, why besides sundry other more rare donations of vncertayne rate, the tenth should be thought a reueneue so naturall to bee allotted out vnto God. For of the spoiles which *Abraham* had taken in warre, he deliuered vnto *Melchisedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Iacob*, at such time as he tooke his iourney towards *Haran*, was, *If God will be with me, and will keepe me in this voyage which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eat and clothes to put on, so that I may returne to my fathers house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I haue set up as a pillar, the same shall be Gods house, and of all thou shalt giue me I will giue vnto thee the Tithe.* And as *Abraham* gaue voluntarily, as *Iacob* vowed to giue God tithes, so the law of *Moyse* did require at the hands of all men the selfe same kind of tribute, the tenth of their corne, wine, oile, fruit, cattle, and whatsoeuer increase his heauenly prouidence should send. In so much that *Paynims* being herein followers of their steps, paid Tithes likewise: Imagine wee that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some speciall inducement to iudge the tenth of our worldly profits the most conuenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the formes which giue them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter waight? *Three* being the mysticall number of Gods vnsearchable perfection within himselfe; *seuen* the number whereby our owne perfections through grace are most ordered; and *ten* the number of natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the highest wee can rise vnto without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature then by assigning vnto him that quantitie which is the continent of all shee possesseth? There are in *philo* the Iew many arguments to shew the great congruities and fitnessse of this number in things consecrated vnto God. But because ouer nice and curious speculations become not the earnestnesse of holy things, I omit what might be farther obserued as well out of others as out of him touching the quantitie of this generall sacred tribute, whereby it commeth to passe, that the meanest and the very poorest amongst men, yeelding vnto God as much in proportion as the greatest and many times in affection more, haue this as a sensible token alwayes assuring their mindes, that in his sight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning appropriation, protection, diuine priuiledges and preheminences whatsoeuer, equals and peeres with them vnto whom they are othwise in earthly respects inferiours, being furthermore well assured that the top as it were thus presented to God is neither lost, nor vnfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctifie to them againe the whole Masse, and that hee by receiuing a little vndertaketh to blesse all. In which consideration the Iewes were accustomed to name their Tithes the

* hedge

* *Massoreth sepes est legis; diuitiarum sepes decime. R. Aquiba in Pirke. Aboib.*

* *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge doe only fence and preferue that which is contayned, whereas their Tithes and offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heape, out of which they were taken. God demandeth no such debt for his owne neede, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detayning the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themselves whom they thinke they relieue, they wound, except men will haply affirme, that God did by faire speeches, and large promises delude the world in saying, *Bring yee all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meate in mine house,* (deale truly, defraude not God of his due, but bring all) *and proue if I will not open vnto you the windowes of heauen, and poure downe vpon you an immeasurable blessing.* That which Saint James hath concerning the effect of our prayers vnto God, is for the most part of like moment in our gifts: Wee pray and obtayne not, because hee which knoweth our hearts, doth see our desires are euill. In like manner we giue, and wee are not the more accepted, because he beholdeth how vnwisely we spill our gifts in the * bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing be giuen him. But for our owne good, it alwayes behoueth that whatsoeuer we offer vp into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthie of all honour.* With the Church of Christ touching these matters it standeth as it did with the whole World before *Moses*. Whereupon for many yeeres men being desirous to honour God in the same manner, as other vertuous and holy personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther habilitie did serue, by such deuce as might cause their workes of pietie to remayne alwayes, it came by these meanes to passe that the Church from time to time, had treasure proportionable vnto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian men. And alsoone as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to thinke it most naturall and most fit, that God should receiue as before of all men his ancient accustomed reuenues of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and nature haue taught to conuert things temporall to eternall vses, and to provide for the perpetuities of Religion, euen by that which is most transitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the Law requireth precisely, the best of that we possesse; and to prevent all damages by way of commutation, wherein stead of naturall commodities, or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of *Moses* determined their rates, and the payments to be alwayes made by the sicke of the Sanctuarie, wherein there was great aduantage of waight about the ordinarie currant sicke. The truest and surest way for God to haue alwayes his owne, is by making him payment in kinde out of the very selfe same riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may be without inconuenience, is for euery mans conscience sake. That which commeth from God to vs, by the naturall course of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because least spotted with the staine of vnlawfull, or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices daily change, Nature which commonly is one, must needs be the most indifferent and permanent standard betweene God

and

Mal. 3.

* *Nemo libenter debet quod non accepit sed expressit. Sen. de Benef. l. 1. c. 1.*

Leuit. 27. 25.

and Man. But the maine foundation of all, whereupon the securitie of these things dependeth, as farre as any thing may be ascertained amongst men, is, that the Title and Right which man had in euery of them before Donation, doth by the Act, and from the time of any such Donation, or Dedication, or Grant, remaine the proper possession of God til the worlds end, vnlesse himselfe renounce or relinquish it. For if equitie haue taught vs, that euery one ought to inioy his owne; that what is ours, no other can alienate from vs, but with our^a owne^b deliberate consent; finally, that no man hauing past his consent or deed, may^c change it to the preiudice of any other, should we presume to deale with God worse then God hath allowed any man to deale with vs? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of *Moses*, and consequently, not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes, yet because Nature hath taught men to honour God with their substance, and Scripture hath left vs an example of that particular proportion, which for morall considerations hath bene thought fittest, by him whose wisdom could best iudge; furthermore, seeing that the Church of Christ hath long since entred into like obligation, it seemeth in these dayes a question altogether vaine and superfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of diuine Right: because howsoeuer at the first, it might haue bene thought doubtfull, our case is cleerely the same now with theirs, vnto whom Saint *Peter* sometime spake, saying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine?* When our Tithes might haue probably seemed our owne, we had colour of libertie to vse them as we our selues saw good. But hauing made them his whose they are, let vs be warned by other mens example what it is ¹⁰⁰⁰¹⁰²⁰²⁰²⁰²⁰²⁰ to walk or clip that coyne which hath on it the marke of God. For that all these are his possessions, and that he doth himselfe so reckon them, appeareth by the forme of his owne speeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou shalt giue them me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My house shall be called the house of Prayer*; touching Tithes, *Will a man spoile God?* Yet behold, euen me your God yee haue^d spoiled, notwithstanding yee aske wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what iniurie there hath bene offered in *Tithes*: ye are heauily accursed, because with a kind of publike consent yee haue ioyned your selues in one to rob me, imagining the commonesse of your offence to be euery mans particular iustification; touching Lands, *Yee shall offer to the Lord a sacred portion of ground, and that sacred portion shall belong to the Priests*. Neither did God onely thus ordaine amongst the Iewes, but the very purpose, intent, and meaning of all that haue honoured him with their substance, was to inuest him with the proprietie of those benefits, the vse whereof must needs be committed to the hands of men. In which respect the stile of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *We haue giuen vnto God both for Vs and our Heires for euer*. Yea, we know, saith *Charles the Great*, that *the goods of the Church are the sacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatsoeuer we deliuer vnto his Church*. Whereupon the Lawes Imperiall doe likewise diuide all things in such sort, that they make some to belong by right of Nature indifferently vnto euerie man, some to be the certaine goods and possessions of Common-weales, some to appertaine vnto seuerall Corporations or Companies of men, some to beepriately mens owne in particular, and some to bee separated quite

a *Lib. 11. de Reg. Iur.*
 b *Cuius per errorem datarepe-
 titio est, eius
 consu to dati do-
 natio est, lib. 1.
 D. de cond.
 ind. 1.*
 This the
 ground of *Con-
 sultation* in al-
 ienations
 from man
 to man.
 c *Nemo potest
 mutare consti-
 tutum suum in alie-
 rius iudicium,
 lib. 75. de
 Reg. Iur.
 Act. 5. 4.*

Exal. 32. 29, 30.
Matth. 21. 13.
Mal. 3. 8.
 d *Non videntur
 rem admittere
 quibus pro via
 non fuit, lib. 83.
 de Reg. Iur.*
Ezech. 45. 1, 4.

Magn. Char. c. 1.
Capit. 1. C. 11.
lib. 6. cap. 24.

* from

* Nullius autem sunt res sacre & religioſe & ſanctæ. Quod enim diuini iuris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt, Inſtit, lib. 2, tit. 1.

a Soli cum Dijs ſacr. legi pugnant Curt. lib. 7. Sacrum ſacrone commendatum qui depletur uapſeritue, paruida eſto, Leg. 12. tab. Capitul, Carul, lib. 6. cap. 285.

b De poſita pietati, Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Perieſeph.

* from all men, which laſt branch comprizeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe thereof God is alone is owner. The ſequell of which receiued opinion, as well without as within the wals of the houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſſions hath bene euer, that there is not an act more honourable, then by all meanes to amplifie and to defend the patrimonie of Religion, not any more ^a impious and hatefull, then to impaire thoſe poſſeſſions which men in former times, when they gaue vnto holy uſes, were wont at the Altar of God, & in preſence of their ghottly Superiours, to make as they thought inuiolable, by words of fearefull execration, ſaying, *Theſe things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to doe) but if any ſhall, let his account be without fauour in the laſt day, when he commeth to receiue the doome which is due for ſacriledge againſt that Lord and God, vnto whom we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowned Prelates of the Church of Chriſt haue in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath, then yeilded to ſatiſfie the hard deſire of their greateſt Commandes on earth, coueting with ill aduice and counſell that which they willingly ſhould haue ſuffered God to inioy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſteritie doth much honour, for that hauing vnder their hands the cuſtodie of ſuch ^b treaſures, they could by vertuous deluſion inuent how to ſaue them from prey, euen when the ſaſetie of their owne liues they gladly neglected, as one, ſometime an Archdeacon vnder *Xiſtus* the Biſhop of Rome, did, whom when his Iudge vnderſtood to be one of the Church Stewards, thirſt of bloud began to ſlake, and another humour to worke, which firſt by a fauorable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmly diſcloſe it ſelfe, *You that profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaints of the wonderfull crueltie we ſhow towards you. Neither peraduenture altogether without cauſe. But for my ſelfe, I am farre from any ſuch bloodie purpoſe. Tee are not ſo willing to liue, as I unwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capitall ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to haue rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, which they uſe in the exerciſe of their Religion, beſides, the ſame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Liuinges, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers, by which meanes the deuotion that maketh them and their whole poſteritie poore, muſt needs mightily enrich you, whoſe God we know was no Coyner of money, but left behind him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely, that Caſar ſhould haue of you the things that are fit for, and due to Caſar. His warres are coſtly and chargeable vnto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affaires of the Commonwealth doe need. Your profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitorie. And yet if ye can be conſented but to forgoe that which ye care not for, I dare vnderſtake to warrant you both ſaſetie of life, and freedom of uſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you then wealth.* Which faire parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiuing it neceſſarie to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealment of that which being now deſired, was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, hee craued reſpit for three dayes, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Gouvernour ſhould come to the doores of the Temple, bigge with hope to receiue his prey, a miſerable ranke of poore, lame, and impotent perſons was provided, their names deliuered him vp in writing as a true Inuentorie of the Churches goods,

goods, & some few words vsed to signifie how proud the Church was of these treasures. If men did not naturally abhorre sacriledge, to resist or to defeat so impious attempts would deserue small praise. But such is the generall detestation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more vphold mens reputation then prosperous successe, because in common construction, vnlesse notorious improbitie be ioyned with prosperitie, it seemeth to argue fauour with God, they which once haue stained their hands with these odious spoiles, doe thereby fasten vnto all their actions an eternall preiudice, in respect whereof, for that it passeth through the world as an vndoubted rule and principle, that sacriledge is open defiance to God, whatsoever afterward they vndertake, if they prosper in it, men reckon it but *Dionysius* his Nauigation, & if any thing befall them otherwise, it is not, as commonly, so in them ascribed to the great vncertainty of casuall events, wherein the prouidence of God doth controll the purposes of men oftentimes, much more for their good then if al things did answer fully their hearts desire, but the censure of the world is euer directly against them both a bitter and peremptorie. To make such actions therefore lesse odious, and to mitigate the enuie of them, many colourable shifts and inuentions haue bene vsed, as if the world did hate onely Wæolues and thinke the Foxe a goodly creature. The time b it may be will come, when they that either violently haue spoiled or thus smoothly defrauded God, shall find they did but deceiue themselves. In the meane while there will be alwayes some skilful persons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with iawes that shall scarce moue, and yet deuour in the end more then they that come rauening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an instant; others also who hauing wastfully eaten out their owne patrimony, would be glad to repaire, if they might, their decayed estates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom, so the spoile were theirs, whereof in some part if they happen to speed, yet commonly they are men borne vnder that constellation which maketh them, I know not how, as vnapt to enrich themselves as they are readie to impouerish others, it is their lot to sustaine during life both the misery of beggars, and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague and reuenge should follow sacrilegious violations of holy things, the naturall secret disgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of such actions in the eye of a wise vnderstanding heart, is it selfe a c heauy punishment. Men of vertuous quality are by this sufficiently moued to beware how they answer and requite the mercies of God with iniuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not absolutely say concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no case be seized on by men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargaine made betweene man and man, can euer be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certaine cases I grant there are wherein it is not so darke what God himselfe doth warrant, but that we may safely presume him as willing to forgoe for our benefit, as alwayes to vse and conuert to our benefit whatsoever our Religion hath honoured him withall. But surely vnder the name of that which may bee, many things that should not bee are often done. By meanes whereof the Church most commonly for gold hath flanel, and whereas the vsuall Saw of old was *Glaucus*

a *Nouimus multa regna, & reges eorum; propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesie spoliauerunt, resque earum vastauerunt, alienauerunt vel diripuerunt, Episcopi & Sacerdotes, atque quod maius est Ecclesiarum abspulerunt, & pugnantibus decurrunt.*
 Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide habiles fuerunt, nec victores existerunt, sed terga multi vulneratis & plures interfecti uerterunt, regna, & regiones, & quod peius est, regna cælestia perdidērunt, atque proprijs hereditatibus caruerunt & habitibus carere. Verba Caroli. Ma. in Capitu. Caru. l. 7. c. 104
 b *Turne semper erit magnus cum optauit emptum Instans Pallantia & cum spolia ista diemq; Oderit.* Virgil. Æn. lib. 10.
 c *ἰσὺν πρῶτον ματαιώσασθαι ἢ δεμίαν ἑλπίαν ἔχειν τοῖς γὰρ εὐποροῖε, Demost.*
Panem non dico legem quas sepe pertrumpunt, sed ipsius turpitudinis que acerbissima est non uident. Cic. Offic. lib. 7. Impunita tu credes esse iniuria sunt? aut vltimum supplicium grauius existimas publico odio? Senec. de Benefic. lib. 3. c. 17.
 his

his change, the Prouerbe is now, *A Church bargaine.* And for feare lest couetoufnesse alone should linger out the time too much, and not to be able to make hauocke of the house of God with that expedition, which the mortall Enemie thereof did vehemently wish, he hath by certaine strong enchantments so deeply bewitched Religion it selfe, as to make it in the end an earnest Sollicitor, and an eloquent Perswader of sacriledge, vrging confidently, that the very best seruice which men of power can doe to Christ, is without any more Ceremonie, to sweepe all, and to leaue the Church as bare as in the day it was first borne, that fulnesse of bread hauing made the children of the household wanton, it is without any scruple to bee taken away from them, and throwne to Dogs, that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apostles feete, did but sawe the seeds of superstition; that they which indowed Churches with Lands, poisoned Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the sight of God as the sacrificed bloud of Goates, that if we giue him our hearts and affections, our goods are better bestowed otherwise, that *Irenaeus Polycarps* Disciple should not haue said, *We offer vnto God our goods as tokens of thankfulnessse for that we receiue,* neither *ORIGEN,* *He which worshippeth God, must by Gifts and Oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all;* in a word, that to giue vnto God is error, reformation of error, to take from the Church, that which the blindness of former Ages did vnwisely giue. By these or the like suggestions receiued with all ioy, and with like sedulitie practised in certaine parts of the Christian world, they haue brought to passe, that as *Dauid* doth say of man, so it is in hazzard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Seruice of God: *The time thereof may peraduenture fall out to be threescore and ten yeeres, or if strength doe serue vnto fowrescore, what followeth, is likely to be small ioy for them whatsoeuer they be that behold it.* Thus haue the best things beene ouer-throwne, not so much by puissance, and might of Aduersaries, as through defect of counsell, in them that should haue vpheld and defended the same.

Irene. lib. 4. 34.
Orig. in 18.
Num. hom. 1. 1.

Psal. 90. 10.

Of Ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their qualitic is, that enter into holy Orders.

80 There are in a Minister of God these foure things to be considered, his Ordination which giueth him power to meddle with things sacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted vnto him for exercise of his Office; the performance of his dutie, according to the exigence of his charge, and lastly, the maintenance which in that respect he receiueth. All Ecclesiasticall Lawes and Canons which either concerne the bestowing or the vsing of the power of ministeriall Order, haue relation to these foure. Of the first we haue spoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more conuenient discharge of Ecclesiasticall duties, as the body of the people must needs be seuered by diuers precincts, so the Clergie likewise accordingly distributed. Whereas therefore Religion did first take place in Cities, and in that respect was a cause why the name of Pagans, which properly signifieth Country people, came to be vsed in common speech for the same that Infidels and Vnbeleeuers were, it followed thereupon that all such Cities had their Ecclesiasticall Colledges, consisting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom first the Apostles or their Delegates the Euangelists, did both ordaine and gouerne. Such were the Colledges of Ierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Corinth, and the rest, where the

the Apostles are knowne to haue planted our Faith and Religion. Now because Religion and the Cure of soules was their generall charge in common over all that were neere about them, neither had any one Presbyter his seuerall Cure apart, till *Euaristus* Bishop in the See of Rome, about the yeere 112. beganne to assigne precincts vnto euery Church, or Title, which the Christians held, and to appoint vnto each Presbyter a certaine compasse, whereof himselfe should take charge alone, the commodiounesse of this inuention caused all parts of Christendome to follow it, and at the length amongst the rest our owne Churches, about the yeere 636. became diuided in like manner. But other distinction of Churches, there doth not appeare any in the Apostles Writings, saue only, according to those * Cities wherein they planted the Gospell of Christ, and erected Ecclesiasticall Colledges. Wherefore to ordaine

^a κατὰ πόλιν, throughout euery Citie, and ^b κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν, throughout euery Church, doe in them signifie the same thing. Churches then neither were, nor could bee in so conuenient sort limited as now they are, first, by the bounds of each state, and then within each state by more particular precincts, till at the length we descend vnto seuerall Congregations termed *Parishes*, with farre narrower restraint, then this name at the first was vsed. And from hence hath growne their error, who as oft as they reade of the dutie which Ecclesiasticall persons are now to performe towards the Church, their manner is alwayes to vnderstand by that Church, some particular Congregation, or Parish Church. They suppose that there should now bee no man of Ecclesiasticall Order, which is not tyed to some certaine Parish. Because the names of all Church Officers are words of relation, because a Shepherd must haue his Flocke, a Teacher his Scholers, a Minister his Companie which hee ministrETH vnto, therefore it seemeth a thing in their eyes absurd and vnreasonable, that any man should be ordayned a Minister, otherwise, then onely for some particular Congregation. Perceiue they not, how by this meane they make it vnlawfull for the Church to imploy men at all, in conuerting Nations? For if so be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Ecclesiasticall function, vnlesse it tye the partie admitted vnto some particular Parish, then surely, a thankelesse labour it is, whereby men seeke the conuersion of Infidels, which know not Christ, and therefore cannot bee as yet diuided into their speciall Congregations and Flockes. But to the end it may appeare how much this one thing amongst many more hath bene mistaken, there is first no Precept, requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in such sort, and not otherwise. Albeit therefore the Apostles did make them in that order, yet is not their Example such a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Againe, if we will consider that which the Apostles themselues did, surely, no man can iustly say that herein wee practise any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordayned onely in each Christian Citie, a Colledge of Presbyters and Deacons to administer holy things. *Euaristus* did a hundred yeeres after the birth of our Sauour Christ, begin the distinction of the Church into Parishes. Presbyters and Deacons hauing bene ordayned before to exercise Ecclesiasticall functions, in the Church of Rome promiscuously, hee was the first that tyed them each one to his owne station. So that

* Acts 15. 36.
Apoc. 1. 20.

^a Tit. 1. 6.
^b Acts 14. 23.

of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more neere the Apostles Example, and the tying of them to bee made onely for particular Congregations, may iustlier ground it selfe vpon the Example of *Euarius* then of any Apostle of Christ. It hath bene the opinion of Wise men and good men heretofore, that nothing was euer deuised more singularly beneficiall vnto Gods Church, then this which our honorable Predecessors haue to their endlesse prayse found out by erecting such Houses of Studie, as those two most famous Vniuersities do containe, and by providing that choice wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length eyther enter into that holy Vocation, for which they haue bene so long nourished and brought vp, or else giue place and suffer others to succeed in their roomes, that so the Church may bee alwayes furnished with a number of men, whose abilitie being first knowne by publike tryall in Church-labours there where men can best iudge of them, their calling afterwards vnto particular charge abroad may bee according. All this is frustrate, those worthy Foundations wee must dissolue, their whole deuice and religious purpose which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to bee cancelled and disannulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order, vnlesse it be with restraint to the partie ordayned vnto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the verie nature of their Ordination is vnto necessary locall restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Iustinian* doth say of Tutors, *Certe rei vel cause tutor dari non potest, quia persona non cause vel rei tutor datur.* He that should grant a Tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certaine thing or cause, should doe but idely, because Tutors are giuen for personall defence generally, and not for menaging of a few particular things or causes. So hee that ordaying a Presbyter or a Deacon, should in the forme of Ordination restraine the one or the other to a certaine place, might with much more reason bee thought to vse a vaine and a friuolous addition, then they reasonably to require such locall restraint, as a thing which must of necessitie concurreuermore with all lawfull Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated vnto places, but vnto Functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed vnto God, seuered and sanctified to bee employed in his Service, which is the highest aduancement that mortall creatures on Earth can be raysed vnto, the Church of Christ hath not bene acquainted in former Ages, with any such prophane and vnnaturall custome, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiasticall Functions of Order onely for a time, and then dismiss them againe to the common Affaires of the World. Whereas, contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath bene exercised, wee may bee by sundry good and lawfull occasions translated, retayning neuerthelesse the selfe-same power which was first giuen. It is some griefe to spend thus much labour in refusing a thing that hath so little ground to vphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it, doe not seeme to giue thereunto any great credit, if wee may iudge their mindes by their actions. There are amongst them that haue done the worke of Ecclesiasticall persons, sometime in the Families of Noble men,

men,* sometime in much more publique and frequent Congregations, there are that haue successiue gone thorow perhaps seuen or eight particular Churches after this sort, yea, some that at one and the same time haue bene, some which at this present houre are in reall obligation of Ecclesiasticall dutie, and possession of commoditie thereto belonging, euen in sundry particular Churches within the Land, some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their libertie, as to bee fastned or tyed vnto any place; some which haue bound themselues to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, haue afterwards voluntarily giuen other places the like experience and tryall of them. All this I presume they would not doe, if their perswasion were as strict as their words pretend. But for the auoyding of these and such other the like confusions as are incident into the cause and question whereof we presently treat, there is not any thing more materiall, then first to separate exactly the nature of the Ministerie, from the vse and exercise thereof; Secondly, to know that the onely true and proper Act of Ordination is, to inuest men with that power which doth make them Ministers by consecrating their persons to God, and his seruice in holy things during terme of life, whether they exercise that power or no; Thirdly, that to giue them a title or charge where to vse their Ministerie, concerneth not the making, but the placing of Gods Ministers, and therefore the Lawes which concerne onely their Election or Admission vnto place of charge, are not applicable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Constitution, Law or Canon is alleaged, concerning either Ordinations or Elections, wee forget not to examine whether the present case bee the same which the ancient was, or else doe containe some iust reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same Rules which former Affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the question of making Ministers without a Title, which to doe they say is a thing vnlawfull, they should at the verie first haue considered what the name of Title doth imply, and what affinitie or coherence Ordinations haue with Titles, which thing obserued would plainly haue shewed them their owne error. They are not ignorant that when they speake of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Minister in some charge, that the place of charge wherein a Minister doth execute his Office, requireth some House of God for the people to resort vnto, some definite number of Soules vnto whom hee there administreth holy things, and some certaine allowance whereby to sustaine life; that the Fathers at the first named *Oratories*, and the Houses of Prayer, Titles, thereby signifying how God was interested in them and held them as his owne Possessions. But because they know that the Church had Ministers before Christian Temples and Oratories were, therefore some of them vnderstand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of people onely, and so deny that any Ordination is lawfull which maketh Ministers, that haue no certaine Flocke to attend, forgetting how the Seuentie whom Christ himselfe did ordaine Ministers, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certaine charge could bee giuen them. Others referring the name of a Title, especially to the *maintenance* of the Minister, infringe all Ordinations made, * except they which receiue Orders bee first in-

* Vnlawfull to ordaine a Minister without a Title, *Abstrac.* p. 243. & p. 246. The Law requireth that euerie one admitted vnto Orders hauing for his present Reliefe some Ecclesiasticall Benefice, should also haue some other Title vnto some annuall rent or pension whereby he might be relieued in case he were not able through infirmity, sickness or other lawfull impediment to execute his Ecclesiastical Office and Function.

titled to a competent Ecclesiasticall Benefice and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present Title to some such Benefice, they have likewise some other Title of Annuall Rent or Pension whereby they may be releued, in case through infirmitie, sicknesse or other lawfull impediment they grow vnable to execute their Ecclesiasticall Function. So that euery man lawfully ordained must bring a Bow which hath two strings, a Title of present Right, and another to prouide for future possibilitie or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide by mis-conceiuing the true purpose of certaine Canons, which indeed haue forbidden to ordaine a Minister without a Title, not that simply it is vnlawfull so to ordaine, but because it might grow to an inconuenience, if the Church did not somewhat restrain that libertie. For seeing they which haue once receiued Ordination, cannot againe returne into the World, it behoueth them which ordaine, to fore-see how such shall bee afterwards able to liue, lest their poueritie and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their calling. Which euill prevented, those verie Lawes which in that respect forbid, doe expressly admit Ordinations to bee made at large, and without Title, namely, if the partie so ordained haue of his owne for the sustenance of this life, or if the Bishop which giueth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till some place of Ministracion, from whence his maintenance may arise, bee prouided for him, or if any other fit and sufficient meanes bee had against the danger before mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to bee with vs in force, doth make Ordinations at large vnlawfull, and as the state of the Church doth stand, they are most necessarie. If there bee any conscience in men touching that which they write or speake, let them consider as well what the present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint, as well the waight of those causes, for which our Affaires haue altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predecessors did sometime strictly and seuerely keepe that which for vs to obserue now, is neither meete nor alwayes possible. In this our present Cause and Controuersie, whether any not hauing Title of Right to a Benefice may bee lawfully ordained a Minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth signifie some standing Ecclesiasticall Reuenuew, taken out of the Treasure of God, and allotted to a Spirituall Person, to the end he may vse the same, and inioy it as his owne for terme of life, vnlesse his default cause Deprivation: the Clergie for many yeeres after Christ had no other Benefices, but onely their Canonically Portions, or Monethly Diuidends allowed them according to their seuerall degrees and qualities, out of the common Stock of such Gifts, Oblations and Tithes, as the seruour of Christian Pietie did then yeeld? Yea, that euen when Ministers had their Churches and Flockes assigned vnto them in seuerall, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till such time as Bishops and Churches Cathedrall beeing sufficiently endowed with Lands, other Presbyters enioyed in stead of their first Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their owne Congregacions whole to themselues? Is it not manifest that in this Realme, and so in other the like Dominions,

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where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on Militarie Lawes, and held as in Fee vnder Princes which are not made Heads of the people by force of vountarie Election, but borne the Soueraigne Lords of those whole and intyre Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors obtayning by way of Conquest, retayned what they would in their owne hands, and diuided the rest to others with reseruatiō of Soueraignie and Capitall interest, the building of Churches, and consequently the assigning of either Parishes or Benefices, was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principall Owners of Land, in which consideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did so farre benefit the Church, had by common consent granted (as great equitie and reason was) a right for them and their Heires till the Worlds end, to nominate in those Benefices men whose qualitie the Bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence inevitably such inequality of Parishes hath growne, as causeth some through the multitude of people which haue resort vnto one Church, to bee more then any one man can weild, and some to bee of that nature by reason of Chappels annexed, that they which are Incumbents should wrong the Church, if so bee they had not certaine Stipendaries vnder them, because where the Corpes of the profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can bee but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reason whereby it may cleerly appeare how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may suffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations against it are out of ancient Canons, how vntrue their confident asseuerations, that onely through negligence of Popish Prelates the custome of making such kind of Ministers hath preuayled in the Church of Rome against their Canons, and that with vs it is expressly against the Lawes of our owne Government, when a Minister doth serue as a stipendarie Curate, which kind of seruice neuerthelessse the greatest Rabbines of that part doe altogether follow. For howsoeuer they are loth peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they bestow, is in other mens Cures, a thing not vnlawfull for them to doe, yet vnseemely for them to condemne which practise it. I might here discouer the like ouer-sight throughout all their Discourses, made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordaine. But because we haue other where at large disputed of popular Elections, and of the right of Patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoever the people vnder any pretence or colour may seeme to challenge about admission and choice of the Pastors that shall feed their soules, I cannot see what one dutie there is which alwayes ought to goe before Ordination, but only care of the parties worthinesse, as well for integritie and vertue, as knowledge, yea, for vertue more, in as much as defect of knowledge may sundry wayes be supplied, but the scandall of vicious and wicked life, is a deadly euill.

81 The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefold blot or blemish of notable ignorance, vnconscionable absence from the Cures whereof men haue charge, and vn-satiable hunting after

Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Liuing.

spirituall preferments, without eyther care or conscience of the publike good. Whereof, to the end that wee may consider as in Gods owne sight and presence with all vprightnesse, sinceritie and truth, let vs particularly waigh and examine in euery of them; First, how farre forth they are reprocueable by Reasons and Maximes of common right; Secondly, whether that which our Lawes doe permit, be repugnant to those Maximes, and with what equitie wee ought to iudge of things practised in this case, neither on the one hand defending that which must bee acknowledged out of square, nor on the other side condemning rashly whom we list, for whatsoeuer we disallow. Touching Arguments therefore, taken from the principles of common right, to prooue that Ministers should beⁿ learned, that they ought to be^o Resident vpon their Liuiings, and that P more then one onely Benefice or Spirituall Liuing may not be granted vnto one man, the first, because S. Paul requireth in a Minister abilitie to teach, to conuince, to distribute the Word rightly, because also the Lord himselfe hath protested, they shall be no Priests to him which haue reiected knowledge, and because if the Blind lead the Blind, they must both needs fall into the Pit; the second, because Teachers are Shepherds whose Flockes can bee at no time secure from danger, they are Watchmen whom the Enemy doth alwayes besiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermission, their dutie requireth instruction and conference with men in priuate, they are the liuing Oracles of God, to whom the people must resort for counsell, they are commanded to bee Patternes of Holinesse, Leaders, Feeders, Superuisors amongst their owne, it should be their griefe, as it was the Apostles to be absent, though necessarily from them ouer whom they haue taken charge; finally, the last, because Pluralitie and Residence are opposite, because the placing of one Clarke in two Churches, is a point of Merchandize and filthy gaine, because no man can serue two Masters, because euery one should remaine in that Vocation whereto he is called, what conclude they of all this? Against Ignorance, against Non-residence, and against Pluralitie of Liuiings, is there any man so raw and dul, but that the Volumes which haue bin written, both of old and of late, may make him in so plentifull a cause eloquent? For if by that which is *generally* iust and requisite, we measure what knowledge there should bee in a Minister of the Gospell of Christ, the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth, the Lawes and Statutes which Scripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees, and Constitutions of sincerest Times, the Sentences of Antiquitie, and in a word, euen euery mans full consent & conscience is against Ignorance in them that haue charge and cure of Soules. Again, what auayleth it if wee bee Learned and not Faithfull? or what benefit hath the Church of Christ, if there bee in vs sufficiencie without endeuour or care to doe that good which our place exacteth? Touching the paines and industrie therefore, wherewith men are in conscience bound to attend the worke of their Heauenly Calling, euen as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeuour, without either fraud, sophistication or guile, I see not what more effectuall Obligation or Bond of Dutie there should be vrged, then their owne onely Vow and Promise made vnto God himselfe, at the time of their Ordinati-

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n T. C. l. i. p. 70.

o 66.

p 69.

1. Tim. 3. 2.

Tit. 1. 9.

2. Tim. 2. 15.

Hos. 4. 6.

Mat. 15. 14.

Luke 2. 8.

Acts 20. 2.

1. Sam. 1. 19.

1. Tim 4. 12.

John 10. 4.

1. Pet. 5. 2.

Acts 20. 28.

1. Thess. 2. 17.

Cmcl. Nic. c. 15.

Mat. 6. 24.

1. Cor. 7. 24.

on. The worke which they haue vnderaken, requireth both care & feare. Their sloth that negligently performe it, maketh them subiect to malediction. Besides wee also know that the fruit of our paines in this Function, is life both to our selues and others. And doe we yet need incitements to labour? Shal we stop our eares both against those coniuring exhortations which Apostles, & against the fearfull comminations which Prophets haue vttered out of the mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation of our sluggishnes in this behalfe? S. PAVL, *Attend to your selues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you ouer-seers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne blood. Againe, I charge thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ, which shall iudge the quicke and the dead at his comming, preach the Word; be instant.* Act. 20. 27.

I E R E M I E, *Woe vnto the Pastors that destroy and scatter the sheepe of my pasture, I will visit you for the wickednesse of your workes, saith the Lord, the remnant of my sheepe, I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them againe to their folds, they shall grow and increase, and I will set vp shepherds ouer them, which shall feed them.* Ier. 23. 1.

E Z E C H I E L, *Should not the shepherds, should they not feed the flockes? Yee eat the fat, and yee clothe your selues with the wooll, but the weake yee haue not strengthened, the sicke yee haue not cured, neither haue yee bound vp the broken, nor brought home againe that which was driuen away, yee haue not inquired after that which was lost, but with crueltie and rigor yee haue ruled. Wherefore, as I liue, saith the Lord God, I will require my sheepe at their hands, nor shall the shepherds feede themselves any more, for I will deliuer my sheepe from their mouthes, they shall no more deuoure them.* Ezech. 34. 2.

Nor let vs thinke to excuse our selues, if haply wee labour, though it bee at randome, and sit not altogether idle abroad. For wee are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Christ, whereof the holy Ghost hath made vs ouer-seers. The residence of Ministers vpon their owne peculiar charge, is by so much the rather necessarie, for that absenting themselves from the place, where they ought to labour, they neither can doe the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reape the comfort which sweeteth life to them that spend it in these trauailes vpon their owne. For it is in this as in all things else, which are through priuate interest dearer, then what concerneth either others wholly, or vs but in part, and according to the rate of a generall regard. As for pluralitie, it hath not onely the same inconueniences which are obserued to grow by absence, but ouer and besides, at the least in common construction, a shew of that worldly humour which men doe thinke should not raigne so high. Now from hence their Collections are as followeth, first, a repugnancie or contradiction betwene the Principles of common right, and that which our Lawes in speciall considerations haue allowed: secondly, a nullitie or frustration of all such acts, as are by them supposed opposite to those Principles, an inualiditie in all Ordinations of men vnable to preach, and in all dispensations which mitigate the Law of common right for the other two. And why so? Forsooth, because whatsoever we doe in these three cases, and not by vertue of common right, wee must yeeld it of necessitie done by warrant of peculiar right or priuledge. Now a priuledge is said to be that, that for fauour of certaine persons commeth forth against common right; things prohibited are dispenced with, because things

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permitted are dispatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require dispensation. By which descriptions of a priuiledge and dispensation it is (they say) apparent, that a priuiledge must licence and authorize the same, which the Law against ignorance, non-residence and pluralitie doth infringe, and so be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, because all the reasons whereunto the Politieue Law of man against these three was first established, are taken and drawne from the Law of Nature & the Law of God. For answer whereunto wee will but leade them to answer themselves. First therefore if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the selfe-same subiect, to be meant on both parts where opposition is pretended, it will follow that either the maximes of common right doe inforce *the very same things* not to be good, which we say are good, grounding of our selues on the Reasons, by vertue whereof our priuiledges are established; or if the one doe not reach vnto that *particular subiect*, for which the other haue provided, then is there no contradiction betweene them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally must be false. And therefore if the Principles of common right, doe at any time truly inforce that *particular* not to be good, which priuiledges make good, it argueth inuincibly, that such priuiledges haue beene grounded vpon some error. But to say, that every priuiledge is opposite vnto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath grosse absurditie. For the voice of Equitie and Iustice is, that a generall Law doth neuer derogate from a speciall Priuiledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall Law being in force should alwayes dissolue a Priuiledge. The reason why many are deceiued by imagining that so it should doe, and why men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the *subiect or matter* it selfe, which matter *indefinitely* considered in Lawes of common right, is in Priuiledges considered as *beset and limited with speciall circumstances*, by meanes whereof to them which respect it, but by way of generalitie it seemeth one and the same in both, although it be not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts doe alwayes propose perfection, not such as none can attaine vnto, for then in vaine should we aske or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must ayme at, to the end that as largely as humane prouidence and care can extend it, it may take place. Morall Lawes are the rules of Politique, those Politique, which are made to order the whole Church of God, Rules vnto all particular Churches, and the Lawes of every particular Church, Rules vnto every particular man, within the bodie of the same Church. Now because the higher we ascend in these rules, the further still we remooue from those specialties, which being proper to the subiect, whereupon our actions must worke, are therefore chiefly considered by vs, by them least thought vpon that wade altogether in the two first kindes of generall directions, their iudgement cannot be exact and sound, concerning either Lawes of Churches, or Actions of men in particular, because they determine of effects by a part of the causes onely out of which they grow, they iudge conclusions by demipremises and halfe principles, they lay them in the ballance stript from those necessarie materiall

teriall circumstances, which should giue them waight, and by shew of falling vneuen with the scale of most vniuersall and abstracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why men altogether conuersant in studie, doe know how to teach, but not how to gouerne; men experienced contrariwise gouerne well; yet know not which way to set downe orderly the Precepts and Reasons of that they doe. Hee that will therefore iudge rightly of things done, must ioyne with his formes and conceits of generall speculation, the matter wherein our actions are conuersant. For by this shall appeare what equitie there is in those Priuiledges and peculiar Grants or Fauours, which otherwise will seeme repugnant to iustice, and because in themselves considered they haue * a shew of repugnance, this deceiue those great Clarke, which hearing a priuiledge defined to be an *especiall right brought in by their power and authoritie, that make it for some publike benefit against the generall course of reason*, are no able to comprehend how the word *against* doth import *exception*, without any *opposition* at all. For in as much as the hand of Iustice must distribute to every particular what is due, and iudge what is due with respect had, no lesse of particular circumstances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all sorts with one measure, the wills, counsels, qualities and states of men being diuers. For example, the Law of common right bindeth all men to keepe their promises, performe their compacts, and answer the Faith they haue giuen either for themselves, or others. Notwithstanding he which bargaineth with one vnder yeeres, can haue no benefit by this allegation, because hee bringeth it against a person which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certaine men from the Law of common right, is against God, against Nature, against whatsoeuer may auaille to strengthen and iustifie that Law before alleaged, or else acknowledge (as the truth is) that speciall causes are to be ordered by speciall rules, that if men growne vnto ripe age, disaduantage themselves by bargaining, yet what they haue wittingly done, is strong, and in force against them, because they are able to dispose and manage their owne affaires, whereas youth for lacke of experience and iudgement, being easily subiect to cōuention, is therefore iustly exempt from the Law of common right, whereunto the rest are iustly subiect? This plaine inequalitye betweene men of yeeres, and vnder yeeres, is a cause why Equitie and Iustice cannot apply equally the same generall Rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a speciall priuiledge. Priuiledges are either transitorie or permanent.

* Transitorie, such as serue only some one turne, or at the most extend no farther then to this or that man, with the end of whose naturall life they expire; Permanent, such as the vse whereof doth continue still, for that they belong vnto certaine *kinds* of men and causes which neuer die. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for iust considerations one sort of men ioiuyeth aboue another, both in the Church and Common-wealth, no man suspecting them of contrarietie to any branch of those Lawes or Reasons, whereupon the generall right is grounded. Now there being generall Lawes & Rules whereby it cannot be denied, but the Church of God standeth bound to provide that the Ministry may be learn'd, that they which haue charge may reside
vpon

* *Ius singulare est, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem auctoritate constitutum introductum est, Paulus, ff. de Legib.*

* *Privilegium personale cum persona extinguitur, & privilegium datum alicui transiit cum alicuius, Op. de regulis, part. 1. 227.*

vpon it, and that it may not be free from them in scandalous manner to multiply Ecclesiasticall livings, it remaineth in the next place to bee examined, what the Lawes of the Church of England doe admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what speciall consideration they seeme to admit the same. Considering therefore, that to furnish all places of Cure in this Realme, it is not an Armie of twelue thousand learned men that would suffice, nor two Vniuersities that can alwayes furnish as many as decay in so great a number, nor a fourth part of the living with Cure, that when they fall are able to yeeld sufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plaine, that vnlesse the greatest part of the people should bee left vtterly without the publike vse and exercise of Religion, there is no remedie but to take into the Ecclesiasticall order, a number of men meanely qualified in respect of learning? For whatsoeuer we may imagine in our priuate Closets, or talke for communication sake at our Boords, yea, or write in our Bookes, through a notionall conceit of things needfull, for performance of each man dutie, if once we come from the Theorie of learning, to take out so many learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choyce shall be made, and thereby an estimate made, what degree of skill wee must either admit, or else leaue numbers, vtterly destitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with sense of common equitie, will soone discerne, that besides eminent and competent knowledge, wee are to descend to a lower step, receiuing knowledge in that degree, which is but tolerable. When wee commend any man for learning, our speech importeth him to bee more then meanely qualified that way; but when Lawes doe require learning as a qualitie, which maketh capable of any function, our measure to iudge a learned man by, must bee some certaine degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man so qualified. And of euery man that listeth may set that degree himselfe, how shall wee euer know when Lawes are broken, when kept, seeing one man may thinke a lower degree sufficient, another may iudge them vsufficient that are not qualified in some higher degree. Wherefore of necessitie either we must haue some Iudge in whose conscience they that are thought and pronounced sufficient, are to be so accepted and taken, or else the Law it selfe is to set downe the very lowest degree of fitnesse, that shall bee allowable in this kind. So that the question doth grow to this issue. Saint *Paul* requireth learning in Presbyters, yea such learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is sound, and to disproue them that gaine-say it. What measure of abilitie in such things shall serue to make men capable of that kind of Office, hee doth not himselfe precisely determine, but referreth it to the conscience of *Titus*, and others, which had to deale in ordaining Presbyters. Wee must therefore of necessitie make this demand, whether the Church lacking such as the Apostle would haue chosen, may with good conscience take out of such as it hath in a meaner degree of fitnesse, them that may serue to performe the seruice of publique Prayer, to administer the Sacraments vnto the People, to solemnize Marriage, to visit the Sicke, & burie the dead, to instruct by reading, although by preaching the be not as yet so able to benefit and feed Christs flocke. Wee constantly hold, that in this case the Apostles Law is not broken. He requireth more in

Presbyters

Presbyters then there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tied vnto impossibilities, to doe that we cannot, we are not bound. It is but a stratagem of theirs therefore and a very indirect practise, when they publish large declamations to prooue that learning is required in the ministerie, and to make the silly people beleue that the contrarie is maintained by the Bishops, and vpheld by the Lawes of the Land, whereas the question in truth is not whether learning be required, but whether a Church wherein there is not sufficient store of learned men to furnish all Congregations, should doe better to let thousands of soules grow sauage; to let them liue without any publike seruice of God, to let their children die vnbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing, as much as read vnto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this necessitie, to make such Presbyters as are so farre forth sufficient, although they want that abilitie of preaching which some others haue. In this point therefore wee obey necessitie, and of two euills wee take the lesse; in the rest a publike vtilitie is sought, and in regard thereof some certaine inconueniences tolerated, because they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giueth libertie of non-Residence for a time to such as will liue in Vniuersities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that so they may afterwards the more edifie and the better instruct their Congregations. The Church in their absence is not destitute, the peoples saluation not neglected for the present time, the time of their absence is in the intendment of Law bestowed to the Churches great aduantage and benefit, those necessarie helpes are procured by it, which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, then if their Pastors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in some part to remedie and helpe that euill, which the former necessitie hath imposed vpon the Church. For compare two men of equall meaneesse, the one perpetually resident, the other absent for a space, in such sort as the Law permitteth. Allot vnto both some nine yeeres continuance with Cure of soules. And must not three yeeres absence in all probabilitie and likelihood, make the one more profitable then the other vnto Gods Church, by so much as the increase of his knowledge, gotten in those three yeeres, may adde vnto sixe yeeres trauaile following? For the greater abilitie there is added to the iustrument, wherewith it pleaseth God to saue soules, the more facilitie and expedition it hath to worke that which is otherwise hardlier effected. As much may be said touching absence, granted to them that attend in the families of Bishops, which Schooles of grauitie, discretion and wisdom, preparing men against the time that they come to reside abroad, are in my poore opinion euen the fittest places that any ingenious mind can wish to inter into, betweene departure from priuate studie, and access to a more publike charge of soules, yea no lesse expedient, for men of the best sufficiencie and most maturitie in knowledge, then the verie Vniuersities themselues are for the ripening of such as be raw. Employment in the families of Noble men, or in Princes Courts hath another end, for which the selfe-same leaue is giuen, not without great respect to the good of the whole Church. For assuredly

redly whosoeuer doth well obserue, how much all inferiour things depend vpon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good, that the Angels assisting them should bee driuen to betake themselues vnto other Stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably bee supplied, and by descending their roomes about should become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this case of any platforme, which bringeth equally high and low vnto Parish Churches, nor of any constraint to maintaine at their owne charge men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the Maiestie and Greatnesse of English Nobilitie, the other so improbable and vnlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, seeme not indeede to haue conceiued what either is. But the eye of the Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and secret dispositions of men, it beholdeth how farre one starre differeth from another in glorie, and as mens seuerall degrees require, accordingly it guideth them, granting vnto principall Personages priuiledges correspondent to their high estates, and that not onely in Ciuill, but euen in Spirituall affaires, to the end they may loue that Religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminisheth their dignitie and greatnesse, but to doe them good, doth them honour also, and by such extraordinarie fauours teacheth them to bee in the Church of God, the same which the Church of God esteemeth them, more worth then thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the Lawes of this Realme haue giuen libertie of non-residence to some, that their knowledge may be increased, and their labours by that meanes be made afterwards the more profitable to others, lest the houses of great men should want that daily exercise of Religion, wherein their example auayleth as much, yea many times peraduenture more then the Lawesthemselues, with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in granting to some that libertie of addition or pluralitie, which necessarily inforceth their absence, is a meere both iust and conscionable regard, that as men are in qualitie, and as their seruices are in waight for the publike good, so likewise their rewards and encouragements by speciall priuiledge of Law, might somewhat declare how the State it selfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their bestiall and sauage rudenesse, which thinke that Oxen should onely labour, and Asses feed. Thus to Readers in Vniuersities, whose very paper and booke-expences, their ancient allowances and stipends at this day doe either not or hardly sustaine; to Governours of Colledges, lest the great ouer-plus of charges necessarily inforced vpon them, by reason of their place, and very slenderly supplied, by meanes of that change in the present condition of things, which their Founders could not foresee; to men call'd away from their Cures, and employed in waightier busines, either of the Church or Common-wealth, because to impose vpon them a burthen which requirereth their absence, and not to release them from the dutie of Residence, were a kind of cruell and barbarous iniustice; to Residents in Cathedral Churches, or vpon dignities Ecclesiasticall, for as much as these being roomes of greater Hospitalitie, places of more respect and consequence then the rest, they

are the rather to be furnished with men of best qualitie, and the men for their qualities sake to bee fauoured aboue others, I say vnto all these in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore giuen leaue while themselves beare waightier burthens, to supply inferiour by deputation, and in like consideration partly, partly also by way of honour to learning, Nobilitie and Authoritic permitteth, that men which haue taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganes of Bishops, the houlhold Chapplens of men of honour, or in great Offices, the brethren and sonnes of Lords temporall, or of Knights, if God shall moue the hearts of such to enter at any time into holy Orders, may obtaine to themselves a facultie or licence to hold two Ecclesiasticall Liuiings though hauing cure, any spirituall Person of the Queenes Councill three such Liuiings, her Chapplens, what number of promotions her selfe in her owne Princely wisdome thinketh good to bestow vpon them. But, as it fareth in such cases, the gap which for iust considerations wee open vnto some, letteth in others through corrupt practises, to whom such fauours were neither meant, nor should be communicated. The greatnesse of the Haruest, and the scarcitie of able Workemen hath made it necessarie, that Law should yeeld to admit numbers of men but slenderly and meanely qualified. Hereupon because whom all other worldly hopes haue forsaken, they commonly reserue ministeriall Vocation, as their last and surest refuge euer open to forlorne men, the Church that should nourish them, whose seruice shee needeth, hath obruded vpon her their seruice, that know not otherwise how to liue and sustaine themselves. These finding nothing more easie then meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to some one or other, which hath authoritie, and nothing more vsuall then too much facilitie in condescending vnto such requests, are often receiued into that Vocation whereunto their vnworthinesse is no small disgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of *Ierobeams* prophane Apostasie, then that he chose to haue his Clergie the scumme and refuse of his whole Land? Let no man spare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towards God, that burthen wilfully his Church with such swarmes of vnworthy creatures. I will not say of all degrees in the Ministerie, that which Saint *Chrysostome* doth of the highest, *He that will vnder take so waighty a charge, had need to be a man of great vnderstanding, rarely assisted with Diuine grace, for integritie of manners, puritie of life, and for all other vertues, to haue in him more then a man; but surely this will I say with Chrysostome, We need not doubt whether* *Chrysost. de Sa- cred. 1. 3. c. 15.* *God bee highly displeas'd with vs, or what the cause of his anger is if things of so great feare & holines as are the least & lowest duties of his seruice, be throwne wilfully on them whose not only meane, but bad & scandalous qualitie doth defile whatsoever they handle.* These eye-sores and blemishes, in continuall attendants about the Service of Gods Sanctuarie, doe make them every day sower, that willingly resort vnto it, till at length all affection and zeale towards God bee extinct in them through a wearisome contempt of their persons, which for a time onely liue by Religion, and are for recompence in fine, the death of the Nourse that feedeth them. It is not obscure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuse of the libertie, which Law is enforced to grant, and not onely this, but the like abuse of that fauour also, which Law in other considera-

tions alreadie mentioned, affordeth touching residence and pluralitie of spirituall Livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment & hurt of the Church, against the purpose of those very Lawes, which notwithstanding are pertended in defence and iustification thereof, wee must needs acknowledge no lesse repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, then the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of iust Soueraignetic. Howbeit not so those speciall priuiledges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serue malice. There is in the Patriarke of Heathen Philosophers this precept, ^a *Let no Husband-man, nor no Handy-craftsman be a Priest.* The reason whereupon he groundeth, is a maxime in the law of Nature. It importeth greatly the good of all men that God be reuerenced, with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publicly employed in his seruice, should liue of base & manuarie Trades. Now compare herewith the Apostles words, ^b *Ye know these hands haue ministred to my necessities, and them that are with me.* What thinke wee? Did the Apostle any thing opposite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maximises of the Law of Nature? The selfe-same reasons that accord his actions with the law of Nature shall declare, our Priuiledges and his Lawes no lesse consonant. Thus therefore we see, that although they vrge very colourably the Apostles owne sentences, requiring that a Minister should be able to diuide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charge, should attend vnto it themselues, which in absence they cannot doe, and that they which haue diuers Cures, must of necessitie be absent from some, whereby the Law Apostolique seemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance, cannot otherwise be vnderstood, then so as to charge them with perpetuall residence: againe, though in euery of these causes, they infinitely heape vp the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperiall authoritie, our owne Nationall Lawes & Ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding euermore their prohibitions, partly on the Lawes of God, and partly on reasons drawne from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and inferre contradiction betweene those Lawes which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certaine cases haue allowed the ordaining of sundry Ministers, whose sufficiency for learning is but meane, againe the licencing of some to be absent from their Flockes, and of others to hold more then one onely Liuing which hath cure of Soules, I say, to conclude repugnancie betweene these especiall permissions, & the former generall prohibitions, which set not downe their owne limits, is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both sorts of Law concerne. If then the considerations bee reasonable, iust and good, whereupon wee ground whatsoever our Lawes haue by speciall right permitted; if onely the effects of abused Priuiledges be repugnant to the Maximises of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancie being broken, whatsoever they haue built thereupon, falleth necessarily to ground. Whereas therefore, vpon surmise or vaine supposall of opposition betweene our speciall, and the principles of common right, they gather that such as are with vs ordained Ministers, before they can preach, be neither lawfull, because the Lawes already mentioned, forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeed Ministers, although wee com-

monly

^a ἢ τῶν χειρῶν
 ἢ τῶν βραχιόνων
 ἰσθῆα κατασκευάζοντες
 τὸν θεόν ἰσθῆα γὰρ
 τῶν χειρῶν
 ἠρώμεται τιμὰς
 οὐκ ἔστι θεός.
 Arist. Po. 7. c. 9.
^b All. 1. c. 34.
 1. Cor. 4. 12.
 1. Thes. 2. 9.
 2. Thes. 3. 8.

monly so name them, but whatsoeuer they execute by vertue of such, their pretended vocation is void; that all our graunts and tolerations, as well of this as the rest are frustrate and of no effect, the persons that enioy them possesse them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all howers; finally that other iust and sufficient remedie of euils there can bee none besides the vtter abrogation of these our mitigations, and the strict establishment of former ordinances to be absolutely executed whatsoeuer follow, albeit the answer already made in discouerie of the weake and vnfound foundation whereupon they have built these erroneous collections may bee thought sufficient, yet because our desire is rather to satisfie if it be possible, then to shake them off, wee are with very good will contented to declare the causes of all particulars more formally and largely, then the equitie of our owne defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men, at this day a secret pernicious and pestilent conceit that the greatest perfection of a Christian man doth consist in discouerie of other mens faults, and in wit to discourse of our owne profession. When the World most abounded with iust, righteous and perfect men, their chiefest studie was the exercise of pietie, wherein for their safest direction, they reuerently harkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the Oracles and Aphorismes of wisdome, which tended vnto vertuous life, if any scruple of Conscience did trouble them for matter of Actions which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counsell and aduise were had for feare least rashly they might offend. Wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge and iudgement is riper, but because our desires are another way. Their scope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeavour was reformation of life, ^a our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the praefise of their religion wearied chiefly

their knees and hands, we especially our eares & tongues. We are growne as in many things else, so in this to a kind of intemperancie, which (only sermons excepted) hath almost brought all other duties of religion out of taste. At the least they are not in that account and reputation which they should bee. Now because men bring all religion in a manner to the only office of hearing sermons, if it chauce that they who are thus conceited doe embrace any speciall opinion different from other men, the

Sermons that rellish not that opinion, can in no wise please their appetite. Such therefore as preach vnto them, but hit not the string they looke for, are receiued as vnprofitable, the rest as vnlawfull, and indeede no Ministers, if the facultie of sermons want. For why? A Minister of the Word should, they say, bee able rightly to *diuide* the Word, Which Apostolique Canon, many thinke they doe well obserue, when in opening the sentences of holy Scripture they draw all things fauourably spoken vnto one side, but whatsoeuer is reprehensiu seuer and sharpe, they haue others on the contrarie part whom that must alwayes concerne, by which their ouer partiall and vnindifferent proceeding while they thus labour amongst the people to diuide the Word they make the Word a meane to diuide and distract the people.

^a Ἄλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ πάντα μὲν ἐπράησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον κατασύντονος οἰοῦνται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ὅτως ἐσθραῖμα σκεπασμένοι: ὁμοίον π ποῖο ἰσὺς τοῖς κήρυκσιν οἱ ἄλλ' ἰατρῶν ἀκόνουσι, μὲ ἐπιμελῶς, τῶσιν δ' ἐδὲν ἄλλ' παρατηρομένων ὅσπερ ὁ ἰατρός ἐκείνους ἐν ἔσσι τὸ σῶμα ἔτω διακτενόμενοι, ἐδ' ἔτοι τῶν ψυχῶν ἔτω φιλοσοφῶντες, *Aristo. Eth. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

οὐδὲν αὐτῶν to diuide aright, doth not in the Apostles writings, soundnesse of doctrine onely, and in meaning standeth opposite to *κατασκευάζειν* the broaching of new opinions against that which is received. For questionlesse the first things deliuered to the Church of Christ, were pure and sincere Truth. Which whosoever did afterwards oppugne could not choose but diuide the Church into two moities, in which diuision, such as taught what was first believed helpe the truer part, the contrarie side in that they were teachers of noueltie erred. For preuention of which euill there are in this Church many singular and well deuised remedies, as namely the vse of subscribing to the Articles of religion before admission to degrees of learning, or to any Ecclesiasticall liuing, the custome of reading the same Articles and of approouing them in publike Assemblies wheresoever men haue benefices with cure of soules, the order of testifying vnder their hands allowance of the Booke of common Prayer, and the Booke of ordaying Ministers; finally, the Discipline and moderate seueritie which is vsed eyther in other wise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturbe the Church with Doctrines which tend vnto Innouation, it being better that the Church should want altogether the benefit of such mens labours, then indure the mischief of their inconformitie to good Lawes; in which case if any repine at the course and proceedings of Iustice, they must learne to content themselues with the answer of *M. Curius*, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the Body of the Commonwealth, in whose behalfe because it might haue beene pleaded that the partie was a man seruiceable, he therefore began his iudiciall sentence with this preamble, *non esse opus Reip. eo ciue qui parere nesciret*; *The Common-wealth needeth men of qualittie, yet neuer those men which haue not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of England hath taken to provide that they who are Teachers of others may doe it foundly, that the Puritie and Vnirie as well of auncient Discipline as Doctrine may be vpheld, that auoyding singularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart, and one tougue, they of all men do least approoue, that most vrge the Apostles Rule and Canon. For which cause they alleage it not so much to that purpose, as to prooue that vnpreaching Ministers (for so they terme them) can haue no true nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint *Augustine* hath said of the will of man, that *simply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our well-willing is from Grace.* We say as much of the Minister of God, *publikely to teach and instruct the Church, is necessary in euery Ecclesiasticall Minister, but abilitie to teach by Sermons is a Grace which God doth bestow on them whom he maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their durie.* That therefore wherein a Minister differeth from other Christian men, is not as some haue childishly imagined, the *sound preaching of the Word of God*, but as they are lawfully and truly Governours to whom authoritie of Regiment is giuen in the Commonwealth, according to the order which Politie hath set, so Canonically ordination in the Church of Christ is that which maketh a lawfull Minister, *as touching the validitie of any Act which appertayneth to that vocation.* The cause why Saint *Paul* willed *Timothy* not to bee ouerhastie in ordaying Ministers, was (as wee very well may coniecture) because imposition of hands doth consecrate and make them Ministers, whether they haue

Valer. l. c. c. 3.

Ox. man. p. 21.

If want of learning and skill to preach did frustrate their Vocation, Ministers ordayned before they be growne vnto that maturity, should receiue new Ordination, whensoever it chanceth, that studie and industrie doth make them afterwards more able to performe the Office, then which what conceit can be more absurd? Was not Saint *Augustine* himselfe contented to admit an Assistant in his owne Church, a man of small Erudition, considering that what hee wanted in knowledge, was supplied by those vertues, which made his life a better Orator, then more learning could make others whose conuersation was lesse holy? Were the Priests, since *Moses*, all able and sufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? or was it euer imagined, that this defect should frustrate what they executed, and deprive them of right vnto any thing they claimed by vertue of their Priesthood? Surely, as in Magistrates, the want of those gifts which their Office needeth, is cause of iust imputation, of blame in them that wittingly choose vn sufficient and vnfit men when they might doe otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor euery action of Magistracie frustrate in that respect. So whether it were of necessitie, or euen of verie carelesnesse, that men vnable to preach should bee taken in Pastors roomes, neuertheless, it seemeth to bee an error in them, which thinke that the lacke of any such perfection defeateth vterly their Calling. To wish that all men were so qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let; to couet speedie redresse of those things whatsoever, whereby the Church sustayned detriment, these good and vertuous desires cannot offend any but vngodly minds. Notwithstanding, some in the true vehemencie, and others vnder the faire pretence of these desires, haue aduentured that which is strange, that which is violent and vnjust. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge, the Residence and the single Liuing of Ministers, presume not onely to annihilate the solemne Ordinations of such as the Church must of force admit, but also to vrge a kind of vniuersall proscription against them, to set downe Articles, to draw Commissions, and almost to name themselues of the *Quorum*, for inquirie into mens estates and dealings, whom at their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselues list, and that not for any violation of Lawes, either Spirituall or Ciuill, but because men haue trusted the Lawes too farre, because they haue held and inioyed the libertie which Law granteth, because they had not the wit to conceiue as these men doe, that Lawes were made to intrap the simple, by permitting those things in shew and appearance, which indeed should neuer take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a secret condition to bee put in practice, *If they should bee profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*, which condition failing in all Ministers that cannot preach, in all that are absent from their Liuing, and in all that haue diuers Liuing (for so it must bee presumed, though neuer as yet prooued) therefore as men which haue broken the Law of God, and Nature, they are deprivable at all houres. Is this the Iustice of that Discipline whereunto all Christian Churches must stoope and submit themselues? is this the equitie wherewith they labour to reforme the World? I will no

The Author of
the Abstract.

way diminish the force of those Arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another Glasse, there are Ciuill as well as Ecclesiasticall Vnsufficiencies, Non-residences, and Pluralities; yea, the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministred against both are of such affinitie, that much lesse they cannot inforce in the one then in the other: When they that beare great Offices, bee persons of meane worth, the contempt whereinto their authoritic groweth, ⁿ weakeneth the sinew of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Governours are needfull, and they not many, whom their qualitie can commend, ^o the penurie of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable: Cities in the absence of their Governours, are as ships wanting Pilots at sea. But were it therefore ^p Justice to punish whom superiour Authoritie pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere? In committing ^q many Offices to one man, there are apparantly these inconueniences, the Commonwealth doth lose the benefit of seruiceable men, which might be trayned vp in those roomes; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well; in seruice of Warfare and Navigation, were it not the ouerthrow of whatsoeuer is vndertaken, if one or two should ingrosse such Offices as being now diuided into many hands, ^r are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Neuerthelesse, be it faire from the minde of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations, Princes either ought of dutie to reuoke all such kind of grants, though made with very speciall respect to the extraordinarie merit of certayne men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their Offices, with speech to this or the like effect, *For as much as you A. B. by the space of many yeeres, haue done vs that faithfull seruice in most important affaires, for which wee alwayes iudging you worthy of much honour, haue therefore committed vnto you from time to time, very great and waightie Offices, which hitherto you quietly iudged; we are now giuen to vnderstand, that certaine graue and learned men haue found in the books of ancient Philosophers, diuers Arguments drawne from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderfull discommodities which vse to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cause, at this present, moued in conscienc and tender care for the publike good, we haue summoned you hither, to dispossesse you of those places, and to depose you from those roomes, wherof indeed by vertue of our owne grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other to thinke vs rash, light, or inconstant, in so doing: For we tell you plaine, that herein we will both say and doe that thing which the noble and wise Emperour sometime both said, and did, in a matter of farre lesse waight then this, Quod inconsultò fecimus, consultò reuocamus, That which we vnadvisedly haue done, we aduisedly will reuoke and vndo. Now for mine owne part, the greatest harme I would wish them who thinke that this were consonant with equitie and right, is, that they might but liue where all things are with such kind of Justice ordered, till experience haue taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof we speake, namely, what course were the best and safest whereby to remedie such euils as the Church of God may sustaine, vvhether the present libertie of Law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receiue from abroad, not vnprofitable for direction of Gods*

η μεγαλων κυ-
 ριαυ καθωστας
 αν ευσελεις ωσι
 μεγαλα βρα-
 τωσι. Aulito.
 o Nec ignoro
 maximos honores
 ad parum dignos
 penuria m'horū
 solere deseri.
 Mancern. pa-
 neg. ad Iulian.
 p Neque enim
 equum visum est
 absentem reipub.
 causa inter reos
 referri dum rī-
 pub. operatur.
 Vipian. l. 15. si
 maritus, ad le-
 gem Iulian. de
 adulter.
 q Arist. Polit.
 Eb. 2. cap. 11.
 See the like
 Preamble fra-
 med by the
 Author of the
 Abstract, where
 hee fancieth a
 Bishop, depo-
 sing one vnapt
 to preach,
 whom himselfe
 had before or-
 dayned.

owne sacred House and Family. The Romanes being a people full of generosity, and by nature courteous, did no way more shew their gentle disposition, then by easie condescending to set their bondmen at libertie. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Common-wealth, was bestowed for the most part as an ordinarie reward of vertue, some few now and then also purchasing freedome with that which their iust labours could gaine, & their honest frugalitie saue. But as the Empire daily grew vp, so the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honored, and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing seeme opprobrious out of which there might arise commoditie and profit, so that it could be no maruell in a State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenious sort were become base, the baser laying aside all shame and face of honestie, did some by robberies, burglaries, and prostitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeeme libertie; others obtaine the same at the hands of their Lords, by seruing them as vile instruments in those attempts, which had bene worthy to be reuenged with ten thousand deaths. A learned, iudicious, and polite Historian, hauing mentioned so foule disorders, giueth his iudgement & censure of them in this sort, *Such eye-fores in the Commonwealth haue occasioned many vertuous minds, to condemne altogether the custome of granting liberty to any bond-slave, for as much as it seemed a thing absurd, that a people which commanded all the world, should consist of so vile refuse. But neither is this the only custome wherein the profitable inuentions of former are depraued by latter Ages, and for my selfe I am not of their opinion that wish the abrogation of so grossly vsed customes, which abrogation might peraduenture be cause of greater inconueniences ensuing, but as much as may be I would rather aduise that redresse were sought, through the carefull prouidence of chiefe Rulers & Ouerseers of the Commonwealth, by whom a yeerly suruay being made of all that are manumitted, they which seeme worthy might be taken and diuided into Tribes with other Citizens, the rest dispersed into Colonies abroad, or otherwise disposed of, that the Commonwealth might sustaine neither harme nor disgrace by them.* The waies to meet with disorders, growing by abuse of Lawes, are not so intricate and secret especially in our case, that men should need either much aduertisement or long time for the search thereof. And if counsell to that purpose may seeme needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not destitute of men indued with ripe iudgement, whensoever any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which end at this present to propose any speciall inuentions of mine owne, might argue in a man of my place & calling more presumption perhaps then wit. I wil therefore leaue it intire vnto grauer consideration, ending now with request only & most earnest sute, first, that they which giue Ordination, would, as they tender the very honor of Iesus Christ, the safetie of men, & the endlesse good of their own soules, take heed, lest vnnecessarily, and through their default the Church be found worse, or lesse furnished then it might be: secondly, that they which by right of Patronage haue power to present vnto spiritual Liuiings, & may in that respect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the ease of their own account in that dreadful day, somewhat consider what it is to betray for gaine the soules which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity & solemne promise, giuen at the first to God & his Church by them,

from

Dionys. Halicarn.
Rom. antiq. l. 4.

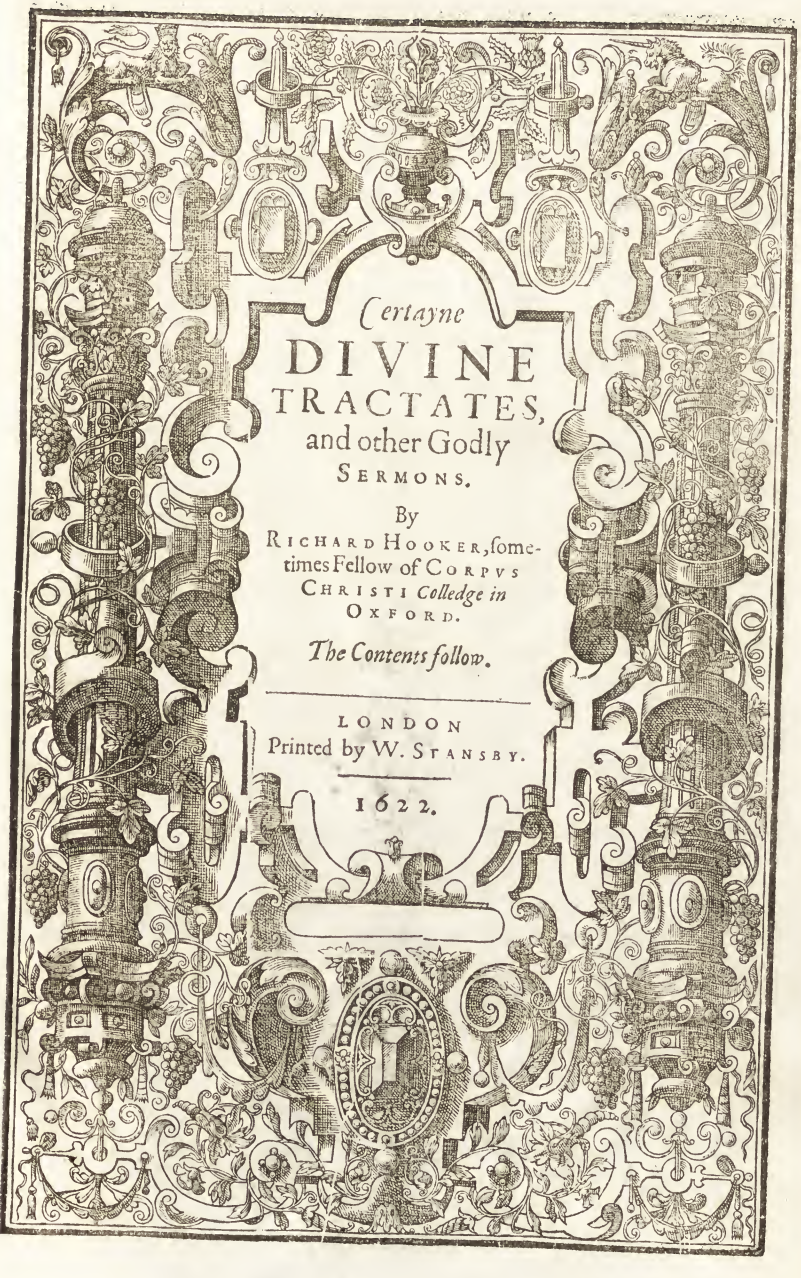
from whose originall interest together with the selfe-same Title of right, the same Obligation of dutie likewise is descended: Thirdly, that they vnto whom the granting of Dispensations is committed; or which otherwise haue any stroke in the disposition of such preferments as appertayne vnto learned men, would bethinke themselues what it is to respect any thing either aboue or besides merit, considering how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and qualitie there is so little respect had, or so great vnto them whose deserts are very meane, that nothing doth seeme more strange then the one sort, because they are not accounted of, and the other because they are, it being every mans hope and expectation in the Church of God, especially that the onely purchase of greater rewards should be alwayes greater deserts, and that nothing should euer bee able to plant a Thorne where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honorable Personages, and they, who by vertue of any principall Office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certayne number, and make them capable of fauours or faculties aboue others, suffer not their names to be abused, contrarie to the true intent & meaning of wholesome Lawes, by men in whom there is nothing notable besides couetousnesse and ambition: Fifthly, that the grauer and wiser sort in both Vniuersities, or whosoeuer they be, with whose approbation the markes and recognisances of all learning are bestowed, would thinke the Apostles caution against vnadvised Ordinations, not impertinent or vnnecessary to be borne in minde, euen when they grant those degrees of Schooles, which degrees are not *gratia gratis data*, kindnesse bestowed by way of humanitie, but they are *gratie gratum facientes*, fauours which alwayes imply a testimonie giuen to the Church and Commonwealth, concerning mens sufficiency for manners and knowledge; a testimonie, vpon the credit whereof sundrie Statutes of the Realme are built, a testimonie so far auailable, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of diuers mens abilities, to serue in the affaires of the Realme, a testimonie wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to bee alwayes giuen, and doe thereby induce into errour such as deeme it a thing vnciuill to call the credit thereof in question, let them looke that God shall returne backe vpon their heads, and cause them in the state of their owne Corporations, to seele either one way or other the punishment of those harmes, which the Church through their negligence doth sustayne in that behalfe: Finally, and to conclude, that they who inioy the benefit of any speciall Indulgence or fauour, which the Lawes permit, would as wel remember what in dutie towards the Church, and in conscience towards God they ought to doe, as what they may doe by vsing to their owne aduantage whatsoeuer they see tolerated, no man being ignorant that the cause why absence in some cases hath beene yeilded vnto, and in equitie thought sufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through industrie elsewhere, the reason likewise wherefore pluralities are allowed vnto men of note, a very soueraigne and speciall care, that as Fathers in the ancient world did declare the preminence of prioritie in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their first borne; so the Church by a course not vnlike in assigning mens rewards, might testifie an estimation, had proportionably of their vertues, according to the ancient rule Apostolike, *They which excell in labour, ought to excell*

excell in labour ought to excell in honour, and therefore vnlesse they answer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, vnlesse sincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to sow because they reape, and to sow as much more abundantly, as they reape more abundantly then other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of such benignities, they formally binde themselves, let them be well assured that the bonie which they eate with fraude, shall turne in the end into true gall, for as much as lawes are the sacred image of his wisdom who most seuerely punisheth those colourable and subtle crimes that seldome are taken within the walke of humane Iustice. I therefore conclude that the grounds and maximes of common right whereupon ordinations of Ministers vnable to preach, tolerations of absence from their cures, and the multiplications of their spirituall livings are disproued, doe but indefinitely enforce them vnlawfull, not vnlawfull vniuersally and without exception; that the lawes which indefinitely are against all these things, and the Priuiledges which make for them in certaine cases are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Lawes of God and nature are violated through the effects of abused Priuiledges; that neither our ordinations of men vnable to make sermons, nor our dispensations for the rest can be iustly proued frustrate by vertue of any such surmised opposition betweene the special Lawes of this Church which haue permitted, and those generall which are alledged to disprouoe the same; that when priuiledges by abuse are growne incommodious, there must be redresse; that for remedie of such euils, there is no necessitie, the Church should abrogate either in whole or in part, the specialties before mentioned; and that the most to be desired were a voluntarie reformation thereof on all hands which may giue passage vnto any abuse.

For the mayne hypothes or foundation of these conclusions, let that before set downe in the 9. be red together with this last the 81. Paragraph.

FINIS

The first of these is the fact that the
 government has been unable to raise
 the necessary funds to meet its
 obligations. This is due to a
 variety of causes, including the
 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 the government has been unable to
 raise the necessary funds to meet
 its obligations. This is due to a
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 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 the government has been unable to
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 variety of causes, including the
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 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 its obligations. This is due to a
 variety of causes, including the
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 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 its obligations. This is due to a
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 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
 The seventh cause is the fact that
 the government has been unable to
 raise the necessary funds to meet
 its obligations. This is due to a
 variety of causes, including the
 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 raise the necessary funds to meet
 its obligations. This is due to a
 variety of causes, including the
 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.
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 raise the necessary funds to meet
 its obligations. This is due to a
 variety of causes, including the
 high cost of the war, the
 depreciation of the currency, and
 the general economic depression.



Certayne
DIVINE
TRACTATES,
and other Godly
SERMONS.


By
RICHARD HOOKER, some-
times Fellow of CORPVS
CHRISTI Colledge in
OXFORD.

The Contents follow.

LONDON
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1622.





TO THE READER.



The pleasures of thy spacious walkes in Master HOOKERS Temple-Garden (not vnfitly so called, both for the Temple whereof he was Master, and the Subiect, Ecclesiasticall Politie) doe promise acceptance to these Flowers; planted and watered by the same hand, and for thy sake composed into this Poëse. Sufficiently are they commended; by their fragrant smell, in the dogmaticall Truth;

by their beautifull colours, in the accurate stile; by their medicinable vertue, against some diseases in our neighbour-Churches now prouing epidemicall, and threating farther infection; by their strait feature and spreading nature, growing from the root of Faith (which, as here is proued, can neuer be rooted vp) and extending the branches of Charitie to the covering of Noahs nakednesse, opening the windowes of Hope to mens mistie conceits of their bemisted forefathers. Thus and more then thus, doe the workes commend themselues; the Work-man needs a better work-man to commend Him (ALEXANDERS picture requires APOLLOS his pencill) nay, he needs it not, His owne workes commend him in the gates, and being dead, he yet speaketh; the syllables of that memorable name, Master RICHARD HOOKER, proclayming more, then if I should here stile him a painefull Student, a profound Scholer, a iudicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receiue then this postume Orphan, for his owne, yea for thine owne sake: and if the Printer hath with ouer-much haste, like MEPHIBOSHETHS Nurse, lamed the Child with slips and falls, yet be thou of DAVIDS mind, Shew kindnesse to him for his Father IONATHANS sake. God grant that the rest of his brethren be not more then lamed, and that as SAULS three sonnes died the same day with him, so those Three promised to perfect his Politie, with other issues of that learned braine, be not buried in the graue with their renowned Father. Farewell.

W. S.

The Contents of these Treatises
following,

1. *A Supplication made to the Councill by Master WALTER TRAVERS.*
2. *Master HOOKERS answere to the Supplication that Master TRAVERS made to the Councill.*
3. *A learned Discourse of Iustification, Workes, and how the foundation of Faith is over-throwne.*
4. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride:*
5. *A Remedie against Sorrow and Fearè, deliuered in a Funerall Sermon.*
6. *Of the certaintie and perpetuities of Faith in the Elect: especially of the Prophet HABAKKUKS Faith.*
7. *Two Sermons vpon part of Saint IVDAS Epistle.*





A SUPPLICATION
MADE TO THE COVN-
CELL BY MASTER
WALTER TRAVERS.



RIGHT Honourable, the manifold benefits which all the Subiects within this Dominion do at this present, and haue many yeeres enioyed; vnder her Maiesties most happy and prosperous raigne, by your godly wisdom, and carefull watching ouer this estate night and day: I truely and vnfaignedly acknowledge from the bottome of my heart, ought worthily to binde vs all, to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and encrease of the life and good estate of your Honours, and to be readie with all good

duties to satisfie and serue the same to our power. Besides publique benefites common vnto all, I must needs, and doe willingly confesse my selfe to stand bound by most speciall obligation to serue and honour you more then any other, for the honourable fauour it hath pleased you to vouchsafe both oftentimes heretofore, and also now of late, in a matter more deare vnto me then any earthly commoditie, that is, the vpholding and furthering of my seruice in the ministring of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, For which cause, as I haue bene alwaies carefull so to carrie my selfe as I might by no meanes giue occasion to be thought vnworthie of so great a benefit, so doe I still, next vnto her Maiesties gracious countenance, hold nothing more deare and precious vnto me, then that I may alwaies remaine in your Honours fauor, which hath oftentimes bin helpfull and comfortable vnto me in my Ministerie, and to all such as reaped any fruit of my simple and faithfull labour. In which dutifull regard, I humbly beseech your Honours to vouchsafe to doe me this grace, to conceiue nothing of me otherwise then according to the dutie wherein I ought to liue, by any information against me, before your Honours haue heard my answer, and been throughly informed of the matter. Which although it be a thing, that your

wisdomes, not in fauour, but in iustice yeeld to all men: yet the state of the calling vnto the Ministerie, whereunto it hath pleased God of his goodnesse to call me, though vnworthiest of all, is so subiect to mis-information, as except we may find this fauour with your Honours, wee cannot looke for any other, but that our vniuersall parties may easily procure vs to be hardly esteemed of; and that we shall be made like the poore filher-boates in the Sea, which euer swelling waue and billow raketh and runneth ouer. Wherein my estate is yet harder then any others of my ranke and calling, who are indeed to fight against flesh and bloud in what part soeuer of the Lords host and field they shall stand marshalled to serue, yet many of them deale with it naked and vnfurnished of weapons: but my seruice was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with skill and with authoritie, whereof as I haue alwaies thus deserued, and therefore haue bin carefull by all good meanes to entertaine still your Honors fauorable respect of me, so haue I special cause at this present, wherein mis-information to the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie, and other of the high Commission hath bin able so farre to preuaile against me, that by their letter they haue inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of Ministerie in the Temple or elsewhere, hauing neuer once called me before them to vnderstand by mine answer the truth of such things as had bin enformed against mee. Wee haue a storie in our bookes, wherein the Pharises proceeding against our Sauour Christ without hauing heard him, is reprov'd by an honorable Counsellor (as the Eangelist doth tearme him) saying, Doth our law iudge a man before it heare him, and know what he hath done? Which I doe not mention, to the end that by an indirect and couert speech I might so compare those, who haue without euer hearing me, pronounced a heauie sentence against me, for, notwithstanding such proceedings, I purpose by Gods grace to carrie my selfe towards them in all seeming dutie agreeable to their places: much lesse doe I presume to liken my cause to our Sauour Christs, who hold it my chiefest honor and happinesse to serue him, though it be but among the hindes and hired seruants, that serue him in the basest corners of his house. But my purpose in mentioning it, is, to shew by the iudgement of a Prince and great man in Israel, that such proceeding standeth not with the law of God, and in a princely patterne to shew it to be a noble part of an honorable Councillor, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow and affect such a course in iustice, as is agreeable to the law of God. We haue also a plaine rule in the word of God, not to proceed any other wise against any Elder of the Church; much lesse against one that laboureth in the word and in teaching: which rule is deliuered with this most earnest charge and obtestation, I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou keepe those [rules] without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partialitie, or enclining to either part; with Apostolicall and most earnest charge, I referre it to your Honors wisdom how it hath bin regarded in so heauie a iudgement against mee, without euer hearing my cause, and whether, as hauing God before their eyes, and the Lord Iesus, by whom all former iudgements shall be tried againe, and as in the presence of the elect Angels witnesses, & obseruers of the regiment of the Church, they haue proceeded thus to such a sentence. They alleage indeed

two reasons in their letters whereupon they reſtraine my Miniſterie, which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I referre to your Honours wiſdomes, whether the qualitie of ſuch an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerue ſo grieuous a puniſhment both to the Church and me, in taking away my Miniſterie, and that poore little commodity which it yeeldeth for the neceſſarie maintenance of my life; if ſo vnequall a ballancing of faults and puniſhments, ſhould haue place in the commonwealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly haue no actions vpon the caſe, nor of trefpaſſe, but all ſhould be pleas of the Crowne, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for euery light offence put to his ranſome. I haue credibly heard, that ſome of the Miniſterie haue bin committed for grieuous tranſgreſſions of the lawes of God and men, being of no abilitie to doe other ſeruite in the Church then to reade, yet hath it bin thought charitable and ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperancie, not to deprive ſuch of miniſtery and beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment. Which I write not becauſe ſuch as I thinke, were to be fauoured, but to ſhew how vnlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodneſſe of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame; and one who according to the meaſure of the gift of God, haue laboured now ſome yeeres painefully, in regard of the weake eſtate of my body in preaching the Goſpel, and as I hope, not altogether vnprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to giue me leave briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their Letters, and what anſwer I haue to make vnto it.

The firſt is, that as they ſay I am not lawfully called to the function of the Miniſterie, nor allowed to preach according to the lawes of this Church of England.

For anſwer to this, I had need to diuide the points, and firſt to make anſwer to the former, where in leauing to ſhew what by the holy Scriptures is required in a lawfull calling, and that all that is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your other waightie affaires, I reſt.

I this anſwer: My calling to the Miniſtery was ſuch as in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be vſed by the orders agreed vpon in the Nationall Synods of the Low Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which orders are the ſame with thoſe whereby the French and Scottiſh Churches are governed, whereof I haue ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimoniall to my Lord the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, as is requiſite in ſuch a matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Miniſtery in thoſe Churches, then is my calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawfull. But I ſuppoſe notwithstanding they vſe this generall ſpeech, they meane only my calling is not ſufficient, to deale in the Miniſterie within this land, becauſe I was not made Miniſter according to that order which in this cauſe is ordained by our lawes. Whereunto I beſeech your Honours to conſider throughly of mine anſwer, becauſe exception now againe is taken to my Miniſtery, whereas hauing bene heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued my miniſtery, and for any thing I diſcerned, looked to heare that no more objected vnto me. The communion of Saints (which euery Chriſtian man profeſſeth to beleue) is ſuch, as that the acts which are done in any true Church

of Christs according to his word, are held as lawfull, being done in one Church, as in another. Which as it holdeth in other acts of ministry, as baptisme, marriage, and such like, so doth it in the calling to the ministerie; by reason whereof all Churches doe acknowledge and receive him for a minister of the word, who hath bene lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A Doctor created in any Vniuersitie of Christendome, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome it selfe, and the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spaine, they may execute that belongeth to their order in Italie, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Gospell neuer made any question of it. Which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and denie such to be lawfully called to the Ministerie, as are called by another order then our owne, then may it well be looked for that other Churches will doe the like: and if a Minister called in the Low Countries bee not lawfully called in England, then may they say to our Preachers which are there, that being made by another order then theirs, they cannot suffer them to execute any act of Ministerie amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schisme and dangerous diuision in the Churches. Further I haue heard of those that are learned in the lawes of this land, that by expresse Satute to that purpose Anno 13. vpon subscription of the Articles agreed vpon Anno 62. that they who pretend to haue bene ordered by another order then that which is now established, are of like capacitie to enioy any place of ministry within the land, as they that haue bin ordered according to that is now by law in this case established. Which comprehending manifestly all, even such as were made Priests according to the order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the law of a Christian land professing the Gospell, should be as fauorable for a Minister of the Word as for a Popish Priest, which also was so found in *M. Whittingames* case, who notwithstanding such replies against him, enioyed still the benefit he had by his ministerie, and might haue done vntill this day if God had spared him life so long; which if it be vnderstood so & practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right, which the law giueth to all other? The place of ministry, whereunto I was called, was not presentatiue: and if it had bene so, surely they would neuer haue presented any man whom they neuer knew; and the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the ancient and best Canons, that no man should be made minister *sine titulo*; therefore hauing none, I could not by the orders of this Church haue entered into the ministerie, before I had charge to tend vpon. When I was at *Antwerp*, and to take a place of ministerie among the people of that nation, I see no cause why I should haue returned againe ouer the seas for orders here, nor how I could haue done it, without disallowing the orders of the Churches provided in the countrie where I was to liue. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the ministerie is lawfull, and maketh mee by our law of capacitie to enioy any benefit or commoditie, that any other by reason of his ministerie may enioy. But my cause is yet more easie, who reaped no benefit of my ministerie by law, receiuing onely a beneuolence and voluntarie contribution, and the ministerie I dealt with being preaching onely, which every Deacon here may doe being licensed, and certaine that are neither Ministers

nor Deacons : thus I answered the former of these two points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly desire for a finall end thereof, that some competent Iudges in Law may determine of it ; whereunto I referre and submit my selfe with all reuerence and dutie.

The second is, that I preached without licence : whereunto this is my answer ; I haue not presumed vpon the calling I had to the Ministry abroad, to preach, or deal with any part of the Ministry within this Church, without the consent and allowance of such as were to allow me vnto it : my allowance was from the Bishop of *London*, testified by his two severall Letters to the Inner Temple, who without such testimonie would by no means rest satisfied in it ; which letters being by me produced, I referre it to your Honors wisdom, whether I haue taken vpon me to preach without being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the Realme. Thus hauing answered the second point also, I haue done with the obiection of dealing without calling or licence.

The other reason they alleage is, concerning a late action wherein I had to deale with Master *Hooker*, Master of the Temple : in the handling of which cause they charge me with an indiscretion and want of dutie, in that I inueighed (as they say) against certaine points of doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaying of it to them. My answer hereunto standeth in declaring to your Honors the whole course and carriage of that cause, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will doe as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witnesse, as neere as my best memorie, and notes of remembrance may serue me thereunto. After that I haue taken away that which seemeth to haue moued them to thinke me not charitably minded to Master *Hooker*, which is, because he was brought in, to Master *Alueys* place, wherein this Church desired that I might haue succeeded ; which place, if I would haue made sute to haue obtayned, or if I had ambitiously affected and sought, I would not haue refused to haue satisfied by subscription such as the matter then seemed to depend vpon : whereas contrariwise, notwithstanding I would not hinder the Church to doe that they thought to be most for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither by speech, nor letter, make sute to any for the obtayning of it, following herein that resolution which I iudge to be most agreeable to the Word and Will of God, that is, That labouring and suing for places and charges in the Church is not lawfull. Further, whereas at the sute of the Church some of your Honors entertayned the cause, and brought it to a neere issue, that there seemed nothing to remayne, but the commendation of my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be satisfied but by my subscribing to his late Articles, and that my answer agreeing to subscribe according to any Law, and to the Statute provided in that case, but praying to be respited for subscribing to any other, which I could not in conscience doe, either for the Temple (which otherwise, he said, he would not commend me to) not for any other place in the Church, did so little please my Lord Archbishop, as hee resolved that otherwise I should not be commended to it. I had vtterly here no cause of offence against Master *Hooker*, whom I did in no sort esteeme to haue pre-
 uented

nented or vnderminded me, but that God disposed of me as it pleased him, by such meanes and occasions as I haue declared. Moreouer, as I had taken no cause of offence at Master *Hooker* for being preferred, so there were many witnesses that I was glad that the place was giuen him, hoping to liue in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good will which hath bene betweene vs, and for some kinde of affinitie in the marriage of his neereft kined and mine: since his comming I haue so carefully endeouored to entertaine all good correspondence and agreement with him, as I thinke he himselfe will beare mee witnesse of many earnest Disputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, because that contrarie to my expectation, he enclined from the beginning but smally thereunto, but ioyned rather with such as had alwaies opposed themselues to any good order in this charge, and made themselues to be brought indisposed to his present state and proceedings. For both knowing that Gods commandement charged mee with such dutie, and discerning how much our peace might further the good seruice of God and his Church, and the mutuall comfort of vs both, I had resolved constantly to seeke for peace, and though it should flie from me (as I saw it did by meanes of some, who little desired to see the good of our Church) yet according to the rule of Gods Word to follow after it. Which being so (as hereof I take God to witnesse, who searcheth the heart, and reines, and by his Sonne will iudge the World, both the quicke and dead) I hope no charitable iudgement can suppose me to haue stood euill-affected towards him for his place, or desirous to fall into any Controuersie with him. Which my resolution I pursued, that whereas I discovered sundrie vnsound matters in his doctrine (as many of his Sermons tasted of some sowre leauen, or other) yet thus I carried my selfe towards him. Matters of smaller weight, and so couertly discovered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly passed by, as one that discerned nothing of them, or had bene vnfurnished of replies. For other of greater moment, and so openly deliuered, as there was iust cause of feare, lest the Truth and Church of God should bee preiudiced and perilled by it, and such as the conscience of my dutie and calling would not suffer me altogether to passe ouer, this was my course, to deliuer, when I should haue iust cause by my Text, the truth of such doctrine as he had otherwise taught in generall speeches, without touch of his person in any sort, and further at conuenient oportunitie to conferre with him in such points. According to which determination, whereas he had taught certaine things concerning Predestination otherwise then the Word of God doth, as it is vnderstood by all Churches professing the Gospell, and not vnlike that wherewith *Coranus* sometimes troubled his Church, I both deliuered the truth of such points in a generall doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also priuately vpon such Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I vrged the consent of all Churches, and Good Writers against him that I knew, and desired if it were otherwise, what Authours he had seene of such doctrine, he answered me, That his best Authour was his owne reason: which I wished him to take heed of, as a matter standing with Christian modestie and wisdom in a doctrine not receiued by the Church,

not to trust to his owne iudgement so farre, as to publish it before he had conferred with others of his profession, labouring by daily prayer and studie, to know the will of God, as he did, to see how they vnderstood such Doctrine: notwithstanding, hee with wauering replying, that hee would some other time deale more largely in the matter, I wished him, and prayed him not so to doe, for the Peace of the Church, which by such meanes might be hazarded; seeing he could not but thinke, that men, who make any conscience of their Ministerie, will iudge it a necessarie dutie in them, to teach the Truth, and to conuince the contrarie. Another time, vpon like occasion of this Doctrine of his, that the assurance of that wee beleeuue by the Word, is not so certaine, as of that wee perceiue by sense; I both taught the Doctrine otherwise, namely, the assurance of Faith to bee greater, which assureth both of things above, and contrarie to all sense and humane vnderstanding, and dealt with him also priuately vpon that point. According to which course, of late, when as he had taught that the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, and a sanctified Church by profession of that Truth, which God hath reuealed vnto vs by his Sonne, though not a pure, and perfect Church: and further that hee doubted not, but that thousands of the Fathers, which liued and died in the Superstitions of that Church, were saued because of their ignorance, which excuseth them, mis-alleging to that end a * Text of Scripture to prooue it: * 1. Tim. 1. 13. the matter being of set purpose openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment that might prejudice the Faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affectd to continue still in their damnable wayes, and other weake in Faith to suffer themselues easily to bee seduced to the destruction of their Soules; I thought it my most bounden dutie to God, and to his Church, whilest I might haue oportunitie to speake with him, to teach the Truth in a generall speech in such points of Doctrine.

At which time I taught that such as dye, or haue dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Iustification in part by Workes, could not bee said by the Scriptures to be saued. In which matter foreseeing that, if I waded not warily in it, I should bee in danger to bee reported (as hath falne out since notwithstanding) to condemne all the Fathers: I said directly and plainly to all mens vnderstanding, that it was not indeed to bee doubted, but many of the Fathers were saued, but the meanes (I said) was not their ignorance, which excuseth no man with God, but their knowledge and Faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchsafed them by many notable Monuments and Records extant of it in all Ages. Which being the last point in all my Sermon, rising so naturally from the Text I then expounded, as would haue occasioned mee to haue deliuered such matter, notwithstanding the former Doctrine had bene found, and being dealt in by a generall speech without touch of his particular: I looked not that a matter of controuersie would haue bene made of it, no more then had bene of my like dealing in former time. But farre otherwise then I looked for, Master *Hooker* shewing no grieue of offence taken at my speech all the weeke long, the next Sabbath, leauing to proceed vpon his ordinary Text, professed to preach againe that he had done the day before, for
some

some question that his Doctrine was drawne into, which he desired might bee examined with all severitie.

* 1^o. 18. 4.
Gal. 5. 2. 3. 4.

So proceeding, he bestowed his whole time in that Discourse, concerning his former doctrine, and answering the places of Scripture, which I had *alleged, to proue that a man dying in the Church of Rome, is not to be iudged by the Scriptures to be saued. In which long Speech, and vtterly impertinent to his Text, vnder colour of answering for himselfe, hee impugned directly and openly to all mens vnderstanding, the true Doctrine which I had deliuered, and added to his former points some other like (as willingly one error followeth another) that is, that the Galathians ioyning with Faith in Christ Circumcision, as necessarie to Salvation, myght not be saued. And that they of the Church of Rome may be saued by such a Faith of Christ, as they had, with a generall Repentance of all their errors, notwithstanding, their opinion of Iustification, in part by their Workes and Merits. I was necessarily, though not willingly drawne to say some thing to the points hee objected against sound Doctrine, which I did in a short Speech in the end of my Sermon, with protestation of so doing, not of any sinister affection to any man, but to beare witnesse to the Truth according to my Calling. And wished, if the matter should needs further be dealt in, some other more conuenient way might be taken for it; wherein I hope, my dealing was manifest to the consciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to haue bene according to Peace, and without any vncharitableneffe being duly considered.

For that I conferred with him the first day, I haue shewed that the cause requiring of mee the dutie, at the least not to bee altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, that the time also being short, wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small, vpon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being that the Church should be no further troubled with it, vpon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing. I suppose my deferring to speake with him till some fit oportunitie, cannot in Charitie be iudged vncharitable.

The second day, his vnlooked for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessitie some publique answer; which being so temperate, as I haue shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as vncharitable, and punished so grieuouly as it is, what should haue bene my punishment, if (without all such cautions and respects as qualified my speech) I had before all, and in the vnderstanding of all so reprobued him offending openly, that other might haue feared to doe the like? Which yet if I had done, might haue bene warranted by the rule and charge of the Apostles, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the rest may also feare*, and by his example, who when *Peter* in this very case which is now betweene vs, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of conuersation not gone with a right foot, as was fit, for the truth of the Gospell, conferred not priuately with him, but, as his owne rule required, reprobued him openly before all, that other might heare, and feare, and not dare to doe the like: all which reasons together weighed, I hope, will shew the manner of my dealing to haue bene charitable, and warrantable in euery sort.

The next Sabbath day after this, Master *Hooker* kept the way hee had entered into before, and bestowed his whole houre and more only vpon the questions he had moued and maintayned, wherein he so set forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their disagreement from vs, as if we had consented in the greatest, and waightiest points, and differed onely in certaine smaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not such as he would haue made men beleue. The one in that he said, They acknowledged all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin, though some of them freed her from sinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that shee was free from sinne. Another in that he said, They teach Christs righteousnesse to be the only meritorious cause of taki^g away sinne, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas* their chiefe Schoole-man, and Archbishop *Catherinus* teach, That Christ tooke away only originall sinne, and that the rest are to be taken away by our selues; yea, the Councell of Trent teacheth, that righteousnesse, whereby we are righteous in Gods sight, is an inherent righteousnesse: which must needs be of our owne workes, and cannot be vnderstood of the righteousnesse inherent only in Christs person, and accounted vnto vs. Moreouer, he taught the same time, that neither the Galathians, nor the Church of Rome did directly ouerthrow the foundation of Iustification by Christ alone, but onely by consequent, and therefore might well be saued; or else neither the Churches of *Lutheranes*, nor any which hold any manner of error could be saued, because (sayth he) euery error by consequent ouerthroweth the foundation. In which discourses and such like he bestowed his whole time and more, which, if he had affected either the Truth of God, or the Peace of the Church, he would truly not haue done. Whose example could not draw me to leaue the Scripture I tooke in hand, but standing about an houre to deliuer the doctrine of it, in the end vpon iust occasion of the Text, leauing sundry other his vsound speeches, and keeping me still to the principall; I confirmed the beleeuing the doctrine of Iustification by Christ onely, to be necessarie to the iustification of all that should be saued, and that the Church of Rome directly denyeth that a man is saued by Christ, or by Faith alone without the workes of the Law. Which my answere, as it was most necessarie for the seruice of God, and the Church, so was it without any immodest; or reprochfull speech in Master *Hooker*, whose vsound and wilfull dealings in a cause of so great importance to the faith of Christ, and saluation of the Church, notwithstanding I knew well what speech it deserued, and what some zealous earnest man of the spirit of *John* and *James*, sur-named * *Boanerges*, sonnes of Thunder, would haue said in such a case: yet I chose rather to content my selfe in exhorting him to reuise his doctrine; as * *Nathan* the Prophet did, the deuce which without consulting with God, he had of himselfe giuen to *Dauid*, concerning the building of the Temple: and with ^b *Peter* the Apostle to indure to bee withstood in such a case, not vnlike vnto this. This in effect was that which passed betweene vs concerning this matter, and the inuectiues I made against him, wherewith I am charged; which rehearsall, I hope, may cleere me (with all that shall indifferently consider it) of the blames laid vpon me for want of dutie to Master *Hooker*, in not conferring with him,

* *Mat*. 3. 17.a 2. *Sam*. 7. 2.
3. 5.b *Gal*. 2. 11, 14.

him, whereof I haue spoken sufficiently alreadie: and to the high Commission, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to answer. My answer is, That I protest, no contempt nor wilfull neglect of any lawful authoritie stayed me from complying vnto them, but these Reasons following.

First, I was in some hope, that Master *Hooker*, notwithstanding he had bene ouer-carried with a shew of charitie to preiudice the Truth, yet when it should be sufficiently proued, would haue acknowledged it, or at the least induced with peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to such as would receiue it; either of which would haue taken away any cause of iust complaint. When neither of these fell out according to my expectation, and desire, but that he replied to the truth, and obiected against it, I thought he might haue some doubts, and scruples in himselfe, which yet if they were cleared, hee would either embrace some doctrine, or at least suffer it to haue his course; which hope of him I nourished so long as the matter was not bitterly, and immodestly handled betweene vs.

Another reason was the cause it selfe, which according to the parable of the Tares (which are said to be sowne amongst the Wheat) sprung vp first in his grasse. Therefore as the Seruants in that place are not said to haue come to complaine to the Lord, till the Tares came to shew their fruits in their kind: so I thinking it yet but a time of discovering of it, what it was, desired not their sickle to cut it downe.

^b *Exec.* 22. 30.

^c *Exec.* 33. 6.

For further answer, it is to be considered, that the conscience of my dutie to God, and to his Church, did binde me at the first to deliuer sound doctrine in such points, as had bene otherwise vttered in the place, where I had now some yeeres taught the truth. Otherwise the rebuke of the ^b Prophet had fallen vpon me for not going vp to the breach, and standing in it, and the ^c perill for answering the bloud of the Citie, in whose watch Tower I sate, if it had bene surprisid by my default. Moreover, my publike protestation in being vnwilling, that if any were not yet satisfied, some other more conuenient way might be taken for it. And lastly, that I had resolued (which I vttered before to some, dealing with me about the matter) to haue protested the next Sabbath day, that I would no more answer in that place any obiections to the doctrine taught by any meanes, but some other way satisfie such as should require it. These I trust may make it appeare, that I sayled not in dutie to authoritie; notwithstanding I did not complaine, nor giue ouer so soone dealing in the case. If I did, how is he cleere, which can allege none of all these for himselfe, who leauing the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinarie calling, voluntarily discoursed vpon schoole-points and questions, neither of edification nor of truth, who after all this, as promising to himselfe, and to vntruth a victorie by my silence, added yet in the next Sabbath day to the maintenance of his former opinions, these which follow?

That no additament taketh away the foundation, except it be a priuatiue, of which sort neither the workes added to Christ by the Church of Rome, nor circumcision by the Galathians were: as one denyeth him not to be a man, that saith he is a righteous man, but he that saith he is a dead man: whereby it
might

might seeme that a man might, without hurt, adde workes to Christ, and pray also, that God and *S. Peter* would saue him.

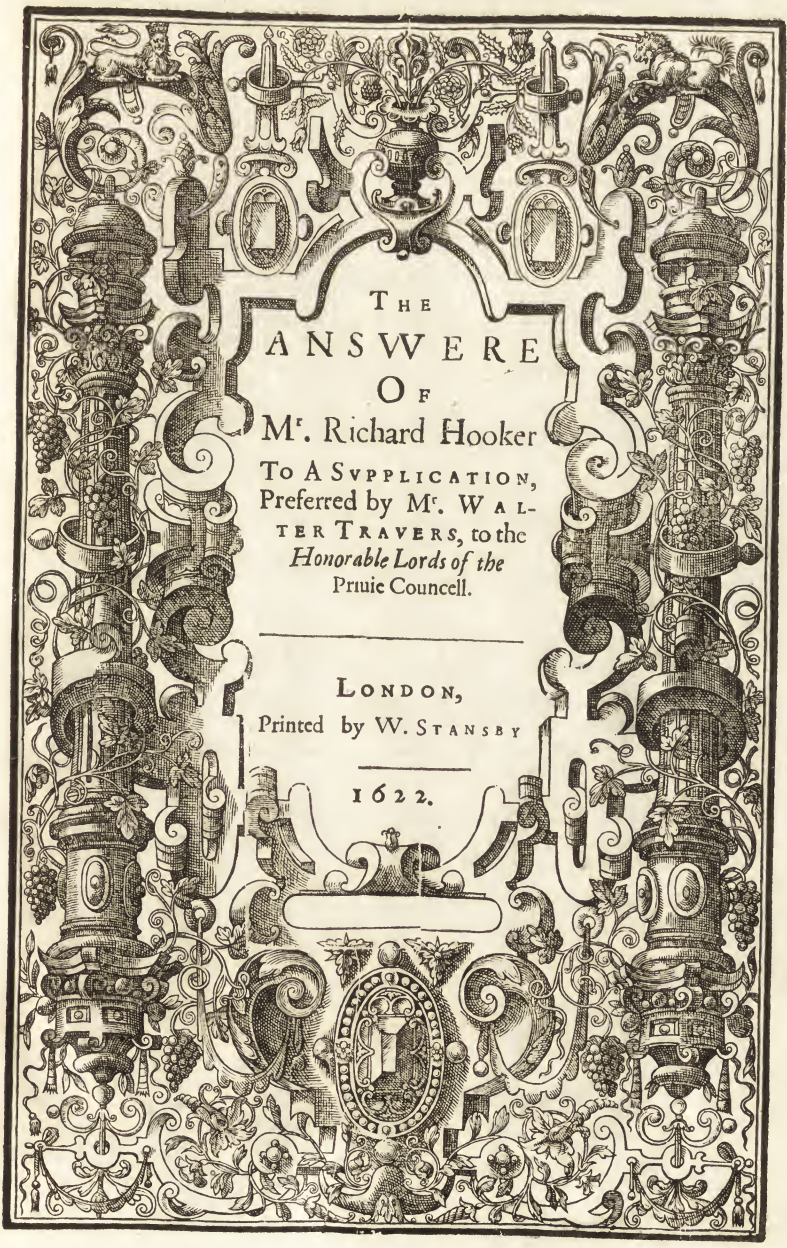
That the Galathians case is harder then the case of the Church of Rome, because the Galathians ioined Circumcision with Christ, which God hath forbidden, and abolished: but that which the Church of Rome ioined with Christ, were good workes which God hath commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault; one, in expounding all the question of the Galathians, and consequently of the Romans, and other Epistles of Circumcision only, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they doe who answer for the Church of Rome in their Writings) contrary to the cleere meaning of the Apostle, as may appeare by many strong, and sufficient reasons: the other, in that he said, the addition of the Church of Rome was of workes commanded of God, whereas the least part of the workes, whereby they looked to merit, was of such workes, and most were of supererogation, and of workes which God neuer commanded, but was highly displeas'd with, as of Masses, Pilgrimages, Pardons, paines of Purgatory, and such like: further, that no one sequell vrg'd by the Apostle against the Galathians for ioining Circumcision with Christ, but might bee aswell enforced against the Lutherans, that is, that for their vbiqutie it may bee aswell said to them, If yee hold the Bodie of Christ to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are vnder the curse of the Law, saying, Cursed be he that fulfil- leth not all things written in this Booke, with such like: he added yet further, that to a Bishop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinall, yea to the Pope himselfe, acknowledging Christ to be the Sauour of the World denying other errors, and being discomforted for want of workes whereby he might be iustified, he would not doubt but vse this speech; Thou holdest the foundation of Christian Faith, though it bee but by a slender thread; thou holdest Christ, though but as by the hem of his Garment, why shouldst thou not hope that vertue may passe from Christ to saue thee? That, which thou holdest of Iustification by thy workes, ouerthroweth indeed by consequent the foundation of Christian Faith; but be of good cheere, thou hast not to doe with a caprious Sophister, but with a mercifull God, who will iustifie thee for that thou holdest, and not take the aduantage of doubtfull construction to condemne thee. And if this, he said, be an error, I hold it willingly; for it is the greatest comfort I haue in this World, without which I would not wish either to speake or to liue. Thus far, being not to be answered in it any more, he was bold to proceed; the absurditie of which speech I need not to stand vpon. I thinke the like to this and other such in this Sermon, and the rest of this matter hath not bene heard in publike places within this Land since *Queene Marijs* dayes. What consequence this Doctrine may be of, if he be not by authoritie ordered to reuoke it, I beseech your HH. as the truth of God and his Gospel is deare and precious vnto you, according to your godly wisdomes to consider.

I haue bene bold to offer to your HH. a long and tedious Discourse of these matters, but speech being like to Tapestry, which if it be folded vp, sheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being vnslapt and laid open, sheweth plainly to the eye all the worke that is in it; I thought it necessarie to vnfold this Tapestry, and to hang vp the whole chamber of it in your most Ho-

norable Senate : that so you may the more easily discern of all the pieces, and the sundry workes and maters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your HH. may see I haue not deserued so 'great a punishment as is laid vpon the Church for my sake, and also vpon my selfe in taking from mee the exercise of my Ministry: which punishment how heauie it may seeme to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I referre it to them to iudge, and spare to write what I feare; but to my selfe it is exceeding grieuous, for that it taketh from mee the exercise of my Calling. Which I doe not say is deare vnto me as the meanes of that little benefit whereby I liue (although this bee a lawfull consideration, and to bee regarded of mee in due place, and of the authoritie vnder whose protection I most willingly liue, euen by Gods Commandement, both vnto them, and vnto me :) but which ought to bee more precious to me then my life, for the loue which I should beare to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and saluation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like seruice to God, nor of such vse and profit to men by any meanes: for which cause, as I discern, how deare any Ministry ought to be vnto me, so it is my hearty desire, and most humble request vnto God, to your HH. and to all the authoritie I liue vnder, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may spend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like sound of fuller sense, comparing by it the bestowing of his life to the Offering powred out vpon the Sacrifice of the faith of Gods people, and especially of this Church, whereupon I haue already powred out a great part thereof in the same Calling, from which I stand now restrayned. And if your HH. shall finde it so that I haue not deserued so great a punishment, but rather performed the dutie, which a good and faithfull Seruant ought in such a case to doe his Lord, and the people hee putteth him in trust withall carefully to keepe; I am a most humble Suiter by these presents to your HH. that by your godly Wisdome, some good course may be taken for the restoring of me to my Ministerie and place againe. Which so great a fauour shall bind mee yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already so great, as it seemed nothing could be added vnto it, to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increase of your good estate, and to bee readie with all the poore meanes God hath giuen mee, to doe your HH. that faithfull seruice I may possibly performe: but if, notwithstanding my cause bee neuer so good, your HH. can by no meanes pacifie such as are offended, nor restore mee againe, then am I to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend to your HH. protection vnder her Maiesties my priuate life, while it shall be led in dutie, and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himselfe a people with his precious blood, and is making ready to come to iudge both the quick and the dead, to giue to euery one according as hee hath done in this life, bee it good or euill, to the wicked and vnableeuer, iustice vnto death, but to the faithfull, and such as loue his truth, mercie and grace to life euerlasting.

Your Honours most bounden, and most humble Suppliant,

WALTER TRAVERS, *Minister of
the Word of God.*



THE
ANSWERE
OF
M^r. Richard Hooker

TO A SUPPLICATION,
Preferred by M^r. WALTER TRAVERS, to the
*Honorable Lords of the
Privie Councill.*

LONDON,
Printed by W. STANSBY


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1892


MASTER HOOKERS
ANSWERE TO THE SUP-
PLICATION THAT MASTER
TRAUERS made to the
COVNCELL.

To my LORD of Canterbury
his Grace.



MY dutie in most humble wise remembered. May
 it please your Grace to vnderstand, that where-
 as there hath been a late Controuersie rayed in
 in the Temple, and pursued by Master *Trauers*,
 vpon cōceit taken at some words by me vttered
 with a most simple and harmlesse meaning; in
 the heate of which pursuit, after three publike
 Inuectiues, silence being enioyned him by au-
 thoritie; he hath hereupon for defence of his
 proceedings, both presented the right Honora-
 ble Lords and others of her Maiesties Priuie

Councell with a writing, and also caused or suffered the same to be copied out,
 and spred through the hands of so many, that wel-nigh all sorts of men haue
 it in their bosomes; the matters wherewith I am therein charged being of
 such qualitie as they are, and my selfe being better knowne to your Grace,
 then to any other of their Honours besides; I haue chosen to offer to your
 Graces hands, a plaine declaration of my innocency in all those things, where-
 with I am so hardly and so heauily charged, lest if I still remayne silent, that
 which I doe for quietnesse sake, be taken as an Argument, that I lacke what
 to speake truely and iustly in mine owne defence.

2 First, because Master *Trauers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an opini-
 on in mens minds, that the roote of all inconuenient euent which are now
 sprung out, is the surly and vnpeaceable disposition of the man with whom he
 hath to doe, therefore the first in the ranke of accusations laid against me is my
 inconformitie, which haue so little inclined to so many and so earnest Exhor-
 tations and Conferences, as my selfe, hee saith, can witnesse, to haue bene

spent vpon mee, for my better fashioning vnto good correspondence and agreement.

3 Indeed, when at the first, by meanes of speciall well-willers, without any sute of mine, as they very well know, (although I doe not thinke it had beene a mortall sinne, in a reasonable sort to haue shewed a moderate desire that way) yet when by their indeuour without instigation of mine, some reuerend and honourable, fauourably affecting mee; had procured her Maiesties grant of the place, at the very point of my entering thereinto, the euening before I was first to preach, hee came and two other Gentlemen ioyned with him: the effect of his Conference then was, that he thought it his dutie to aduise me not to enter with a strong hand, but to change my purpose of preaching there the next day, and to stay till he had giuen notice of mee to the Congregation, that so their allowance might seale my calling. The effect of mine Answer was, that as in place where such order is, I would not breake it; so here where it neuer was, I might not of mine owne head take vpon me to beginne it; but liking very well the motion for the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requested him not to mislike my Answer, though it were not correspondent to his mind.

4 When this had so displeased some, that whatsoever was afterwarde done, or spoken by me, it offended their taste, angry informations were daily sent out, intelligence giuen farre and wide what a dangerous enemy was crept in, the worst that ieaousie could imagine was spoken and written to so many, that at the length some knowing me well; and perceiuing how iniurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more vnto my discredit, wrought meanes to bring Mr. *Tyler*s and me to a second conference. Wherein when a common friend vnto vs both, had quietly requested him to vtter those things wherewith hee found himselfe any way grieued, hee first renewed the memorie of my entering into this charge by vertue only of an humane creature (for so the want of that * formalitie of popular allowance was then censured;) and vnto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of causelesse surmises; as that I had conspired against him, and that I sought superioritie ouer him; and partly of faults, which to note, I should haue thought it a greater offence then to commit, if I did account them faults and had heard them so curiously obserued in any other then my selfe, they are such silly things; as praying in the entrance of my Sermons only, and not in the end, naming Bishops in my Prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receiue the Communion, with such like, which I would be as loth to recite as I was fortie to heare them objected, if the rehearsal thereof were not by him thus wrestled from mee. These are the conferences wherewith I haue been wooed to enterrayne peace and good agreement.

5 As for the vehement exhortations he speaketh of, I would gladly know some reason wherefore he thought them needfull to be vsed. Was there any thing found in my speeches or dealings which gaue them occasion, who are studious of peace, to thinke that I disposed my selfe to some vnquiet kinde of proceedings? Surely, the speciall Prouidence of God, I doe now see it was, that the first words I spake in this place, should make the first thing whercof I

* A meere formalitie had beene to me in that place, whereas no man had euer vsed it before me; so it could neyther further me, if I did vs it, nor hinder me, if I did not.

am accused, to appeare not onely vntrue, but improbable to as many as then heard me with indifferent eares, and doe, I doubt not, in their consciences cleere me of this suspicion. Howbeit I grant this were nothing if it might be shewed, that my deeds following were not suteable to my words. If I had spoken of peace at the first, and afterwards sought to molest and grieue him, by crossing him in his function, by storming if my pleasure were not asked and my will obeyed in the least occurrences, by carping needlessly sometimes at the manner of his teaching; sometimes at this, sometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with some likelihood haue bene blamed, as one disdaining a peaceable hand when it hath bene offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prooue, that my selfe haue now a full yeere together borne the continuance of such dealings, not onely without any manner of resistance; but also without any such complaint as might let or hinder him in his course; I see no cause in the world, why of this I should be accused, vnlesse it be lest I should accuse, which I meant not. If therefore I haue giuen him occasion to vse conferences and exhortations vnto peace, if when they were bestowed vpon me I haue despised them; it wil not be hard to shew some one word or deed where-with I haue gone about to worke disturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only I require if any thing be shewed, it may be prooued, and not obiected only as this is, *That I haue ioyned with such as haue alwaies opposed to any good order in this Church, and made themselues to be thought indisposed to the present estate and proceedings.* The words haue reference as it seemeth, vnto some such things as being attempted before my comming to the Temple, went not so effectually perhaps forward as he which deuised them would haue wished. An order as I learne there was tendred, that Communicants should neither kneele, as in the most places of the Realme; nor sit, as in this place the custome is; but walke to the one side of the Table, and there standing till they had receiued, passe afterwards away round about by the other: Which being on a sudden begun to be practised in the Church, some fate wondering what it should meane, others deliberating what to doe: till such time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requested that they might doe as they had bene accustomed, which was granted, and as Master Travers had ministred his way to the rest, so a Curate was sent to minister to them after their way. Which vnprosperous beginning of a thing, (saiuing onely for the inconuenience of needlesse alterations otherwise harmelesse) did so disgrace that order in their conceit, who had to allow or disallow it, that it tooke no place. For neither they could euer induce themselves to thinke it good, and it so much offended Master Travers who supposed it to be the best, that he since that time, although contented himselfe to receiue it as they doe at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meete they should euer receiue it out of his, which would not admit that order of receiuing it, and therefore in my time hath bene alwayes present not to minister, but onely to be ministred vnto.

6 Another order there was likewise deuised, but an order of much more waight and importance. This soile, in respect of certaine immunities and other specialities belonging vnto it, seemed likely to beare that which in other places

places of the Realme of England doth not take. For which cause request was made to some of her Maiesties Priuie Councill, that whereas it is prouided by a Statute, there should bee Collectors and Side-men in Churches, which thing or somewhat correspondent vnto it, this place did greatly want, it would please their Honors to motion such a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And according to their Honorable manner of helping forward all motions so grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Wherevpon although these Houses neuer had vse of such Collectors and Side-men, as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Boxe to receiue mens deuotion for the poore, appointing the Treasurer of both Houses to take care for bestowing it where need is, and granting further, that if any could bee intreated (as in the end some were) to vndertake the labour of obseruing mens slacknesse in diuine duties, they should be allowed, their complaints heard all times, and the faults they complained of, if Master *Alueyes* priuate admonition did not serue, then by some other meanes redressed, but according to the old receiued Orders of both Houses. Whereby the substance of their Honors Letters were indeed fully satisfied. Yet because Master *Trauers* intended not this, but as it seemed another thing, therefore notwithstanding the Orders which haue beene taken, and for any thing I know, doe stand still in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore: He complaineth much of the good Orders which hee doth meane haue beene withstood. Now it were hard if as many, as any way oppose vnto these and the like Orders, in his perswasion good, do thereby make themselues to be thought dislikers of the present state and proceedings. If they, whom he aymeth at, haue any otherwise made themselues to be thought such, it is likely hee doth know wherein, and will, I hope, disclose to whom it appertayneth, both the persons whom hee thinketh, and the causes why hee thinketh them so ill-affected. But whatfoeuer the men be, doe their faults make mee faultie? They doe, if I ioyne my selfe with them. I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I haue ioyned with them. Other ioyning then this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may be I haue talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably vsed the duties of common humanitie, with some such as he is hardly perswaded of. For I know no Law of God or Man by force whereof they should be as Heathens and Publicans vnto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cause, or if with cause, yet such cause as he is priuy vnto, and not I. Could hee or any reasonable man thinke it a charitable course in mee, to obserue them that shew by externall courtesies a fauourable inclination towards him, and if I spie out any one amongst them, of whom I thinke not well, herevpon to draw such an accusation as this against him, and to offer it where he hath giuen vp his against me? Which notwithstanding I will acknowledge to be iust and reasonable, if he or any man liuing shall shew that I vse as much as the bare familiar companie but of one, who by word or deed hath euer giuen me cause to suspect or coniecture him, such as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I ioyne my selfe. This being spoken therefore and written without all possibilitie of prooffe, doth not Master *Trauers* giue me ouer great cause to stand in some feare, lest hee make too little conscience how

how he vseth his tongue or penne? These things are not laid against mee for nothing, they are to some purpose if they take place. For in a mind perswaded that I am as he deciphereth me, one which refuse to be at peace with such as imbrace the truth, and side my selfe with men sinisterly affected thereunto, any thing that shal be spoken concerning the vnsoundnes of my doctrine, cannot choose but be fauourably entertained. This presupposed, it will haue likelihood enough, which afterwards followeth, that many of my Sermons haue tasted of some soure leauen or other, that in them he hath discovered sundry vnsound masters. A thing much to be lamented, that such a place as this which might haue bene so well provided for, hath falne into the hands of one no better instructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found that hee iudgeth my words, as they doe colours, which looke vpon them with greene spectacles, and thinke that which they see is greene, when indeed that is greene where-by they see?

7 Touching the first point of this discoverie which is about the matter of Predestination, to set downe that I spake, (for I haue it written) to declare and confirme the severall branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I haue so many things to touch, that I can but touch them onely. Neither is it herein so needfull for mee to iustifie my speech, when the verie place and presence where I spake doth it selfe speake sufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley, or vttered where none was to heere it that had skill with authoritie to controll, or couertly insinuated by some glyding sentence.

8 That which I taught was at *Pauls Crosse*; it was not huddled in amongst other matters in such sort that it could passe without noting, it was opened, it was prooued, it was some reasonable time stood vpon. I see not which way my Lord of *London*, who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controlement afterwards, to heare any man there reach otherwise then *the Word of God doth*, not as it is vnderstood by the private interpretation of some one or two men, or by a speciall construction receiued in some few bookes, but as it is vnderstood by all Churches professing the Gospel, by them all, and therefore euen by our owne also amongst others. A man that did meane to prooue that hee speaketh, would surely take the measure of his words shorter.

9 The next thing discovered, is an opinion about the assurance of mens perswasion in matters of faith. I haue taught he saith; *That the assurance of things which we beleeu by the Word, is not so certain as of that we perceiue by sense.* And is it as certain? Yea, I taught as he himselfe, I trust, wil not deny, that the things which God doth promise in his Word, are surer vnto vs then any thing wee touch, handle, or see. But are we so sure and certaine of them? If wee be, why doth God so often proue his promises vnto vs, as he doth by argument taken from one sensible experience? Wee must be surer of the prooffe then of the thing prooued, otherwise it is no prooffe. How is it, that if ten men do all looke vpon the Moone, euery one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moone as another; but many beleeuing one and the same promises, all haue not one and the same fulnesse of perswasion? How falleth it out, that men being assu-
red

red of any thing by sence, can bee no surer of it then they are, whereas the strongest in faith that liueth vpon the earth, hath alwayes need to labour, and striue, and pray, that his assurance concerning heauenly and spirituall things, may grow, increase, and be augmented?

10 The Sermon wherein I haue spoken somewhat largely of this point, was long before this late controuerſie rose betweene him and mee, vpon request of some of my friends seene, and read by many, and amongst many, some who are thought able to discern: and I neuer heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing vnfound matter. My case were very hard, if as oft as any thing I speake displeasing one mans taste, my doctrine vpon his onely word should be taken for lowre leauen.

11 The rest of this discouerie is all about the matter now in question, wherein hee hath two faults predominant, which would tyre out any that should answer vnto every point seuerally: vnapt speaking of Schoole controuerſies; and of my words sometimes so vntoward a reciting, that hee which should promise to draw a mans countenance, & did indeed expresse the parts, at leastwise the most of them truly, but peruerſly place them, could not represent a more offensiue visage, then vnto mee my owne speech seemeth in some places as hee hath ordered it. For answer whereunto, that writing is sufficient wherein I haue set downe both my words and meaning in such sort, that where this accusation doth deprauē the one, and either misinterpret, or without iust cause mislike the other, it will appeare so plainly, that I may spare very well to take vpon me a new and a needlesse labour here.

12 Onely at one thing which is there to be found, because Master Trauers doth here seeme to take such a speciall aduantage, as if the matter were vnanswerable, hee constraineth mee either to detect his ouer-sight, or to confesse mine owne in it. In setting the question betweene the Church of Rome and vs about Grace and Iustification, lest I should giue them an occasion to say, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, wee propose to our selues such in stead of theirs, as we can refute, I tooke it for the best and most perspicuous way of teaching, to declare first, how farre we doe agree, and then to shew our disagreement; not generally (as Master Trauers his * words would carry it, for the easier fastning that vpon me, wherewith, sauing only by him, I was neuer in my life touched;) but about the matter onely of Iustification: for further I had no cause to meddle at that time. What was then my

* His words
bethese: *The
next Sabbath
day after this
M. Hooker*

kept the way he had entred into before, and bestowed his whole houre and more only vpon the questions he had moued and maintained. Wherein hee so set out the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their disagreement from vs, as if we had consented in the greatest and waightiest points, and differed onely in certaine smaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not such as he would haue made men beleue: The one, in that he said they acknowledge all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin, though some of them freed her from sinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that she was free from sinne: Another in that he said, They teach Christi's righteousnesse to be the onely meritorious cause of taking away sinne, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For Thomas Aquinas their chiefe Schooleman, and Archbishop Catharinus teach, That Christ tooke away onely originall sinne, and that the rest are to be taken away by our selues: yea the Councell of Trent teacheth, That the righteousnesse whereby we are righteous in Gods sight, is inherent righteousnesse, which must needs be of our owne workes, and cannot be vnderstood of the righteousnesse inherent onely in Christi's person and accounted vnto vs.

offence

offence in this case? I did, as he saith, so set it out, as if we had consented in the greatest and waightiest points, and differed onely in smaller matters. I will not be found, when it commeth to the ballance, a light difference where we disagree, as I did acknowledge that we doe about the very essence of the Medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. Did I goe about to make a shew of agreement in the waightiest points, and was I so fond as not to conceale our disagreement about this? I doe wish that some indifferencie were vsed by them, that haue taken the waighing of my words.

13 Yea, but our agreement is not such in two of the chiefest points, as I would haue men beleue it is: and what are they? The one is, I said, *They acknowledge all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin, though some of them free her from sin.* Put the case I had affirmed, that only some of them free her from sin, and had deliuered it as the most currant opinion amongst them, that she was conceiued in sinne: doth not *Bonaenture* say plainly, *Omnes fere*; In a manner all men doe hold this? Doth he not bring many reasons wherefore all men should hold it? Were there voices since that time euer counted, and their number found smaller which hold it, then theirs that hold the contrarie? Let the question then be, whether I might say, The most of them *acknowledged all men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin her selfe.* To shew that their generall receiued opinion is the contrarie, The Tridentine Councell is alledged, peradventure not altogether so considerately. For if that Councell haue by resolute determination freed her, if it hold as Master *Travers* saith it doth, that shee was free from sin; then must the Church of Rome needs condemne them that hold the contrarie. For what that Councell holdeth, the same they all doe and must hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to thinke and defend the one or the other? So that by this argument; the Councell of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from sinne, *Ergo*, It is plaine that none of them may, and therefore vntrue that most of them doe acknowledge her a sinner, were forcible to ouerthrow my supposed Assertion, if it were true that the Councell did hold this. But to the end it may cleerely appeare, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrarie, I will open what many do conceiue of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceiued, that if they should define of this matter, it would bee dangerous, howsoeuer it were determined. If they had freed her from her original sinne, the reasons against them are vnanswerable which *Bonaenture* and others doe alledge, but especially *Thomas*, whose line as much as may be they follow. Againe, if they did resolve the other way, they should controll themselves in another thing, which in no case might be altered. For they professe to keepe no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgins Conception they honour with a* Feast; which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Constitution of *Xystus Quartus*. And that which is worse, the world

inherent in mortall seed. And therefore hee putteth it off with two answers; the one, That the Church of Rome doth not allow, but tolerate the Feast, which answer now will not serue: the other, That being sure shee was sanctified before birth, but vnshure how long a while after her Conception, therefore vnder the name of her Conception-day, they honour the time of her Sanctification. So that besides this, they haue now no soder to make the certaine allowance of their Feast, and their vncertaine sentence concerning her sinne to cleaue together, *Thom. 3. part. quest. 27. art. 2. ad 2. et 3.*

might

* This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her Conception stayned with the natural blemish

might perhaps hereupon suspect, that if the Church of Rome did amisse before in this, it is not impossible for her to faile in other things. In the end they did wisely quote our their Canon by a middle thred, establishing the Feast of the Virgins Conception, and leauing the other question doubtfull as they found it: giuing onely a caueat, that no man should take the Decree, which pronounceth all mankind originally sinnefull, for a definitiue sentence concerning the blessed Virgin. This in my sight is plaine by their owne words, *Declarat hac ipsa sancta Synodus, &c.* wherefore our Countymen at Rhemes mentioning this point, are maruellous warie how they speake; they touch it as though it were a hot cole: *Many godly deuout men iudge that our blessed Lady was neither borne nor conceiued in sinne.* Is it their want to speake nicely of things definitiue set downe in that Councell? In like sort we find that the rest, which haue since the time of the Tridentine Synode written of originall sinne, are in this point for the most part either silent or very sparing in speech; and when they speake either doubtfull what to thinke, or whatsoever they thinke themselves, fearefull to set downe any certaine determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Councell otherwise then they themselves doe, let him expound it whose sentence was neither last asked, nor his pen least occupied in setting it downe. I meane *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the Thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confesse, that it is a matter which neither expresse euidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too surly and selfe-willed, which defending either opinion, are displeas'd with them by whom the other is maintaiued: finally, that the Fathers of Trent haue not set downe any certaintie about this question, but left it doubtfull and indifferent. Now whereas my words which I had set downe in writing before I vttered them, were indeede these, *Although they imagine that the Mother of our Lord Iesus Christ were for his honour, and by his speciall protection preserued cleane from all sin, yet concerning the rest they teach as we doe, that all haue sinned.* Against my words they might with more pretence take exception, because so many of them thinke she had sin: which exception notwithstanding, the Proposition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, because they grant that many whom they count graue and deuout amongst them, thinke that shee was cleere from all sin. But whether Master *Trauers* did note my words himselfe, or take them vpon the credit of some other mans noting, the Tables were faultie wherein it was noted: *All men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin.* When my speech was rather, *All men, except the blessed Virgin.* To leaue this; another fault he findeth that I said, *They teach Christs righteousness to be the onely meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from vs only in the applying of it.* I did say and doe, *They teach as we doe, that although Christ be the only meritorious cause of our iustice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applied: So by the merits of Christ there can be no life nor iustification, without the application of his meanes: But about the manner of applying Christ, about the number and power of meanes, whereby he is applied, we differ from them.* This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

14 Our agreement in the former is denied to bee such as I pretend. Let their

Annot. in Rom. 5.
Sect. 9.

Lib. 5. defens.
¶ dei.

their owne words therefore, and mine concerning them, be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confesse, *Our sinnes doe shut, and only the merits of Christ* Orthod. lib. 3.
open the entring vnto blessednesse? And *Soto*, *It is put for a ground, that all since* In 4 Sent. dist. 1.
the fall of Adam obtaine saluation only by the passion of Christ: howbeit as no cause quest. 4. art. 6.
can be effectuell without applying, so neither can any man bee saued to whom the
suffering of Christ is not applied. In a word, who not? when the Council of
 Trent reckoning vp the causes of our first iustification, doth name no end but
 Gods glorie and our felicitie; no efficiat, but his Mercie; no instrumentall,
 but Baptisme; no meritorious, but Christ, whom to haue merited the taking
 away of no sinne, but originall, is not their opinion: which himselfe will find
 when he hath well examined his Witnesses *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Ie-
 suites are maruellous angry with the men, out of whose gleanings Master
 Trauers seemeth to haue taken this; they openly disclaime it, they say plainly,
Of all the Catholikes there is no one that did euer so teach, they make solemne pro-
 testation, *We beleene and professe that Christ vpon the crosse hath altogether satis-*
fied for all sins, as well originall as actuell. Indeed they teach that the merit of
 Christ doth not take away actuell sinne, in such sort as it doth originall, where-
 in if their Doctrine had bene vnderstood, I for my speech had neuer bene
 accused. As for the Council of Trent concerning inherent righteoufnesse,
 what doth it here? No man doubteth but they make another formall cause of
 Iustification then we doe. In respect whereof, I haue shewed alreadie, that we
 disagree about the very essence of that which cureth our spirituall Disease.
 Most true it is which the Grand Philosopher hath, *Euery man iudgeth well of*
that which he knoweth, and therefore till we know the things throughly, where-
 of we iudge, it is a point of iudgement to stay our iudgement.

15 Thus much labour being spent in discovering the vnfoundnesse of my
 Doctrine, some paines hee taketh further to open faults in the manner of my
 teaching, as that *I bestowed my whole houre and more, my time, and more then my*
time, in Discourses vtterly impertinent to my Text. Which if I had done, it
 might haue past without complaying of to the Priuie Councell.

16 But I did worse, as he saith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures and my*
ordinarie calling, and discoursed vpon Schoole-points, and questions, neither of e-
dification, nor of truth. I read no Lecture in the Law or in Physick. And except
 the bounds of ordinary calling may be drawne like a Purse; how are they so
 much wider vnto him then to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinarie
 calling, should reprove that in mee which he vnderstood not, and I labouring
 that both hee and others might vnderstand, could not doe this without forsak-
 ing my calling? The matter whereof I spake was such, as being at the first by
 me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and solemne-
 ly taken vpon him to disprooue. If therefore it were a Schoole question and
 vnfit to be discoursed of there, that which was in me but a Proposition only
 at the first, wherefore made he a Probleme of it? Why tooke he first vpon him
 to maintayne the negatiue of that, which I had affirmatiuely spoken, only to
 shew mine owne opinion, little thinking that euer it would haue a question?
 Of what nature soeuer the question were of, I could doe no lesse then there
 explaine my selfe to them, vnto whom I was accused of vnfound Doctrine;

Bellarmin. Iudic.
de lib. Concor.
Mendac. 18.
Nemo Catholicorum vnquam sic docuit; sed credimus, & profitetur Christum in cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis satisfecisse, tam originibus quam actualibus.

Orthod. lib. 3.
In 4 Sent. dist. 1.
quest. 4. art. 6.

* Calu. Inst. l. 1.
cap. 6. Sect. 9.

wherein if to shew what had bene through ambiguitie mistaken in my words, or misapplied by him in this cause against me, I vsed the distinctions and helpes of Schooles, I trust that herein I haue committed no vnlawfull thing. These Schoole-implements are acknowledged by * graue and wisemen not vnprofitable to haue bene inuented. The most approoued for learning and iudgement doe vse them without blame; the vse of them hath bene well liked in some that haue taught euen in this very place before mee; the qualitie of my hearers is such, that I could not but thinke them of capacitie verie sufficient for the most part to conceiue harder then I vsed any; the cause I had in hand did in my iudgement necessarily require them which were then vsed; when my words spoken generally without distinctions had bene peruered, what other way was there for me, but by distinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appeare to all men whether they were consonant to truth or no? And although Master *Trauers* be so inured with the Citie, that he thinketh it vnmeet to vse my speech which fauoureth of the Schoole, yet his opinion is no Canon: though vnto him his mind being troubled, my speech did seeme like fetters and manicles, yet there might be some more calmly-affected which thought otherwise; his priuate iudgement will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I spake were neither of edification nor truth. They might edifie some other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proueth to the contrarie. For it is no prooffe to crie *Absurdities, the like whereunto haue not bene heard in publique places within this Land since Queene Mariés dayes*. If this came in earnest from him, I am sorrie to see him so much offended without cause. More sorrie that his fit should be so extreme to make him speake he knoweth not what: That I neither affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church. *Mihi pro minimo est*, It doth not much moue me; when Master *Trauers* doth say that which I trust a greater then Master *Trauers* will gaine say.

17 Now let all this which hitherto hee hath said be granted him, let it be as hee would haue it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much disallowed by all mens iudgement as by his, what is all this to his purpose? Hee alledgeth this to be the cause why he bringeth it in: The high Commissioners charge him with an indiscretion and want of dutie, in that hee inweighed against certaine points of doctrine taught by me as erroneous, not conferring first with me, nor complaining of it to them. Which faults, a sea of such matter as hee hath hitherto waded in, will neuer be able to scowre from him. For the auoiding of Schisme and disturbance in the Church, which must needs grow if all men might thinke what they list, and speake openly what they thinke; therefore by a * Decree agreed vpon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Maiesties authoritie it was ordred, that erroneous doctrine, if it were taught publicly, should not be publicly refuted, but that notice thereof should be giuen vnto such as are by her Highnesse appointed to heare and to determine such

* In the Ad-
uertisements
published in
the 7. yeere of
her Maiesties
Raigne: If any
Preacher or Parson, Vicar, or Curate so licensed, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissension or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine receiued, that the hearers denounce the same to the Ordinarie, or the next Bishop of the same place, but not openly to contrary or to impugne the same speech so disorderly vtered, whereby may grow offence, and di quiet of the people, but shall be conuincd and reproued by the Ordinarie, after such agreeable order as shall be seene to him according to the grauitie of the offence: And that it be presented within one moneth after the words spoken.

causes.

causes. For breach of which Order when he is charged with lacke of duty, all the faults that can be heaped vpon me, will make but a weake defence for him: as surely his defence is not much stronger when hee alleageth for himselfe that, *He was in some hope his speech in prouing the truth, & clearing those scruples which I had in my selfe, might cause me either to imbrace sound doctrine, or suffer it to be imbraced of others, which if I did, he should not need to complaine; that, It was meet he should discouer first what I had sowne, and make it manifest to be tares; & then desire their sithe to cut it downe; that conscience did bind him to do otherwise then the foresaid order requireth; that he was vnwilling to deale in that publike manner, & wished a more conuenient way were taken for it; that he had resolved to haue protested the next Sabbath Day that he would some other way satisfie such as should require it, and not deale more in that place.* Be it imagined [let mee not be taken as if I did compare the offenders when I do not, but their answers only] bee it imagined that a Libeller did make this apologie for himselfe, I am not ignorant that if I haue iust matter against any man, the Law is open, there are Iudges to heare it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I haue taken another course against such or such a man, yet without breach of duty, for as much as I am able to yeeld a reason of my doing, I conceiue some hope that a little discredit amongst men would make him ashamed of himselfe, and that his shame would worke his amendment; which if it did, other accusation there should not need; could his answer be thought sufficient, could it in the iudgement of discreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope which Master *Travers* conceiued to reclaime me by publike speech, iustifie his fault against the established Order of the Church.

18 His thinking it meet *he should first openly discouer to the people the tares that had bin sowne amongst them, and then require the hand of Authority to mowe them downe,* doth onely make it a question, whether his opinion that this was meete, may bee a priuiledge or protection against that lawfull constitution which had before determined of it as of a thing vnmeet. Which question I leaue for them to discusse whom it most concerneth. If the order bee such that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing so precious as a good conscience, the perill whereof could bee no greater to him then it needes must bee to all others whom it toucheth in like causes, when this is euident, it will bee a most effectual motiue not onely for England, but also for other reformed Churches, euen Genena it selfe [for they haue the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconuenience be obserued. In the meane while the breach of it may in such consideration bee pardoned [which truly I wish howsoeuer it bee,] yet hardly defended as long as it standeth in force vncancelled.

19 Now whereas he confesseth another way had *beeene more conuenient,* and that he found in himselfe secret vnwillingnesse to doe that which hee did, doth hee not say plainly in effect that the light of his owne vnderstanding proued the way hee tooke peruerse and crooked; reason was so plaine and pregnant against it, that his minde was alienated, his will auerted to another course? yet somewhat there was which so farre ouer-ruled, that it must needes be done euen against the very streame, what doth it bewray? Finally his pur-

posed protestation, whereby he meant openly to make it knowne, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would satisfie men otherwise, and *deale no more in this place*, sheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to stay himselfe from further offending; but it serueth not his turne. He is blamed, because the thing he had done was amisse, and his answer is, That which I would haue done afterwards had beene well, if so be I had done it.

20 But as in this he standeth perswaded, that hee hath done nothing besides dutie, so he taketh it hardly that the High Commissioners should charge him with indiscretion. Wherefore as if he could so walk his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himselfe: how he waded in matters of *smaller waight*, & how in things of greater *moment*; how warily hee dealt; how *naturally* hee tooke his things *rising from the Text*, how closely he kept himselfe to the *Scripture he tooke in hand*; how much paines he tooke to *confirm the necessity of beleeuing Iustification by Christ only*, and to shew how the *Church of Rome denyeth that a man is saued by faith alone, without works of the Law*; what the *Sonnes of thunder would haue done*, if they had beene in his case; that his *answere was very temperate without immodest or reprochfull speech*, that when he might *before all haue reproofed me*, he did not, but *contented himselfe with exhorting me before all, to follow Nathans example and reuise my doctrine*; when he might haue followed *S. Pauls example in reproofing Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter, to endure to be withstood*. This testimonie of his discreet carrying himselfe in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and giuen him by another then by himselfe, might make somewhat for the prayse of his person; but for defence of his action vnto them by whom hee is thought vndiscreete, for not conferring priuately before hee spake, will it serue to answer, that when hee spake, hee did it considerately? Hee perceiueth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons such as they are. As namely, how he purposed at the first to take another course, and that was this, *Publicly to deliuer the truth of such Doctrine as I had otherwise taught, and at conuenient oportunitie to conferre with me vpon such points*. Is this the rule of Christ, If thy brother offend openly in his speech, controll it first with contrary speech openly, and conferre with him afterwards vpon it, when conuenient oportunitie serueth? Is there any Law of God, or of Man, wherupon to ground such a resolution, any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed, thus to do or to be done vnto? He cannot but see how weake an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this course, first in one matter, and so afterwards in another, to approoue himselfe, now following it againe. For if the very purpose of doing a thing so vncharitable bee a fault, the deed is a greater fault, and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The waight of the cause, which is his third defence, relieueth him as little. The waightier it was, the more it required considerate aduice and consultation, the more it stood him vpon to take good heed, that nothing were rashly done or spoken in it. But he meaneth *waightie* in regard of the wonderfull danger, except hee had presently withstood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cause being of such moment that might preiudice the faith of Christ, incourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable wayes,*

wayes, and other weake in faith, to suffer themselves to be seduced to the destruction of their soules, he thought it his bounden dutie to speake before he talked with me. A man that should reade this, and not know what I had spoken, might imagine that I had at the least denyed the Diuinitie of Christ. But they which were present at my speech and can testific, that nothing passed my lips more then is contayned in their writings, whom for soundnesse of doctrine, learning, and iudgement Master Travers himselfe doth, I dare say, not only allow, but honour, they which heard and do know that the doctrine here signified in so fearfull manner, the doctrine that was so dangerous to the Faith of Christ, that was so likely to encourage ill-affected men, to continue still in damnable wayes, that gaue so great cause to tremble for feare of the present destruction of soules, was only this, I doubt not but God was mercifull to saue thousands of our Fathers, living heretofore in Popish Superstitions, in as much as they sinned ignorantly, and this spoken in a Sermon, the greatest part whereof was against Poperie, they will hardly bee able to discerne how Christianitie should herewith bee so grievously shaken.

21 Whereby his fourth excuse is also taken from him. For what doth it boot him to say, *The time was short wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, surely might haue bene either verie well omitted, or at the least more conueniently for a while deferd, euen by their iudgements that cast the most fauourable aspect towards these his hastie proceedings? The poyson which men had taken at my hands, was not so quick and strong in operation, as in eight dayes to make them past cure; by eight dayes delay there was no likelihood that the force and power of his speech could die; longer Meditation might bring better and stronger proofs to minde, then extemporall dexteritie could furnish him with; and who doth know whether Time, the only Mother of sound iudgement and discrete dealing, might haue giuen that action of his some better ripenesse, which by so great festination hath, as a thing borne out of Time, brought small ioy vnto him that begat it? Doth hee thinke it had not bene better that neither my speech had seemed in his eyes as an arrow sticking in a thigh of flesh, nor his owne as a child whereof he must needs be deliuered by an houre? His last way of disburdening himselfe is, by casting his lode vpon my backe, as if I had brought him by former conferences out of hope, that any fruit would euer come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip vp those conferences, whereof hee maketh but a slipperie and loose relation. In one of them the question betweene vs was, whether the perswasion of Faith concerning remission of sinnes, eternall life, and whatsoeuer God doth promise vnto man, be as free from doubting as the perswasion which we haue by sense concerning things tasted, felt, and seene? For the negatiue I mentioned their Example, whose Faith in Scripture is most commended, and the experience which all faithfull men haue continually had of themselves. For prooffe of the affirmatiue, which he held, I desiring to haue some reason, heard nothing but *All good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, vpon request, to see some one of them, *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaues were turned downe, at a place sounding to this effect, that *the Gospel doth make Christians more vertuous, then moral Philosophie* doth

doth make *Heathens* : which came not neere the question by many miles.

22 In the other Conference he questioned about the matter of Reprobation, misliking first that I had termed God a permissive, and no positive cause of the euill, which the Schoole-men doe call *malum culpæ* : Secondly, that to their obiection who say, *If I be elected, doe what I will, I shall be saued*, I had answered, that the will of God in this thing is not absolute, but conditionall, to saue his Elect beleeuing, fearing, and obediently seruing him: Thirdly, that to stop the mouthes of such as grudge and repine against God for reiecting cast-awayes, I had taught that they are not reiectèd, no not in the purpose and counsell of God, without a fore-seene worthinesse of reiection going, though not in time yet in order before. For if Gods electing doe in order (as needs it must) presuppose the fore-sight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be, not only the positive fore-sight of their being, but also the permissive of their being miserable, because election is through mercy, and mercy doth alwayes presuppose miserie: it followeth, that the very chosen of God acknowledge to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free compassion, that when he in his secret determination set it downe, *Those shall liue and not dye*, they lay as vgly spectacles before him; as Lepers couered with dung and mire, as vlcers putrified in their fathers loynes, miserable, worthy to be had in detestation; and shall any forsaken creature be able to say vnto God, *Thou didst plunge me into the depth, and assigne me vnto endlesse torments, onely to satisfie thine owne will, finding nothing in mee for which I could seeme in thy sight so well worthy to feele euerlasting flames?*

23 When I saw that Master *Trauers* carped at these things only, because they lay not open, I promised at some conuenient time to make them cleere as light both to him and all others. Which if they that reprocue mee will not grant me leaue to doe, they must thinke that they are for some cause or other, more desirous to haue me reputed an vnfound man, then willing that my sincere meaning should appeare and be approoued. When I was farther asked what my grounds were, I answered, that *S. Pauls* words concerning this cause were my grounds: His next demand, what Authour I did follow in exponuding *S. Paul*, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, against the iudgement (he saith) of *all Churches*, and *all good Writers*. I was well assured that to controll this ouer-reaching speech, the sentences which I might haue cited out of Church Confessions, together with the best learned Monuments of former times, and not the meanest of our owne, were mo in number then perhaps he would willingly haue heard of, but what had this bootèd me? For although he himselve in generalitie doe much vse those formall speeches, *All Churches*, and *all good Writers*: yet as hee holdeth it in Pulpit lawfull to say in generall, the *Paynims* thinke this, or the *Heathens* that, but vicerly vnlawfull to cite any sentence of theirs that say it; so hee gaue me at that time great cause to thinke that my particular alleading of other mens words, to shew their agreement with mine, would as much haue displeasèd his minde as the thing it selfe for which it had bene alleaged. For hee knoweth how often he hath in publike place bitten me for this, although I did neuer in any Sermon vse many of the Sentences of other Writers, and doe make most without any, hauing
alwayes

alwayes thought it meetest neither to affect nor to contemne the vse of them.

24 He is not ignorant that in the very entrance to the talke, which wee had priuately at that time, to prooue it vnlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwise to cite any thing but meere Canonickall Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is giuen by inspiration, and is profitable to teach, improoue, &c.* Vrging much the vigour of these two claufes, *The man of God* and *euery good worke*. If therefore the worke were good which hee required at my hands, if priuately to shew, why I thought the doctrine I had deliuered to be according to *S. Pauls* meaning, were a good worke, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning euery man of God, who in doing the worke of preaching any way vseth humane authoritie; like it in me, if in the worke of strenghtning, that which I had preached, I should bring forth the testimonies and the sayings of mortall men? I alledged therefore, that which might vnder no pretence in the world be disallowed, namely reasons, not meaning thereby my owne reason as now it is reported, but true sound diuine reason; reason wherby those Conclusions might be out of *S. Paul* demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of only; reason proper to that science whereby the things of God are knowne; Theologicall reason without principles in Scripture that are plaine, soundly deduced more doubtfull inferences, in such sort that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant vnto them receiued, but whatsoeuer was before otherwise by miscollecting gathered out of darke places, is thereby forced to yeeld it selfe, and the true consonant meaning of sentences, not vnderstood, is brought to light. This is the reason which I intended. If it were possible for me to escape the Ferula in any thing I doe or speake, I had vndoubtedly escaped it in this. In this I did that which by some is inioyned as the onely allowable, but granted by all as the most sure and safe way, whereby to resolue things doubted of, in matters appertaining to Faith and Christian Religion. So that Master *Travers* had here small cause giuen him to be wearie of conferring, vnlesse it were in other respects then that poore one which is heere pretended, that is to say, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

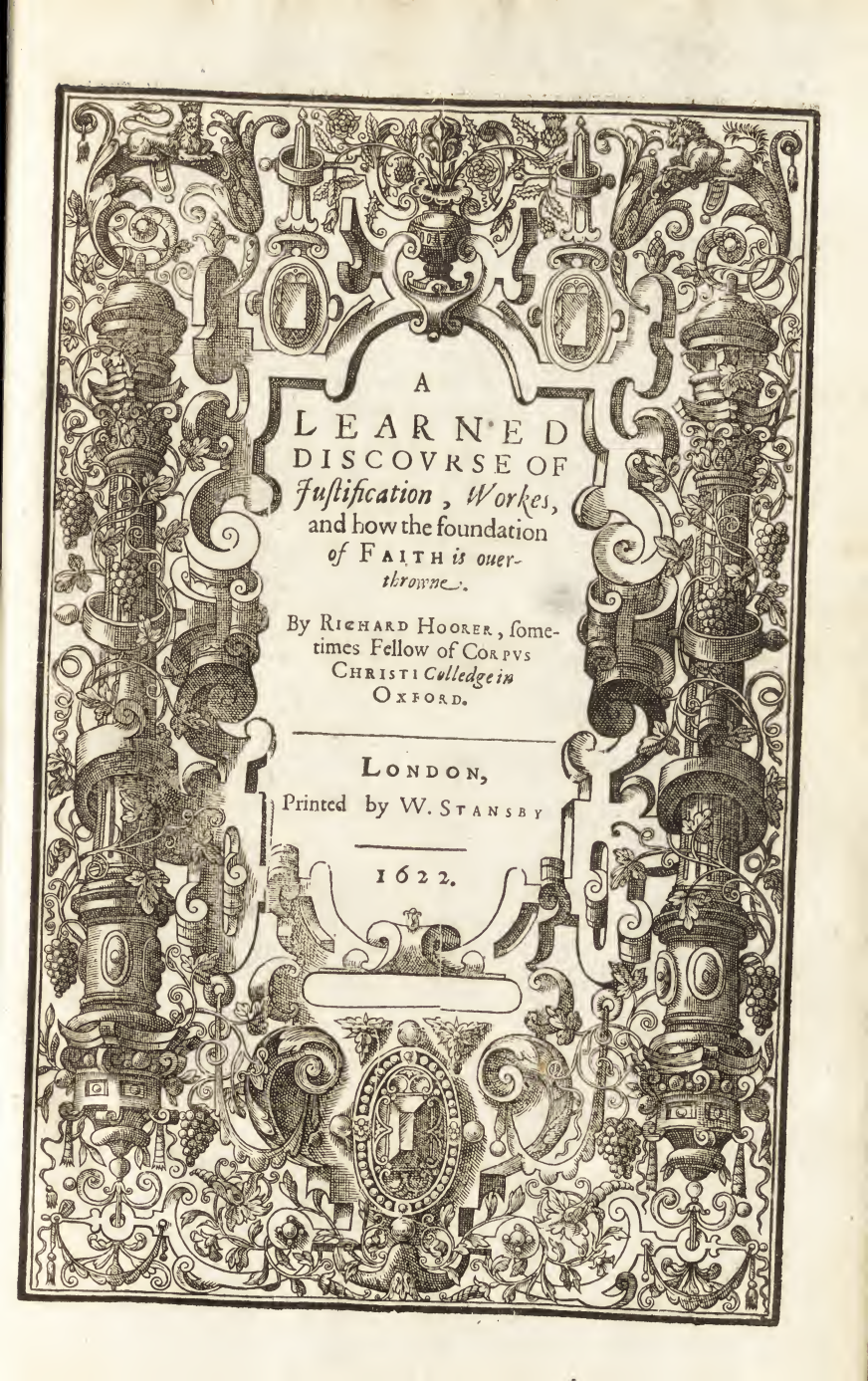
25 Yet behold his first reason of not complaining to the High Commission, is, that sith I offended onely through an ouer-charitable inclination, hee conceiued good hope, when I should see the truth cleered, and some scruples, which were in my mind, remooued by his diligence, I would yeeld. But what experience soeuer hee had of former conferences, how small soeuer his hope was that fruit would come of it if hee should haue conferred, will any man iudge this a cause sufficient, why to open his mouth in publique without any one word priuately spoken? Hee might haue considered that men doe sometimes reape, where they sowe but with small hope; he might haue considered that although vnto me (whereof he was not certaine neither) but if to me his labour should be as water spilt or powred into a torne dish, yet to him it could not be fruitlesse to doe that which order in Christian Churches, that which charitie amongst Christian men, that which at many mens hands euen common humanitie it selfe, at his, many other things besides did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in so great hast with so small aduice,

advice, but such as must needs be vnpleasant, and mingled with much acerbitie? Surely, he which will take vpon him to defend, that in this there was no ouer-sight, must beware lest by such defences, hee leaue an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more stiffe to maintaine what hee hath done, then carefull to doe nothing but that which may iustly be maintained.

26. Thus haue I as neere as I could, seriously answered things of waight; with smaller I haue dealt as I thought their qualitie did require. I take no ioy in struing, I haue not bene nuzled or trained vp in it. I would to Christ they which haue at this present inforced me hereunto, had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might neuer haue bene constrained to strike so much as in mine owne defence. Wherefore to prosecute this long and tedious contention no further, shall I wish that your Grace and their Honours (vnto whose intelligence the dutifull regard which I haue of their iudgements, maketh me desirous, that as accusations haue bene brought against me, so that this my answer thereunto may likewise come) did both with the one and the other, as *Constantine* with bookes containing querulous matter. Whether this be conuenient to be wisht or no, I cannot tell. But sith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutuall waste of the parties contending, till a commonemie dance in the ashes of them both, I doe wish heartily that the graue aduice which *Constantine* gaue for reuniting of his Clergy so many times, vpon so small occasions, in so lamentable sort diuided, or rather the strict commandement of Christ vnto his, that they should not be diuided at all, may at the length, if it be his blessed will, preuaile so farre at the least in this corner of the Christian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes which haue either bred it or brought it vp: that things of small moment neuer disioyne them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptisme, bands of so great force haue linked, that a respectiue eye towards things, wherewith we should not be disquieted, make vs not, as through infirmitie the verie Patriarkes themselues sometimes were, full gorged, vnable to speake peaceably to their owne brother: finally, that no strife may euer be heard of againe but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue Peace and Vnitie with swiftest paces.

(* *)

F I N I S.



A
L E A R N E D
D I S C O V E R S E O F
Justification, Workes,
and how the foundation
of FAITH is over-
throwne.

By RICHARD HOORER, some-
times Fellow of CORPVS
CHRISTI Colledge in
OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed by W. STANSBY

1622.

off



TO
THE CHRISTIAN
READER.



Hereas many, desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to haue it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath bene thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not onely they might bee satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Author from the suspicion of some errors, which he hath bene thought to haue fauour ed. Who might well haue answered with Cremutius in Tacitus, ^a Verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum. Certainly, the euent of that time wherein he liued, shewed that to be true, which the same ^b Author spake of a worse, Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus; and that there is not ^c minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. But he hath so quit himselfe, that all may see, how, as it was said of Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitijs aliorum in ipsam gloriam præceptis agebatur. Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Author said of the same man, Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, iniuria virtutem fuerit. But as

of

^a Lib. 4. Ann.

^b Li. 1. Hist.

^c In vita Agricola.

Lib. 2.

of all other his writings, so of this I will adde that, which Velleius spake in commendation of Piso, Nemo fuit, qui magis, quæ agenda erant, curaret, sine vlla ostentatione agendi. So not doubting, Good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy fauourable acceptance of this Worke (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned Labours) I take my leaue; from
 Corpus Christi Colledge
 in Oxford the sixt of
 July. 1612.

Thine in Christ Iesus,

HENRY JACKSON.



A

LEARNED DISCOVRSE OF IUSTIFICATION, WORKES, AND HOW THE foundation of FAITH is ouertrowne.

A B A K. I. 4.

The wicked doth compassse about the righteous ; therefore peruerse iudgement doth proceed.



Or the better manifestation of the Prophets meaning in this place, we are first to consider the wicked, of whom hee saith, *That they compassse about the righteous* : Secondly, the righteous, that are compassed about by them : and Thirdly, That which is inferred ; *Therefore peruerse iudgement proceedeth*. Touching the first, there are two kindes of wicked men, of whom, in the first of the former to the Corinthians, the blessed Apostle speaketh thus : *Do ye not iudge them that are within ? But God iudgeth them that are* 1.
2.
3.

without. There are wicked therefore whom the Church may iudge, and there are wicked whom God only iudgeth : wicked within, and wicked without the wals of the Church. If within the Church, particular persons bee apparently such, as cannot otherwise be reformed; the rule of the Apostolicall iudgement, is this ; *Separate them from among you: if whole Assemblies, this ; Separate your selues from among them : for what societie hath light with darknesse ?* 1. Cor. 5. 12, 13.
2. Cor. 6. vesse 7. But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cause wee haue heard at large heretofore in what sort hee vrgeth God to iudge them.

2 Now concerning the Righteous, there neither is, nor euer was any meere naturall man absolutely righteous in himselfe, that is to say, voide of all vn-righteousnesse, of all sinne. We dare not except, no not the blessed Virgin her selfe ; of whom although we say with S. *Augustine*, for the honor sake which wee oweto our Lord and Sauour Christ, wee are not willing in this cause to mooue any question of his Mother : yet forasmuch as the Schooles of Rome

* Or whofoever it bee that was the author of those Homilies that governder his name.

a Knowing how the Scholmen hold this question, some Criticall wits may perhaps halfe suspect that these two words, *Per se*, are In-mates. But if the place which they haue, bee their owne, their sense can be none other then that which I haue giuen them by a paraphrasticall interpretation.

They teach as we doe, that God doth iustifie the soule of man alone, without any coeffectiue cause of iustice.

Deus sine medio coeffectiuo animam iustificat.
Casal de quadr. part. iust. l. i. c. 8.
Idem lib. 3. c. 9.

The difference betwixt the Papists and vs about iustification.

haue made it a question; wee may answer with * *Eusebius Emisenus*, who speaketh of her and to her in this effect: *Thou diddest, by speciall prerogative, nine monethes together enterdayne within the closet of thy flesh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the commonioy of Men: Hee, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he tooke the blood, which was to bee shed for the life of the World; of thee hee tooke that, which euen for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu, a per se non est immunis, nec ipsa genetrix Redemptoris:* the Mother of the Redeemer, her selfe, is not otherwise loosed from the bond of ancient sinne, then by Redemption; if Christ haue paid a rancome for all, euen for her, it followeth, that all without exception were captiues. If one haue dyed for all, then all were dead in sin; all sinfull therefore, none absolutely righteous in themselves; but we are absolutely righteous in Christ. The World then must shew a righteous man, other wise it is not able to shew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Christ is made so vs Wisdome, Iustice, Sanctification, and Redemption: Wisdome*, because he hath reuealed his Fathers will: *Iustice*, because he hath offered vp himselfe a Sacrifice for sin: *Sanctification*, because he hath giuen vs his Spirit: *Redemption*, because he hath appointed a Day to vindicate his Children out of the hands of corruption, into libertie, which is glorious. How Christ is made *Wisdome*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occasion serueth. But how Christ is made the *righteousnesse* of men, we are now to declare.

3 There is a glorifying righteousnesse of men in the World to come; as there is a iustifying and sanctifying righteousnesse here. The righteousnesse, wherewith we shall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are iustified, is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are sanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the vnderstanding of that grand question, which hangeth yet in controuersie betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the matter of iustifying righteousnesse.

4 First, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, were for his honor, and by his speciall protection, preserued cleane from all sinne: yet touching the rest they teach as we doe; that Infants which neuer did actually offend, haue their natures defiled, destitute of Iustice, averted from God; that in making man righteous, none doe efficiently worke with God, but God. They teach as we doe, that vnto Iustice no man euer attayned, but by the Merits of Iesus Christ. They teach as we doe, that although Christ as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cause of our Iustice: yet in vs also there is something required. God is the cause of our naturall life, in him we liue: but he quickeneth not the bodie without the soule in the bodie. Christ hath merited to make vs iust: but as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applyed: so by the Merits of Christ there can bee no iustification, without the application of his Merits. Thus farre we ioyne hands with the Church of Rome.

5 Wherein then doe wee disagree? Wee disagreee about the nature and efficacy of the medicine, whereby Christ cureth our Disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of meanes, which God requirith

quireth in vs for the effectuall applying thereof to our soules comfort. When they are required to shew what the righteousnesse is, whereby a Christian man is iustified: they * answer, that it is a diuine spirituall qualitie, which qualitie received into the soule, doth first make it to be one of them, who are borne of God: and secondly, indue it with power, to bring forth such workes, as they doe that are borne of him; euen as the soule of man being ioyned to his bodie, doth first make him to bee of the number of reasonable creatures; and secondly enable him to performe the naturall functions which are proper to his kind: that it maketh the soule amiable and gracious in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and washeth out all the staines, and pollutions of sinne, that by it, through the merit of Christ, we are deliuered as from sinne, so from eternall death and condemnation, the reward of sinne. This grace they will haue to be applied by infusion: to the end, that as the body is warme by the heate, which is in the body, so the soule might be righteous by the inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increase; as the bodie may bee more and more warme, so the soule more and more iustified, according as grace shall bee augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good workes, as good workes are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the first receipt of grace in their diuinitie, is the first iustification; the increase thereof the second iustification. As grace may bee increased by the merit of good workes: so it may bee diminished by the demerit of sinnes veniall; it may bee lost by mortall sinne. In as much therefore as it is needfull in the one case to repaire; in the other, to recover the losse which is made: the infusion of grace hath her sundry after-meales, for the which cause, they make many wayes to apply the infusion of grace. It is applied to Infants through Baptisme, without either Faith, or Workes, and in them really it taketh away originall sinne, and the punishment due vnto it: it is applied to Infidels and wicked men in the first iustification, through Baptisme without Workes, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both sinnes actuall and originall together, with all whatsoever punishment, eternall, or temporall, thereby deserued. Vnto such as haue attained the first iustification, that is to say, the first receipt of grace, it is applied farther by good works to the increase of former grace, which is the second iustification. If they worke more and more, grace doth more and more increase, and they are more and more iustified. To such as diminished it by veniall sinnes, it is applied by holy Water, *Aue Marias*, Crossings, Papall salutations, and such like, which serue for reparations of grace decayed. To such as haue lost it through mortall sinne, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they terme it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to conferre grace anew, yet in such sort, that being so conferred, it hath not altogether so much power, as at the first. For it only clenseth out the staine or guilt of sinne committed; and changeth the punishment eternall into a temporall satisfactorie punishment, here, if time doe serue, if not, hereafter to be indured, except it be lightened by Masses, workes of Charitie, Pilgrimages, Fasts, and such like; or else shortned by Pardon, for terme, or by plenary Pardon quite remooued, and taken away. This is the mysterie of the Man of sinne. This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to treade,

* Tho. Aquin.
1.2. quest. 100.
*Gratia gratum
faciens id est,
iustificans, est in
anima quiddam
reale & positiuū
qualitas quedam
(art. 2. concl.)
supernaturalis,
non eadem cum
virtute infusa,
vt Magister; sed
aliquid (art. 3.)
præter virtutes
infusas, fidem,
spem, charitatē;
habitus quedā
(art. 3. ad 3.)
que præsupponi-
tur in virtuti-
bus istis sicut e-
arum principium
& radix, essen-
tiam anime
tanquam subie-
ctum occupat
non potestas;
sed ab ipsa (art.
4. ad 1.) effluunt
virtutes in
potestas anime,
per quas poten-
tie mouentur ad
actus, plura vid.
quest. 113. de
Iustificatione.*

when they aske her the way to iustification. I cannot stand now to vnrip this building, and to sift it piece by piece; onely I will passe by it in few words, that that may befall Babylon in the presence of that, which God hath builded, as happened vnto *Dagon* before the Arke.

a *Phil. 3. v. 8.*

6 Doubtlesse, saith the ^a Apostle, *I haue counted all things losse, and iudge them to be dung, that I may winne Christ; and to bee found in him not hauing my owne righteousnesse, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousnes, which is of God through faith.* Whether they speake of the first, or second iustification, they make it the essence of a diuine qualitie inherent, they make it righteousnesse which is in vs. If it bee in vs, then is it ours, as our soules are ours, though wee haue them from God, and can hold them no longer then please him: for if hee withdraw the breath of our nostrils, wee fall to dust: but the righteousnesse, wherein wee must bee found, if we will be iustified, is not our owne; therefore wee cannot bee iustified by any inherent qualitie. Christ hath merited righteousnesse for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth vs, if we be faithfull, for by faith wee are incorporated into Christ. Then although in our selues wee be altogether sinfull, and vnrighteous, yet euen the man which is impious in himselfe, full of iniquitie, full of sinne, him being found in Christ through faith, and hauing his sinne remitted through Repentance: him God vpholdeth with a gracious eye; putteth away his sinne by not imputing; taketh quite away the punishment due thereunto, by pardoning it; and accepteth him in Iesus Christ, as perfectly righteous, as if hee had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: shall I say more perfectly righteous, then if himselfe had fulfilled the whole Law? I must take heed what I say: but the Apostle saith, * *God made him to bee sinne for vs, who knew no sinne, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him* Such wee are in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Sonne of God himselfe. Let it be counted folly, or phrensie, or furie whatsoeuer; it is our comfort, and our wisdom; wee care for no knowledge in the World but this, That Man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himselfe the Sonne of Man, and that Men are made the righteousnesse of God. You see therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching iustification by inherent grace, doth peruert the Truth of Christ, and that by the hands of the Apostles wee haue receiued otherwise then she teacheth. Now concerning the righteousnesse of sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that vnlesse we worke, we haue it not: onely wee distinguish it a thing different in nature from the righteousnesse of iustification: wee are righteous, the one way by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except we doe the workes of *Abraham*, wee are not righteous. Of the one, Saint *PAUL*; *To him that worketh not, but beleueth, faith is counted for righteousnesse.* Of the other, S. *IOHN*; *Qui facit iustitiam, iustus est;* He is righteous, which worketh righteousnesse. Of the one, S. *Paul* doth proue by *Abrahams* Example, that we haue it of faith without workes. Of the other, S. *Iames*, by *Abrahams* Example, that by workes we haue it, and not onely by faith. Saint *Paul* doth plainly seuer these two parts of Christian righteousnesse one from the other. For in the sixt to the *Rom.* thus he writeth, *Being freed from sinne, and made seruants to God, yee haue your fruit in holinesse,*
and

* *2. Cor. 5. 21.*

Rom. 4. 5.
1. Iohn 3. 7.

Rom. 6.

and the end euerlasting life. Ye are made free from sinne, and made Seruants vnto God; this is the righteousnesse of iustification: yee haue your fruit in holinesse; this is the righteousnesse of sanctification. By the one we are interestted in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actuall possession of eternall blisse, and so the end of both is euerlasting life.

7 The Prophet *Abak*. doth heere tearme the Iewes righteous men, not onely because being iustified by Faith they were free from sinne: but also because they had their measure of fruites in holinesse. According to whose example of charitable iudgement, which leaueth it to God to discern what wee are, and speaketh of them according to that, which they doe professe themselves to bee, although they bee not holy men, whom men doe thinke, but whom God doth know indeed to bee such: yet let euery Christian man know, that in Christian equitie, he standeth bound for to thinke and speake of his Brethren, as of men that haue measure in the fruit of holinesse, and a right vnto the Titles, wherewith God, in token of speciall fauour and mercie, vouchsafeth to honour his chosen Seruants. So wee see the Apostles of our Saviour Christ, doe vse euery where the name of *Saints*, so the Prophet, the name of *righteous*. But let vs all be such as wee desire to bee tearmed. *Reatus impij est pijs nomen*, saith *Saluianus*. Godly names doe not iustifie godlesse men. Wee are but vpbroyded, when we are honoured with Names and Titles, wherunto our liues and manners are not sutable. If indeed we haue our fruit in holinesse, notwithstanding we must note, that the more wee abound therein, the more need we haue to craue, that we may be strengthened and supported. Our very Vertues may be snares vnto vs. The enimie, that wayteth for all occasions to worke our ruine, hath found it harder to ouerthrow an humble Sinner, then a proud Saint. There is no mans case so dangerous, as his whom Satan hath perswaded, that his owne righteousnesse shall present him pure and blamelesse in the sight of God. If wee could say, wee were not guiltie of any thing at all in our consciences (we know our selues farre from this innocencie; we cannot say, we know nothing by our selues; but if wee could.) should wee therefore plead not-guiltie before the presence of our Iudge, that sees further into our hearts, then we our selues can doe? If our hands did neuer offer violence to our Brethren, a bloudie thought doth proue vs Murtherers before him: if wee had neuer opened our mouth to vtter any scandalous, offensive, or hurtfull word, the cry of our secret cogitations is heard in the eares of God. If we doe not commit the sinnes, which daily and hourelly, eyther in deede, word, or thoughts, wee doe commit; yet in the good things which we doe, how many defects are there intermingled! God in that which is done, respecteth the minde and intention of the doer. Cut off then all those things wherein wee haue regarded our owne glorie, those things, which men doe to please men, and to satisfie our owne liking, those things which we do by any respect, not sincerely, and purely for the loue of God: and a small score will serue for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holyest & best thing we do be considered, we are neuer better affected vnto God, then when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times distracted! How little reuerence doe wee shew vnto the grand Maiestie of God, vnto whom we speake! How

little remorse of our owne miseries ! How little taste of the sweete influence of his tender mercies doe we feele ! Are we not as vnwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end ; as if in saying, *Call vpon me*, he had set vs a very burdesome taske ? It may seeme somewhat extreame, which I will speake : therefore let euery one iudge of it, euen as his owne heart shall tell him, and no otherwise ; I will but onely make a demand : If God should yeeld vnto vs, not as vnto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good persons could be found in a Citie, for their sakes that Citie should not bee destroyed : but, and if he should make vs an offer thus large ; Search all the Generations of men, sithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath past from him pure, without any stayne or blemish at all, and for that one mans only action, neither man nor Angell shall feele the torments which are prepared for both. Doe you thinke that this ranfome, to deliuer men and Angels, could be found to bee among the sonnes of men ? The best things, which wee doe ; haue somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we doe any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded ? Indeed God doth liberally promise whatsoeuer appertayneth to a blessed life, to as many as sincerely keepe his Law, though they be not exactly able to keepe it. Wherefore wee acknowledge a dutifull necessitie of doing well ; but the meritorious dignity of doing well, we vtterly renounce. We see how farre we are from the perfect righteousnesse of the Law ; the little fruit which wee haue in Holinesse, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and vnfound : wee pnt no confidence at all in it, wee challenge nothing in the World for it, wee dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our Debt-bookes : our continuall suit to him is, and must be, to beare with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8 But the people of whom the Prophet speaketh, were they all, or were the most part of them such, as had care to walke vprightly ? Did they thirst after righteousnesse ? Did they wish ? Did they long with the righteous Prophet ; *O that our wayes were made so direct, that we might keepe thy statutes ?* Did they lament with the righteous Apostle ; *O miserable men, the good which wee wish and purpose, and strue to do, we cannot ?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people, doe shew the contrary. How grieuouly hath *Esay* mourned ouer them ! *O sinfull Nation, laden with iniquitie, wicked seed, corrupt children !* All which notwithstanding, so wide are the bowels of his compassion enlarged, that he denyeth vs not, no, not when wee were laden with iniquitie, leaue to commune familiarly with him, libertie to craue and intreate, that what plagues soeuer we haue deserued, we may not be in worse case then vnbeleeuers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans, and Infidels. Ierusalem is a sinfull polluted Citie : but Ierusalem compared with Babylon, is righteous. And shall the righteous bee ouerborne ? shall they be compass about by the wicked ? But the Prophet doth not only complain ; Lord, how commeth it to passe, that thou handlest vs so hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and bearest with the Heathen Nations, that despise thee ? No, hee breaketh out through extremitie of grief, and inferreth violently ; *This proceeding is peruerse, the righteous are thus handled ; therefore peruerse iudgements doth proceed.*

9 Which

Rom. 7. 19.

Cap. 1. v. 4.

9 Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for yee to heare, and me to speake, if necessitie did not draw me to another taske. *Paul and Barnabas* being requested to preach the same things againe, which once they had preached, thought it their duties to satisfie the godly desires of men, sincerely affected to the truth: Nor may it seeme burdensome to me, or for yee vnprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occasion vnto theirs being offered me. When he had last the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the Hebrewes in hand, and of that Epistle these words: *In these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his Sonne.* After wee had thence collected the nature of the visible Church of Christ; and hath defined it to be a communitie of men, * sanctified through the profession of the Truth, which God hath taught the world by his Sonne; and had declared, that the scope of Christian doctrine is the comfort of them, whose hearts are ouer-charged with the burden of sinne; and had proued that the doctrine professed in the Church of Rome, doth beare men of comfort both in their liues and in their deaths: the conclusion in the end, whereunto we came was this; the Church of Rome being in faith so corrupted, as shee is, and refusing to be reformed, as shee doth, we are to seuer our selues from her, the example of our Fathers may not retaine vs in communion with that Church; vnder hope, that we so continuing, may be saued, as well as they. God, I doubt not, was mercifull to saue thousands of them, though they liued in Popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this last sentence, namely, these words: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to saue thousands of our Fathers liuing in Popish superstitions, in as much as they sinned ignorantly:* this sentence, I beseech you, to marke, and to sift it with the severity of austere iudgement, that if it be found to be gold, it may be sutable to the precious foundation, whereon it was then laid: for, I protest, that, if it be hay or stubble, my owne hand shall set fire to it. Two questions haue risen by reason of this speech before alledged. The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popish errors and superstitions, may be saued.* The other, *Whether their ignorance be a reasonable inducement to make vs thinke, they might.* Wee are then to examine: first, what possibilitie there is, that God might be mercifull vnto so many of our Fathers.

To so many of our Fathers liuing in Popish superstitions, yet by the mercy of God to be saued? No; this could not be: God hath spoken by his Angel from heauen, vnto his people concerning Babylon (by Babylon we vnderstand the Church of Rome;) *Goe out of her, my people, that yee be not partakers of her plagues.* For answer whereunto, first, I doe not take the words to be meant onely of temporall plagues, of the corporall death, sorrow, famine, and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to saue his chosen people from these plagues, he saith, *Goe out,* with like intent, as in the Gospel, speaking of Hierusalems desolations, he saith, *Let them that are in Iudea flie vnto the Mountaines, and them that are in the midst thereof depart out;* or, as in the former times to *Lot, Arise, take thy wife, and thy daughters, which are there, lest thou be destroyed in the punishment of the Citie:* but for as much as here it is said, *Goe out of Babylon;* we doubt, their euerlasting destruction, which

Act. 13. 42, 44.

Heb. 1. v. 2.

* By sanctification, I meane a separation from others, not professing as they doe. For true holynes consisteth not in professing, but in obeying the truth of Christ

Apoc. 18. 4.

Math. 24. 16.

Gen. 19. 15.

which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or necessarily implied in this sentence. How then was it possible for so many of our Fathers to be saved: sith they were so farre from departing out of Babylon, that they tooke her for their mother, and in her bosome yeilded vp the ghost?

11 First, for the plagues being threatned vnto them, that are partakers in the sinnes of Babylon, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this sentence: vnlesse we shew, what the sinnes of Babylon be; and what they be, which are such partakers of them, that their euerlasting plagues are ineuitable. The sinnes, which may bee common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, must be seuered from this question. He which saith, *Depart out of Babylon, lest you be partakers of her sinnes*: sheweth plainly, that he meaneth such sinnes, as, except wee separate our selues, wee haue no power in the world to auoid such impieties, as by their Law they haue established, and whereunto all that are among them, either doe indeed assent, or else are by powerable meanes forced, in shew and appearance, to subiect themselues. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the same credit and reuerence that wee giue to the Scriptures of God, ought also to be giuen to vnwritten verities; That the Pope is supreme head ministeriall ouer the vniuersall Church militant; That the bread in the Eucharist is transubstantiated into Christ; That it is to be adored, and to bee offered vp vnto God, as a sacrifice propitiatorie for quicke and dead; That Images are to be worshipped; Saints to be called vpon as intercessors, and such like. Now, because some Heresies doe concerne things only beleued, as the transubstantiation of the sacramentall Elements in the Eucharist; some concerne things which are practised and put in vre, as the adoration of the Elements transubstantiated: wee must note, that erroneously, the practice of that is sometime receiued, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not heretically maintained. They are all partakers in the maintenance of Heresies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Heresies; as also they, and that most dangerously of all others, who knowing Heresie to be Heresie, doe notwithstanding in worldly respects, make semblance of allowing that, which in heart and iudgement they condemne: but Heresie is heretically maintained, by such as obstinately hold it, after wholsome admonition. Of the last sort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation, without an actuall repentance, is ineuitable. Lest any man therefore should thinke, that in speaking of our Fathers, I should speake indifferently of them all: let my words, I beseech you, be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to saue thousands of our Fathers*: which thing I will now, by Gods assistance, set more plainly before your eyes.

12 Many are partakers of the error, which are not of the Heresie of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, and obseruing, as they did, exactly that which was prescribed, thought they did God good seruice, when indeed they did dishonour him. This was their error: but the Heresie of the Church of Rome, their dogmaticall Potions opposite vnto Christian truth, what one man amongst tenne thousand, did euer vnderstand? Of them, which vnderstand Romane Heresies, and allow them, all are

not

not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the first founders and establishers of them : which crime toucheth none but their Popes, and Councils; the people are cleere and free from this. Of them, which maintaine Popish Heresies, not as Authors, but Receiuers of them from others, all maintaine them not as Masters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the Predicants and Schoolemen. Of them, which haue been partakers in this sinne of teaching Popish heresie, there is also a difference; for they haue not all bene Teachers of all Popish Heresies. *Put a Verse 22. difference, saith S. Iude; haue compassion vpon some.* Shall we lay vp all in one condition? Shall we cast them all head-long? Shall we plunge them all into that infernall and euermlasting flaming lake? Them that haue bene partakers of the errors of Babylon, together with them which are in the Heresie? Them which haue bene the Authors of Heresie, with them that by terror and violence haue bene forced to receiue it? Them who haue taught it, with them whose simplicitie hath by sleights and conueyances of false Teachers, bene seduced to beleue it? Them which haue bene partakers in one, with them which haue bene partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all?

13 Notwithstanding I grant, that, although the condemnation of them, be more tolerable then of these: yet from the man, that laboureth at the plough, to him that siterb in the Vatican; to all partakers in the sinnes of Babylon; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneously practise that which the guides heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, aswell of the guide, as of the guided in blindness. But woe worth the houre wherein we were borne, except we might promise our selues better things; things which accompany mans situation, euen where we know, that worse, and such as accompany condemnation are due. Then must we shew some way, how possibly they might escape. What way is there, that sinners can find to escape the iudgement of God, but onely by appealing to the seate of his sauing mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we doe not extend to Deuils and damned spirits. God hath mercy vpon thousands, but there be thousands also which he hardeneth. Christ hath therefore set the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his sauing mercy, within the compasse of these termes: *God sent not his owne Sonne to condemne the world, Iohn 3. 17. but that the world through him might be saued.* In the third of *S. Iohns* Gospel mercie is restrained to Beleeuers: *He that beleeueth, shall not be condemned; He that beleeueth not, is condemned alreadie, because hee beleeued not in the Sonne of God.* In the second of the *Reuelation*, mercy is restrained to the penitent. For of *Iezabel* and her sectaries, thus he speaketh: *I gaue her space to repent, and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her, into a great affliction, except they repent them of their workes, and I will kill her children with death. Reuel. 2. 21.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers, is, if they were not altogether faithlesse and impenitent.

14 They are not all faithlesse, that are weake in assenting to the truth, or liue in maintaining things any way opposite to the truth of Christian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though they hold

hold it but weakly, and as it were with a slender thred, although they frame many base and vnutable things vpon it, things that cannot abide the triall of the fire, yet shall they passe the fierie triall and be saued, which indeed haue builded themselues vpon the Rocke, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt, but they were faithlesse. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be saued. Then let vs see, what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may thinke, that thousands of our Fathers, being in Popish superstitions, did notwithstanding hold the foundation.

15 If the foundation of Faith doe import the generall ground, whereupon we rest, when we doe beleue, the writings of the Euangelists and the Apostles are the foundation of the Christian Faith, *Credimus quia legimus*, saith S. *Ierome*: O that the Church of Rome did as* soundly interpret these fundamentall writings, whereupon wee build our Faith, as shee doth willingly hold and embrace them.

* They misinterpret, not onely by making false and corrupt glosses vpon the scripture, but, also by forcing the old vulgar translation as the onely authentical: howbeit they refuse no booke which is Canonically, though they admit sundrie which are not.
a 1. Tim. 3. 16.
b Iohn 1. 49.
c Iohn 4. 42.

16 But if the name of *Foundation* doe note the principall thing, which is beleued: then is that the foundation of our Faith, which S. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: *a God manifested in the flesh, iustified in the Spirit, &c.* that of *Nathaniel*, *b Thou art the Sonne of the liuing God, Thou art the King of Israel*: that of the Inhabitants of Samaria: *c This is Christ the Sauour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth vtterly rase the very foundation of our Faith. I haue prooued heretofore, that, although the Church of Rome hath plaid the Harlot worse then euer did Israel, yet are they not as now the Synagogue of the Iewes, which plainly deny Christ Iesus, quite and cleane excluded from the new Couenant. But as Samaria compared with Hierusalem is termed *Abolath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her owne; contrariwise, Ierusalem, *Abolibath*, the resting place of the Lord: so whatsoeuer we terme the Church of Rome, when we compare her with reformed Churches, still we put a difference, as then betweene Babylon and Samaria, so now betweene Rome and the Heathenish assemblies. Which opinion, I must, and will recall, I must grant, and will, that the Church of Rome, together with all her children, is cleane excluded. There is no difference in the world betweene our Fathers, and Saracens, Turkes, and Paynims; if they did directly denie Christ crucified for the saluation of the world.

Gal. 5. 2.

17 But how many millions of them were knowne so to haue ended their mortall liues, that the drawing of their breath hath ceased with the vttering of this Faith, *Christ my Sauour, my Redeemer Iesus*? Answer is made, That this they might vnfaignedly confesse, and yet be farre enough from saluation. For, behold, saith the Apostle, *I Paul say vnto you, that if yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing*. Christ in the worke of mans saluation is alone: the Galathians were cast away by ioyning *Circumcision*, and the other Rites of the Law with Christ: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to ioyne other things likewise with him; therefore their faith, their beliefe, doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true, that they doe indeed ioyne other things with Christ: but how? Not in the worke of redemption it selfe, which they grant, that Christ alone hath performed sufficiently for the saluation of the

the whole world; but in the applicacion of this inestimable treasure, that it may be effectually to their saluation: how demurely soever they confesse, that they seeke remission of sinnes, no otherwise then by the blood of Christ, vsing humbly the meanes appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy blood; they teach, indeed, so many things pernicious in Christian Faith, in setting downe the meanes, whereof they speake, that the very foundation of Faith, which they hold, is thereby * plainly ouerthrowne, and the force of the blood of Iesus Christ extinguished. We may therefore dispute with them, vrge them euen with as dangerous sequels, as the Apostle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if some of those Galatians heartily embracing the Gospel of Christ, sincere and sound in faith (this one onely error excepted) had ended their liues before they were euer taught, how perilsome an opinion they held: shall we thinke, that the damage of this error did so ouer-waigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not saue them? I grant they ouerthrew the very foundation of faith by consequent: doth not that so likewise, which the ^a Lutheran Churches doe at this day so slyly and so firmly maintaine? For mine owne part, I dare not here denie the possibilitie of their saluation, which haue bene the chiefe instruments of ours: albeit they carried to their graue a perswasion so greatly repugnant to the truth. Forasmuch therefore as it may be said of the Church of Rome, shee hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundation of Christianitie: I may, I trust, without offence, perswade my selfe, that thousands of our Fathers in former times liuing and dying within her wals, haue found mercy at the hands of God.

18 What although they repented not of their errors? God forbid, that I should open my mouth to gaine-say that which Christ himselfe hath spoken: *Except yee repent, yee shall all perish.* And if they did not repent, they perished. But withall note, that we haue the benefit of a double repentance: the least sinne, which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things doe escape vs in euery of these, which we doe not know? How many, which we doe not obserue to be sinnes? And without the knowledge, without the obseruation of sinne, there is no actuall repentance. It cannot then be chosen, but that for as many as hold the foundation; and haue all holden sinnes and errors in hatred; the blessing of repentance for vnknown sinnes and errors, is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Iesus Christ, for such suiters as crie with the Prophet DAVID: *Purge me, O Lord, from my secret sinnes.*

19 But we wash a wall of lome; we labour in vaine; all this is nothing; it doth not prooue; it cannot iustifie, that which we goe about to maintaine. Infidels and Heathen men are not so godlesse, but that they may, no doubt, crie God mercie, and desire in generall to haue their sinnes forgiven them. To such as deny the foundation of faith, there can be no saluation (according to the ordinarie course, which God doth vse in sauing men) without a particular repentance of that error. The Galatians thinking, that vnlesse they were circumcised, they could not be saved, ouerthrew the foundations of faith directly: therefore if any of them did die so perswaded, whether before or after

they

* Plainely in all mens sight whose eyes God hath enlightened to behold his truth, For they, which are in error, are in darkenesse, and see not that, which in light is plaine. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Christ, they hold the same which Nestorius fully, the same with Entiches about the proprieties of his nature.

a The opinion of the Lutherans though it be no direct deniall of the foundation, may notwithstanding be damnable vnto some: and I do not thinke but that in many respects it is lesse damnable, as at this day some maintain it, then it was in them which held it at first, as Luther and others, whom I had an eye vnto in this speech. The question is not whether an error with such and such circumstances: but simply, whether an error ouerthrowing the foundation, doe exclude all possibilitie of saluation, if it be not recanted, and expressly repented of.

they told of their errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apostle speaketh nothing of men departed, but faith generally of all, *If you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. You are abolished from Christ, whosoever are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace, Gal. 5.* Of them in the Church of Rome, the reason is the same. For whom Antichrist hath seduced, concerning them did not *S. Paul* speake long before, that they received not the word of truth, they might not be saued? therefore God would send them strong delusions to belecue lies, that all they might be damned which beleued not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousnesse. And *S. Iohn*, All that dwel vpon the earth shal worship him, whose names are not written in the Booke of life, *Apoc. 13.* Indeed many in former times, as their Bookes and Writings doe yet shew, held the foundation, to wit, saluation by Christ alone, and therefore might be saued. God hath alwayes had a Church amongst them, which firmly kept his sauing truth. As for such as hold with the Church of Rome, that we cannot be saued by Christ alone without woikes; they doe not onely by a circle of consequence, but directly deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no not so much as by a thred.

20 This to my remembrance, being all that hath beene opposed with any countenance or shew of reason, I hope, if this be answered, the cause in question is at an end. Concerning generall repentance therefore: what? A Murtherer, a Blasphemer, an vncleane person, a Turke, a Iew, any sinner to escape the wrath of God, by a generall repentance? *God forgie me!* Truly it neuer came within mine heart, that a generall repentance doth serue for all sinnes: it serueth only for the common oversights of our sinfull life, and for the faults, which either we doe not marke, or doe not know, that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for sinnes, wherein they knew they displeased God; or else they fall not within the compasse of my first speech. Again, that other wise they could not be saued, then holding the foundation of Christian faith, we haue not onely affirmed, but proued. Why is it not then confessed, that thousands of our fathers, which liued in Popish superstitions, might yet by the mercie of God be saued? First, if they had directly denied the verie foundations of Christianitie, without repenting them particularly of that sin: he which saith there could be no saluation for them, according to the ordinary course, which God doth vse in sauing men, granteth plainly, or at the least closely insinuateth, that an extraordinary priuiledge of mercie might deliuer their soules from hell, which is more then I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for feare of some Heresie, which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongst our Fathers, who being seduced by the common error of that Church, neuer knew the meaning of her Heresies? So that, although all Popish Heretiques did perish: thousands of them, which liued in Popish superstitions, might be saued. Thirdly, seeing all that held Popish Heresies, did not hold all the Heresies of the Pope: why might not thousands, which were infected with other leauen, liue and die vnfowred with this, and so be * saued? Fourthly, if they all held this Heresie, many there were that held it, no doubt, but onely in a generall forme of words, which a fauourable interpretation might expound in a sense differing farre

1. Theff. 2. 11.

Apoc. 13. v. 8.

* For this is the onely thing alledged to prouoe the impossibilitie of their saluation: The Church of Rome ioyneeth woikes with Christ, which is a denial of the foundation, and vnlesse we hold the foundation, we cannot be saued.

faire enough from the poisoned conceit of Heresie. As for example; Did they hold, that wee cannot be sould with Christ, without good workes. Wee our selves doe; I thinke, all say as much; with this construction; saluation being taken; as in that sentence; *Credite creditur ad iustitiam, ore fit confessio ad salutem*; except infants; and me cut off vpon the point of their conuersion: of the rest none shall see God; but such as seeke peace and holinesse, though not as a cause of their saluation; yet as a way which they must walke, which will bee saued. Did they hold, that without workes wee are not iustified? Take iustification for; it may also imply sanctification; and Saint *James* doth say as much. For except there be an ambiguitie in the same tearme; Saint *Paul*; and Saint *James* doe contradict each the other, which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguitie in the name either of faith, or of workes, being meant by them both in one and the same sense. Finding therefore, that iustification is spoken of by Saint *Paul*, without implying sanctification, when he proueth; that a man is iustified by faith without workes; finding like wise that iustification doth sometime imply sanctification also with it: I suppose nothing to be more sound, then so to interpret Saint *James*; speaking not in that sense, but in this.

We haue already shewed, that there be two kinds of Christian righteousness: the one without vs; which we haue by imputation; the other in vs, which consisteth of faith, hope, and charitie, and other Christian vertues. And Saint *James* doth prouue, that *Abraham* had not onely the one, because the thing beleueed was imputed vnto him for righteousness: but also the other, because he offered vp his sonne. God giueth vs both the one iustice and the other: the one, by accepting vs for righteous in Christ; the other, by working Christian righteousness in vs. The proper and most immediate efficient cause in vs of this latter, is the Spirit of adoption wee haue receiued into our hearts. That whereof it consisteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are those infused vertues, proper and particular vnto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment, when first it is giuen of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are such actions as the Apostle doeth call the fruits of workes, the operations of the Spirit. The difference of the which operations from the roote whereof they spring, maketh it needfull to put two kinds likewise of sanctifying righteousness, *Habituall*, and *Actuall*. *Habituall*, that holinesse, wherewith our soules are inwardly indued, the same instant, when first wee beginne to be the Temples of the holy Ghost. *Actuall*, that holinesse, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life; the holinesse for the which *Enoch*, *Iob*, *Zacharie*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures so highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of these wee doe first receiue: I answer; that the Spirit, the vertues of the Spirit, the habituall iustice, which is ingrafted, the externall iustice of *Iesus Christ*, which is imputed: these we receiue all at one and the same time; whensoever we haue any of these, we haue all; they goe together. Yet sith no man is iustified except hee beleuee, and no man beleueeth except he haue faith, and no man except hee haue receiued the Spirit of adoption, hath faith, forasmuch as they doe necessarily inferre iustification, and iustification doth of necessity presuppose them: we must needs hold that imputed righteousness, indignitie being the chiefest, is notwithstanding

standing in order the last of all these : but *actuell righteousness*, which is the righteousness of good workes, succeedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, sheweth plainly how the faith of true Belceuers cannot bee diuorced from hope and loue; how faith is a part of sanctification, and yet vnto iustification necessaric; how faith is perfected by good workes, and no worke of ours without faith; finally, how our Fathers might hold, that wee are iustified by Faith alone, and yet hold truely, that without workes wee are not iustified. Did they thinke that men doe merit rewards in heauen, by the workes they performe on earth? The ancient vse *meriting*, for *obtaining*, and in that sense they of Wittenberg haue it in their Confession; *We teach, that good workes commanded of God, are necessarily to be done, and by the free kindnes of God they merit their certaine rewards.* Therefore speaking as our Fathers did; and we taking their speech in a sound meaning, as we may take our Fathers, and might for as much as their meaning is doubtfull and charitie doth alwaies interpret doubtful things fauourably: what should induce vs to thinke, that rather the damage of the worst construction did light vpon them all, then that the blessing of the better was granted vnto thousands? Fiftly, if in the worst construction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it liuing, might not many of them dying, vtterly renounce it? Howsoeuer men when they sit at ease, do vainely tickle their hearts with the wanton conceit, of I know not what proportionable correspondence, betweene their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high speculations they dreame that God hath measured, weighed, and laid vp, as it were, in bundles for them: notwithstanding, we see by daily experience, in a number euen of them, that when the houre of death approacheth, when they secretly heare themselues summoned forthwith to appeare, and stand at the Barre of that Iudge, whose brightnesse causeth the eyes of the Angels themselues to dazle, all these idle imaginations doe then beginne to hide their faces, to name merits then is to lay their soules vpon the racke; the memorie of their owne deeds is lothsome vnto them, they forsake all things, wherein they haue put any trust or confidence, no staffe to leane vpon, no ease, no rest, no comfort then, but onely in Iesus Christ.

22 Wherefore if this proposition were true: *To hold in such wise, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be saued by Christ alone without workes, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith;* I say, that if this Proposition were true: neuertheless so many wayes I haue shewed, whereby wee may hope that thousands of our Fathers which liued in Popish superstition, might be saued. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the Galatians concerning Circumcision; nor this of the Church of Rome, by Works, be any direct deniall of the foundation, as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade so farre as to discusse this Controuersie, the matter which first was brought into question being so cleere, as I hope it is. Howbeit, because I desire, that the truth euen in that also should receiue light, I will doe mine indeuour to set downe somewhat more plainly: first, the foundation of Faith, what it is: Secondly, what it is directly to deny the foundation: Thirdly, whether they whom God hath chosen to be Heires of life, may fall so farre as directly to denie

* They may cease to put any confidence in workes, and yet neuer thinke, liuing in Popish superstition, they did amisse. Pigbins dyed Popish, and yet denied Poperie in the Article of Iustification by workes long before his death.

nie it: Fourthly, whether the Galatians did so by admitting the error about *Circumcision* and the *Law*: last of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Workes, may be thought to doe the like, and thereupon to be no more a Christian Church, then are the Assemblies of Turkes and Iewes.

23 This word foundation being figuratiuely vsed, hath alwayes reference to somewhat which resembleth a materiall building, as both that Doctrin of *Lawes* and the communitie of Christians doe. By the Masters of Ciuill Policie nothing is so much inculcated, as that *Common-weales* are founded vpon *Lawes*; for that a multitude cannot bee compacted into one body otherwise then by a common acception of *Lawes*, whereby they are to bee kept in order. The ground of all Ciuill *Lawes* is this: *No man ought to be hurt or iniured by another.* Take away this perswasion, and ye take away all the *Lawes*; take away *Lawes*, and what shall become of *Common-weales*? So it is in our spirituall Christian Communitie: I doe not meane that Body Mysticall, whereof Christ is onely * the head, that building vndiscernable by mortall eyes, wherein Christ is the a chiefe corner Stone: but I speake of the visible Church, the foundation whereof is the b Doctrin which the Prophets and Apostles profest. The marke whereunto their Doctrin tendeth, is pointed at in these words of *Peter* vnto Christ, c *Thou hast the words of eternall life*: in these wordes of *Paul* to *Timothy*, d *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise vnto saluation.* It is the demand of Nature it selfe, *What shall we doe to haue eternall life?* The desire of immortalitie and of the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtayned, is so naturall vnto all men, that euen they, who are not perswaded, that they shall, doe notwithstanding wish, that they might know a way how to see no end of life. And, because naturall meanes are not able still to resist the force of death: there is no people in the earth so sauage, which hath not deuised some supernaturall helpe or other, to flye for ayde and succour in extremities, against the Enemies of their *Lawes*. A longing therefore to be saued, without vnderstanding the true way how, hath bene the cause of all the Superstitutions in the World. O that the miserable state of others, which wander in darknesse, and wote not whither they goe, could giue vs vnderstanding hearts, worthily to esteeme the riches of the mercy of God towards vs, before whose eyes the doores of the Kingdome of Heauen are set wide open! should wee offer violence vnto it? it offereth violence vnto vs, and we gather strength to withstand it. But I am besides my purpose, when I fall to bewaile the cold affection, which we beare towards that whereby wee should be saued; my purpose being only to set downe, what the ground of saluation is. The Doctrin of the Gospell proposeth saluation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attayning thereunto? Yet the Damosell posselt with a Spirit of diuination, spake the truth: e *These men are the Seruants of the most High God, which shew vnto vs the way of Saluation*: f *A new and liuing way, which Christ hath prepared for vs, through the vaile, that is, his flesh*; Saluation purchased by the death of Christ. By this foundation the Children of God before the written *Law*, were distinguished from the sonnes of men; the reuerend Patriarkes both posselt it liuing, and spake expressly of it g at the houre of their death. It h comforted *Iob* in the midst of griefe; it was afterwards the anker-hold of all the righteous in Is-

What the foundation of Faith is. *Vocatā ad concionem multitudine, que coalescere in populi vniuers corpus nulla re preterquam legibus poterat.* Liu. de Rom. lib. 1.

* *Ephes. 1. 23.*
 & 4. 15.
 a *Ephes. 2. 20.*
 b *Ephes. 2. 20.*

c *1ohn 6. 68.*
 d *2. Tim. 3. 15.*

e *Acts 16. 17.*
 f *Heb. 10. 20.*

g *Gen. 49.*
 h *Iob 19.*

rael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace. Euery Prophet maketh mention of it. It was famously spoken of about the time, when the coming of Christ to accomplish the promises, which were made long before it, drew neere, that the sound thereof was heard euen amongst the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their Saluation; he, that long expected hope of Israel; he, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth shall be blessed.* So that now he is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, vnto such as dreame of a new *Messias*, to as many as looke for saluation by any other, but by him. For *amongst men there is giuen no other name vnder heauen whereby we must be saved.* Thus much S. Mark doth intimate by that, which he doth put in the front of his Booke, making his entrance with these words: *The beginning of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Gospell, because it teacheth Saluation; the Gospell of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, because it teacheth Saluation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the Gospell is erected; that very Iesus whom the *Virgin* conceiued of the Holy Ghost, whom *Simeon* embraced in his armes, whom *Pilate* condemned, whom the *Iewes* crucified, whom the *Apostles* preached, he is^k Christ, the Lord, the only Saviour of the World: *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I haue briefly opened that principle in Christianitie, which we call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now, that I declare vnto you, what is directly to ouerthrow it. This will be better opened, if wee vnderstand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

i Acts 4. 12.

k Luke 2. 11.

l 1. Cor. 3.

24 There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who neuer heard the Name of Christ, held the foundation of Christianitie, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Providence of God; his infinite Wisedome, strength, power; his goodnesse, and his mercie towards the children of men; that God hath iudgement in store for the wicked, but for the righteous, which serue him, rewardes, &c. In this which they confessed, that lyeth couered, which we beleue; in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our faith concerning Christ, lyeth secretly wrapt vp, and is virtually containd: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they neuer had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reason defend, that euery Plough-man hath all the Sciences, wherein Philosophers haue exceld? For no man is ignorant of their first Principles, which do virtually containe, whatsoeuer by naturall meanes is or can be knowne. Yea, might we not with as great reason affirme, that a man may put three mightie Oakes wherefoeuer three Akornes may be put? For virtually an Akorne is an Oake. To auoyde such Paradoxes, wee teach plainly, that to hold the foundation, is in expresse termes to acknowledge it.

25 Now, because the foundation is an affirmatiue Proposition, they all ouerthrow it who denie it; they directly ouerthrow it, who denie it directly; and they ouerthrow it by consequent, or indirectly, which hold any one assertion whatsoeuer, whereupon the direct denyall thereof may bee necessarily concluded. What is the Question betweene the Gentiles and vs, but this, *Whether Saluation be by Christ?* What betweene the Iewes and vs, but this, *Whether*

Whether by this Iesus, whom we call Christ, yea or no? This to be the maine point, whereupon Christianitie standeth, it is cleere by that one sentence of *Festus* concerning *Pauls* accusers: They brought no crime of such things as I supposed, but had certaine questions against him of their superstition, and of one Iesus, which was dead, whom *PAUL* affirmed to be alive. Where we see that Iesus, dead, and raised for the saluation of the World, is by Iewes denied, despised by a Gentile, by a Christian Apostle maintayned. The Fathers therefore in the Primitive Church, when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the Booke which he calleth *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Felix*, the Booke, which hee intituleth *Octavius*; *Arnobius*, the seuen Bookes against the Gentiles; *Chrysostome*, his Orations against the Iewes; *Eusebius*, his ten Bookes of *Euangelicall Demonstration*: they stand in defence of Christianitie against them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the Writings of the Fathers against *Nouatians*, *Pelagians*, and other Heretikes of the like note, refell Positions, whereby the foundation of Christian Faith was ouerthrowne by consequent only. In the former sort of Writings, the foundation is proued; in the later, it is alleaged as a prooffe, which to men that had bene knowne directly to denie, must needs haue seemed a very beggerly kinde of disputing: All Infidels therefore denie the foundation of Faith directly; by consequent, many a Christian man, yea whole Christian Churches haue denied it, and doe denie it at this present day. Christian Churches, the foundation of Christianitie? Not directly; for then they cease to be Christian Churches: but by a consequent, in respect whereof wee condemne them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation, wee doe, and must hold them Christian.

26 We see what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by consequent, to denie it. The next thing which followeth, is, whether they whom God hath chosen to obtaine the glorie of our Lord Iesus Christ, may, once effectually called, and through faith iustified truly, afterwards fall so far, as directly to denie the foundation, which their hearts haue before imbraced with ioy and comfort in the Holy Ghost: for such is the faith, which indeede doth iustifie. Devils know the same things, which we beleue, and the minds of the most vngodly may be fully perswaded of the Truth: which knowledge in the one and in the other is sometimes termed faith, but equiuocally, being indeed no such faith as that, whereby a Christian man is iustified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh faith in vs, in them not: the things which wee beleue, are by vs apprehended, not only as true, but also as good, and that to vs: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Christian man the more hee increaseth in faith, the more his ioy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more sure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one sort haue a different disposition from the other. *Non ignoro plerosq; conscientia meritorum; nihil se esse per mortem magis optare, quam credere. Malunt enim extinguere penitus, quam ad supplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, saith *Minutius*, that there be many, who being conscious; what they are to looke for, doe rather wish that they might, then thinke that they shall cease, when they cease to liue:

because they hold it better that death should consume them vnto nothing, then God reuiue them vnto punishment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men thinke, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrary side, to the other, there is no griefe or torment greater, then to feele their perswasion weake in things, whereof when they are perswaded, they reape such comfort and ioy of spirit: such is the faith whereby wee are iustified; such, I meane, in respect of the qualitie. For touching the principall obiect of faith, longer then it holdeth the foundation whereof wee haue spoken, it neyther iustifieth, nor is, but ceaseth to bee faith, when it ceaseth to beleue, that Iesus Christ is the onely Sauour of the World. The cause of life spirituall in vs, is Christ, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the soule of man, as a thing which (when the minde apprehendeth it) is said to inhabite or possesse the minde. The minde conceiueth Christ by hearing the Doctrine of Christianitie, as the light of Nature doth the minde to apprehend those truths which are meerey rationall, so that sauing Truth, which is farre about the reach of humane reason, cannot otherwise, then by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceiued. All these are implied, wheresoeuer any of them is mentioned as the cause of the spirituall life. Wherefore if we haue read that ^a *The Spirit is our life*; or, ^b *the Word our life*; or, ^c *Christ our life*: we are in euery of these to vnderstand, that our life is Christ, by the hearing of the Gospell, apprehended as a Sauour, and assented vnto through the power of the Holy Ghost. The first intellectuall conceit and comprehension of Christ so imbraced, Saint Peter calleth ^d *the seed whereof we be new borne*: our first imbracing of Christ, is our first ^e reuiuing from the state of death and condemnation. ^f *He that hath the Sonne, hath life*, saith S. Iohn; and he that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. If therefore hee which once hath the Sonne, may cease to haue the Sonne, though it be for a moment, he ceaseth for that moment to haue life. But the life of them which haue the Sonne of God, is euerlasting in the World to come. But because as Christ being raised from the dead, dyeth no more, death hath no more power ouer him: So the iustified man ^h being allyed to God in Iesus Christ our Lord, doth as necessarily from that time forward alwayes liue, as Christ ⁱ by whom he hath life, liueth alwayes. I might if I had not otherwise largely done it already, shew by many and sundry, manifest, and cleere proofes, how the motions and operations of life, are sometimes so indiscernable, and so secret, that they seeme stone-dead, who notwithstanding are still aliue vnto God in Christ. For as long as that abideth in vs, which animateth, quickeneth, and giueth life, so long wee liue, and wee know that the cause of our faith abideth in vs for euer. If Christ, the Fountaine of life, may flit, and leaue the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what shall become of his promise, *I am with you to the Worlds end*? If the Seed of God, which containeth Christ, may bee first conceiued, and then cast out: how doth S. Peter tearme it ^k *immortall*? How doth S. Iohn affirme, ^l *It abideth*? If the Spirit, which is giuen to cherish, and preserue the Seed of life, may be giuen and taken away, how is it ^m the earnest of our inheritance vntill Redemption? how doth it continue with vs for euer? If therefore the man which is once iust by faith, shall liue by faith, and liue for euer: it followeth, that

a Rom. 8.10.
b Phil. 2.15.
c Col. 3.4.

d 1. Pet. 1.
e Ephes. 2.5.
f 1. Iohn 5.12.

g 1. Iohn 5.13.
Perpetuic of
Faith.

h Rom. 6.10.
i Iohn 14.19.

k 1. Pet. 1.
l 1. Iohn 3.9.

m Ephes. 1.14.
Iohn 4.16.

that

that he which once doth beleue the foundation, must needs beleue the foundation for euer. If he beleue it for euer, how can he euer directly denie it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, so long as Faith continueth, is excluded. But you will say, that as he that is to day holy, may to morrow forsake his holinesse, and become impure; as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither: so Faith may die in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguished, they which beleue, may be quite turned away from the truth. The case is cleere, long experience hath made this manifest: it needs no prooffe. I grant we are apt, prone, and readie to forsake God: but is God as readie to forsake vs? Our minds are changeable: is his so likewise? Whom God hath iustified, hath not Christ assured, that it is *his Fathers will to giue them a Kingdome*? Notwithstanding it shall not be otherwise giuen them, then if they continue *grounded and stablished in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Gospel; ^a *if they abide in loue and holinesse*. Our Saviour therefore, when hee spake of the sheepe effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold; ^b *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they shall neuer perish, neither shall any plucke them out of my hands*; in promising to saue them, he promised, no doubt, to preserue them in that, without which there can be no saluation, as also from that whereby it is irrecoverably lost. Euery error in things appertaining vnto God, is repugnant vnto faith; euery fearefull cogitation, vnto hope; vnto loue, euery stragging inordinate desire; vnto holinesse, euery blemish, wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our liues are stayned. But Heresie; such as that of *Ebion, Cerintus*, and others, against whom the Apostles were forced to bend themselues both by word, and also by writing; that repining discouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we haue Israel in the Desart for a patterne: coldnesse, such as that in the Angels of Ephesus; foule sins, knowne to be expressly against the first, or second Table of the Law, such as *Noah, Manasses, Dauid, Salomon*, and *Peter* committed; these are each in their kind so opposite to the former vertues, that they leaue no place for saluation without an actuall repentance. But Infidelitie, extreme despaire, hatred of God and all goodnesse, obduration in sinne, cannot stand where there is but the least sparke of faith, hope, loue, and sanctitie: euen as cold in the lowest degree cannot be, where heat in the highest degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that, although in the first kind, no man liueth; which sinneth not; and, in the second, as perfect as any doe liue, may sinne: yet sith the man which is borne of God, hath a promise, that in him ^c *the seed of God shall abide*, which seed is a sure preseruatue against the finnes that are of the third sute: greater and cleerer assurance we cannot haue of anything, then of this, that from such finnes God shall preserue the righteous; as the apple of his eye for euer. Directly to denie the foundation of faith, is plaine Infidelitie; where faith is entred, there Infidelitie is for euer excluded; therefore by him which hath once sincerely beleueed in Christ, the foundation of Christian faith can neuer be directly denied. Did not *Peter*? Did not *Marcellinus*? Did not others both directly denie Christ, after that they had beleueed, and againe beleuee, after they had denyed? No doubt, as

Ob.

Sol.

* Col. 1. 23.

a 1. Tim. 2. 15.

b Iohn 10.

c 1. Iohn 3. 9.

they confesse in words, whose condemnation is neuertheless their not beleeu-
 ing: (for example we haue *Iudas* :) So likewise, they may beleue in heart,
 whose condemnation, without repentance, is their not confessing. Although
 therefore *Peter* and the rest, for whose faith Christ hath prayed, that it might
 not faile, did not by denyall, sinne the sinne of Infidelitie, which is an inward
 abnegation of Christ, (but if they had done this, their faith had cleerely
 fayled :) yet because they sinned notoriously and grieuously, com-
 mitting that, which they knew to be expressly forbidden by the Law,
 which saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serue* ;
 necessary it was that he, which purposed to saue their soules, should, as he
 did, touch their hearts with true vnfaigned repentance, that his mercy might
 restore them againe to life, whom sinne had made the children of death and
 condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may safely set downe,
 that if the iustified erre, as we may, and neuer come to vnderstand his error,
 God doth saue him through generall repentance: but if he fall into Heresie,
 he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance: but from Infideli-
 tie, which is an inward direct deniall of the foundation, he preserveth him by
 speciall prouidence for euer. Whereby we may easily know, what to thinke
 of those Galatians, whose hearts was so posselt with the loue of the Truth,
 that if it had beene possible, they would haue pluckt out their eyes to bestow
 vpon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed, both in
 perswasion and affection: so that the Galatians, when *S. Paul* wrote vnto them,
 were not now the Galatians, which they had beene in former time, for that
 through error they wandered, although they were his sheepe. I doe not deny,
 but that I should deny, that they were his sheepe, if I should grant, that
 through error they perished. It was a perillous opinion that they held; peril-
 lous, euen in them which held it onely as an error, because it ouerthroweth
 the foundation by consequent. But in them which obstinately maintaine it,
 I cannot thinke it lesse then a damnable Heresie. We must therefore put a
 difference betweene them; which erre of ignorance, retaining neuertheless
 a mind desirous to be instructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is
 laid open, persist in the stubborne defence of their blindness. Hereticall de-
 fenders, froward and stiff-necked teachers of circumcision, the blessed Apostle
 calls Dogges; Silly men, who were seduced to thinke they thought the truth,
 he pittieeth, he taketh vp in his armes, he louingly imbraceeth, he kisseth, and
 with more then fatherly tendernes doth so temper, qualifie, and correct the
 speech he vseth toward them, that a man cannot easily discern, whether did
 most abound, the loue, which he bare to their godly affection, or the griefe,
 which the danger of their opinion bred him. Their opinion was dangerous: it
 was not theirs also, who thought the Kingdome of Christ should be earthly;
 was not theirs, which thought the Gospel only should be preached to the
 Jewes? What more opposite to propheticall doctrine, concerning the com-
 ming of Christ, then the one? Concerning the Catholike Church, then the
 other? Yet they which had these fancies, euen when they had them; were
 not the worst men in the world. The Heresie of *Free-will* was a milstone a-
 bout the Pelagians necke: shall we therefore giue sentence of death ineuitable

* Howfoeuer men be changed (for changed they may be, euen the best amongst men) if they that haue received, as it seemeth, some of the Galatians which fell into error, had received the gifts and graces of God which are called *αγαπαι*, such as faith, hope, and charitie are, which God doth neuer take away from him, to whom they are giuen, as if they repented him to haue giuen them; if such might bee so farre changed by error, as that the very root of faith should be quite extinguished in them, and so their situation vterly lost: it would shake the hearts of the strongest and stoutest of vs all. See the contrarie in *Ber* his obseruations vpon the harmony of Confessions

against

against all those Fathers in the Greeke Church, which being misse-perswaded, dyed in the error of free Will? Of these Galatians therefore, which first were iustified and then deceiued, as I can see no cause, why as many as dyed before admonition, might not by mercie bee receiued, euen in error: so I make no doubt, but as many as liued, till they were admonished, found the mercie of God effectuall in conuerting them from their * error, lest any one that is Christs, should perish. Of this I take it, there is no controuersie; only against the saluation of them which dyed, though before admonition, yet in error, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plaine direct denyall of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had bene so perswaded, they would haply haue vsed the termes otherwise speaking of the Masters themselues, who did first fet that error abroad, ^a certaine of the Sects of the Pharises which beleueed. What difference was there betweene these Pharises, and other Pharises, from whom by a speciall description they are distinguished, but this? These which came to *Antioch*, teaching the necessitie of Circumcision, were Christians; the other, enemies of Christianitie. Why then should these be termed so distinctly Beleueers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our beliefe; besides which there was no other thing, that made the rest to be no beleueers? Wee need goe no farther then *S. Pauls* very reasoning against them, for prooue of this matter: seeing you know God, or rather are knowne of God, how turne you againe to impotent rudiments? ^b The Law engendreth seruants, her children are in bondage; ^c They which are gotten by the Gospell, are free. ^d Brethren, we are not children of the seruant, but of the free woman, and will yee yet be vnder the Law? That they thought it vnto saluation necessarie, for the Church of Christ, to ^e obserue Dayes, and Moneths, and Times, and Yeeres, to keepe the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their error. Yet he which condemneth their error, confesseth, that notwithstanding, they knew God, and were knowne of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sonnes begotten of the immortall seed of the Gospell. Let the heauiest words which he vseth, be waighed; consider the drift of those dreadfull conclusions: If yee be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: As many as are iustified by the Law, are fallen from Grace. It had bin to no purpose in the world, so to vrge them; had not the Apostle bene perswaded, that at the hearing of such sequels, no benefit by Christ, a defection from Grace, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? because that they knew, that in Christ, and in Grace, their saluation lay, which is a plaine direct acknowledgement of the foundation. Lest I should herein seeme to hold, that which no one learned, or godly hath done: let these words be considered, which import as much as I affirme. * Surely those brethren, which in *S. Pauls* time, thought that God did lay a necessitie vpon them to make choice of dayes and meates; spake as they beleueed, and could not but in words condemne the libertie, which they supposed to be brought in against the authoritie of diuine Scripture. Otherwise it had bene needlesse for *Saint Paul* to admonish them, not to condemne such as ate without scrupulositie, whatsoeuer was set before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of it selfe, did at once ouerthrow all Scriptures, wherby we are taught saluation by faith

* Error conuicted, and afterwards maintained, is more then error: for although opinion bee the same it was, in which respect I still call it error, yet they are not now they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.

^a *Act.* 15.5.

^b *Gal.* 4.24.25.

^c *Vers.* 28.

^d *Vers.* 31.

^e *Vers.* 32.

* *Bucer. de*
Uniu. Eccles.
seruanda.

in Christ, all that euer the Prophets did foretell, all that euer the Apostles did preach of Christ, it drew with it the denyall of Christ vterly: in so much that *S. Paul* complaineth, that his labour was lost vpon the Galatians, vnto whom this error was obruded, affirming that Christ, if so be they were circumcised, should not profit them any thing at all. Yet so farre was *S. Paul* from striking their names out of Christs booke, that he commandeth others to entertaine them, to accept them with singular humanitie, to vse them like Brethren; he knew mans imbecillitie; he had a feeling of our blindnesse which are mortall men, how great it is, and being sure that they are the Sonnes of God, whoeuer be indued with his feare, would not haue them counted enemies of that, whereunto they could not as yet frame themselues to be friends, but did euer vpon a very religious affection to the Truth, willingly reiect the Truth. They acknowledged Christ to be their only and perfect Sauour, but saw not how repugnant their beleeuing the necessitie of Mosaicall Ceremonies was to their faith in Iesus Christ. Hereunto a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might haue bene saued; but saued they could not be, therefore their opinion was not only by consequent, but directly a denyall of the foundation. When the question was about the possibilitie of their saluation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prooue, that they could not be saued; now that the question is about their denyall of the foundation, the impossibilitie of their saluation, is alledged to prooue, they denied the foundation. Is there nothing, which excludeth men from saluation, but only the foundation of faith denied? I should haue thought, that besides this, many other things are death vnto as many as vnderstanding, that to cleaue thereunto, was to fall from Christ, did notwithstanding cleaue vnto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the last question, *Whesher that the doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the necessitie of workes vnto saluation, be a direct denyall of our faith.*

Caluin. Ep. 104.

27 I seeke not to obrude vnto you any priuate opinion of mine owne; the best learned in our profession are of this iudgement, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome, doe not prooue her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they should grant her simply to be no Christian Church. *But I suppose, saith one, that in the Papacy some Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you wil, broken quite in pieces, forlorne, misse-shapen, yet some Church: his reason is this, Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God.* Lest any man should thinke such sentences as these to be true, onely in regard of them, whom that Church is supposed to haue kept by the speciall providence of God, as it were in the secret corners of his bosome, free from infection, and as found in the faith, as we trust, by his mercy, we our selues are: I permit it to your wise considerations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzie, though it selfe take away the vse of reason, doth notwithstanding proue them reasonable creatures which haue it, because none can be frantick but they: so Antichristianitie being the bane and plaine overthrow of Christianitie, may neuertheless argue the Church wherein Antichrist sitteth, to be Christian. Neither haue I euer hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwise, then so as in the two next questions before hath bene declared,

red, bind himselfe to keepe his Elect from worshipping the Beast, and from receiuing his marke in their foreheads: but hee hath preserued, and will preserue them from receiuing any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of sin, whose deceit hath preuailed ouer none vnto death, but onely vnto such as neuer loued the truth, such as tooke a pleasure in vnrightheadnesse: they in all ages; whose hearts haue delighted in the principall truth, and whose soules haue thirsted after rightheadnesse, if they receiued the marke of Errour, the mercie of God; euen erring, and dangerously erring, might saue them: if they receiued the marke of Heresie, the same mercie did, I doubt not, conuert them: How farre Romish Heresies may preuaile ouer Gods Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many haue bene conuerted from them, is not the question now in hand: for if heauen had not receiued any one of that coate for these thousand yeeres, it may still bee true, that the doctrine which this day they doe professe, doeth not directly denie the foundation; and so proue them simply to be no Christian Church. One I haue alleaged, whose words, in my eares, found that way: shall I adde ^{*} another, whose speech is plaine? *I deny her not the name of a Church, sayth another, no more then to a man the name of a man, as long as he liueth, what sicknesse soener he hath.* His reason is this; *Saluation in Iesus Christ, which is the marke which ioyneth the head with the bodie, Iesus Christ with the Church is so cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Popes Pardons, and such other wickednesse, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very threed, yet still the life of the Church holdeth.* ^{* A} *third hath these words, I acknowledge the Church of Rome, euen at this present day, for a Church of Christ, such a Church as Israel did Ieroboam, yet a Church.* His reason is this; *Euery man seeth, except he willingly hoodwinke himselfe, that as alwaies, so now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmly and stedfastly the doctrine of truth concerning Christ, and baptizeth in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, confesseth and auoucheth Christ, for the onely Redeemer of the World, and the Iudge that shal sit vpon quicke and dead, receiuing true beleeuers into endlesse ioy, faithlesse and godlesse men being cast with Sathan and his angels into flames vnquencheable.*

^{* Morn. de Ecclis.}

^{* A Zurich. praesat. de relig.}

28 I may, and will, reine the question shorter then they doe. Let the Pope take downe his top, and captiuate no more mens soules by his Papall iurisdiction: let him no longer count himselfe *Lord Paramount* ouer the Princes of the world: no longer hold Kings as his seruants *paranaile*: let his stately Senate submit their neckes to the yoke of Christ, and cease to die their garment like *Edom*, in bloud: let them from the highest to the lowest, hate and forsake their Idolatrie, abiure all their errours and heresies, wherewith they haue any way peruerted the truth: let them strippeth their Churches, till they leaue no polluted rag, but only this one about her, *By Christ alone, without workes, we cannot bee saued*: it is enough for me, if I shew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prouue the foundation of faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29 Workes are an addition: be it so; what then? the foundation is not subuerted by euery kind of addition. Simply to adde vnto those fundamentall words, is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heauen & Earth, things polluted,

luted, with the sanctified blood of Christ: of which crime indicted them, which attribute those operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the worke of our saluation wholly are peculiar vnto Christ; and if I open my mouth to speake in their defence, if I hold my peace and plead not against them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guiltie of all the dishonor that euer hath beene done to the Sonne of God. But the more dreadfull a thing it is to denie saluation by Christ alone; the more slow and fearefull I am; except it be too manifest, to lay a thing so grieuous to any mans charge. Let vs beware, lest if we make too many wayes of denying Christ, wee scarce leaue any way for our selues truly and soundly to confesse him. Saluation only by Christ is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Christianitie standeth. But what if I say you cannot be saued onely by Christ, without this addition, Christ believed in heart, confessed with mouth, obeyed in life and conuersation? Because I adde, doe I therefore denie, that which I did directly affirme? There may be an additament of explication, which ouerthroweth not, but proueth and concludeth the proposition; whereunto it is annexed. He which saith, *Peter* was a chiefe Apostle, doth proue that *Peter* was an Apostle; hee which saith, Our saluation is of the Lord, * through sanctification of the Spirit and Faith of the truth, proueth that our saluation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be such a priuation as taketh away the very essence of that whereunto it is added, then by the sequell it ouerthroweth. Hee which saith *Indas* is a dead man, though in word he granteth *Indas* to be a man; yet in effect he proueth him by that very speech no man; because death depriveth him of being. In like sort, he that should say, our election is of grace for our workes sake, should grant in sound of words, but indeed by consequent denie that our election is of Grace; for the * grace which electeth vs, is no grace, if it elect vs for our workes sake.

30 Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth workes, wee must note farther, that the adding of * Workes is not like the adding of Circumcision vnto Christ. Christ came not to abrogate and put away good workes: he did, to change Circumcision; for wee see that in place thereof, hee hath substituted holy Baptisme: To say, yee cannot be saued by Christ, except yee be circumcised, is to adde a thing excluded, a thing not onely not necessarie to be kept, but necessarie not to be kept by them that will be saued. On the other side, to say yee cannot be saued by Christ without workes, is to adde things, not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind necessarie, and therefore subordinated vnto Christ, by Christ himselfe, by whom the web of saluation is spun: * Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, yee shall not enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. They were ^b rigorous exacters of things not vtterly to be neglected, and left vndone, Washings, and Tithings, &c. As they were in these, so must wee be in iudgement, and the loue of God. Christ in workes ceremoniall, giueth more libertie; in ^c morall much lesse, then they did. Workes of righteousness therefore are

* Rom. 11. 6.

* I denie not but that the Church of Rome requireth some kinds of workes which shee ought not to require at mens hands. But our question is generall about the adding of good workes, not whether such or such workes be good. In this comparison it is enough to touch so much of the matter in question betwene *S. Paul* and the *Galatians*, as inferreth those Conclusions, *Yee are fallen from grace: Christ can profit you nothing*: which Conclusions will follow vpon Circumcision and rites of the Law ceremoniall, if they be required as things necessarie to saluation. This onely was alleged against me: and need I touch more then was alleged? a *Math. 5. 20.* b *Luke 11. 39.* c *Math. 5. 21.*

not so repugnantly added in the one proposition; as in the other, Circumcision is.

31 But we say, our saluation is by Christ alone, therefore howsoeuer, or whatsoeuer wee adde vnto Christ in the matter of saluation, wee ouerthrow Christ. Our case were very hard, if this argument so vniuersally meant, as it is proposed, were sound and good. We our selues doe not teach Christ alone, excluding our owne faith, vnto iustification; Christ alone, excluding our owne workes, vnto sanctification; Christ alone, excluding the one or the other vnnecessarie vnto saluation. It is a childish cauill wherewith in the matter of iustification our Aduersaries doe so greatly please themselues, exclaiming that we tread all Christian vertues vnder our feet, and require nothing in Christians but faith, because we teach, that faith alone iustificth: whereas by this speech we neuer meant to exclude either hope, or charitie from being alwayes ioyned as inseparable Mares with Faith in the man that is iustified; or workes from being added as necessarie duties required at the hands of euery iustified man: but to shew, that faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ vnto iustification; and Christ, the only garment, which being so put on couereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfections of our workes, preserveth vs blamelesse in the sight of God, before whom otherwise, the weaknesse of our faith were cause sufficient to make vs culpable, yea to shut vs from the Kingdome of Heauen, where nothing that is not absolute, can enter. That our dealing with them bee not as childish as theirs with vs, when wee heare of saluation by Christ alone, considering that [*alone*] as an exclusiue particule, wee are to note, what it doth exclude, and where. If I say, *Such a Iudge only ought to determine such a case*, all things incident to the determination thereof, besides the person of the Iudge, as Lawes, Depositions, Evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; persons are not excluded from witnessing herein, or assisting, but onely from determining and giuing sentence. How then is our saluation wrought by Christ alone? Is it our meaning that nothing is requisite to mans saluation, but Christ to saue, and he to be saued quietly without any more adoe? No; we acknowledge no such foundation. As we haue receiued, so we teach, that besides the bare and naked worke, wherein Christ without any other Associate, finished all the parts of our Redemprion, and purchased Saluation himselve alone: for conueyance of this eminent blessing vnto vs, many things are of necessitie required, as to bee knowne and chosen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, iustified, sanctified; after we haue left the World, to bee receiued vnto glorie; Christ in enery of these hath somewhat, which hee worketh alone. Through him according to the eternall purpose of God, before the foundation of the World, Borne, Crucified, Buried, Rayfed, &c. wee were in a gracious acceptance knowne vnto God, long before we were seene of men: God * knew vs, loued vs, was kinde to vs in Iesus Christ; in him we were elected to bee Heires of life. Thus farre God through Christ hath wrought in such sort alone, that our selues are meere Patients, working no more then dead and senselesse Matter, Wood, or Stone, or Iron, doth in the Artificers hands, no more then the Clay when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honorable vse, nay, not so much; for the

* Eph. 1. 6, 7.

Matter whereupon the Craftman worketh, he chooseth being moued by the fitnessse which is in it to serue his turne ; in vs no such thing. Touching the rest, which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, importeth farther ; That * by him we are called ; that ^a wee haue Redemption, ^b Remission of sinnes through his blood, ^c Health by his stripes, ^d Iustice by him ; that hee ^e doth sanctifie his Church, and make it glorious to himselfe ; that ^f entrance into ioy shall be giuen vs by him, yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit not so by him alone, as if in vs to ^g our vocation, the hearing of the Gospel ; to our iustification, Faith ; to our sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit ; to our entrance into rest, perseverance in Hope, in Faith, in Holinesse, were not necessarie.

32 Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that shee requireth workes at their hands which will be saued : but that shee attributeth vnto workes a power of satisfying God for sinne ; yea, a vertue to merit both grace here, and in heauen glorie. That this ouer-throweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly ; that it is a direct denying thereof, I vtterly deny : what it is to hold, and what directly to denie the foundation of faith, I haue alreadie opened. Apply it particularly to this cause, and there needes to more adoe. The thing which is handled, if the forme, vnder which it is handled, bee added thereunto, it sheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatsoever. Christ is the Matter whereof the Doctrine of the Gospel treateth ; and it treateth of Christ, as of a Sauour, Saluation therefore by Christ is the foundation of Christianitie: as for workes, they are a thing subordinate, no otherwise then because our sanctification cannot be accomplished without them ; the Doctrine concerning them is a thing builded vpon the foundation ; therefore the Doctrine, which addeth vnto them the power of satisfying or of meriting, addeth vnto a thing subordinate, builded vpon the foundation, not to the very foundation it selfe : yet is the foundation by this addition consequently ouerthrowne, for as much as out of this addition, it may be negatiuely concluded; Hee which maketh any worke good, and acceptable in the sight of God, to proceed from the naturall freedome of our will ; Hee which giueth vnto any good workes of ours, the force of satisfying the wrath of God for sinne, the power of meriting either earthly or heauenly rewards ; Hee which holdeth workes, going before our vocation, in congruities to merit our vocation, works following our first, to merit our second iustification, and by condignities our last reward in the Kingdome of Heauen ; pulleth vp the Doctrine of faith by the roots ; for out of euery of these the plaine direct denyall thereof may bee necessarily concluded. Not this onely, but what other Heresie is there, that doth not raze the very foundation of faith by consequent? Howbeit, wee make a difference of Heresies, accounting them in the next degree to Infidelitie, which directly deny any one thing to bee, which is expressly acknowledged in the Articles of our Beliefe ; for out of any one Article so denied, the denyall of the very foundation it selfe is straight-way inferd. As for example ; if a man should say, *There is no Catholike Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this Iesus whom we call the Sauour, is not the Sauour of the World ; because all the Prophets beare witness, that the true *Messias* should * *shew light vnto the Gentiles*, that is to say, gather such a Church as is Catholike, not

* Gal. 5. 8.
a 1. Pet. 2. 9.
1. Pet. 5. 3.
b Ephef. 1. 7.
c Esa 53. 11.
d Jerem. 23. 6.
e Ephef. 8. 26.
f Matth. 25. 23.
g 2. Theff. 2. 14.
Gal. 2. 16.
Gal. 5. 27.
2. Theff. 2. 15.

Hæc ratio Ecclesiastici Sacramenti & Catholice Fidei est, ut qui partem diuini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim sibi connexa & conconspirata sunt omnia, ut aliud sine alio stare non possit, & qui unum ex omnibus denegauerit, alia ei omnia credidisse non possit. *Cassian. lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom.*
If he obstinately stand in deniall, pag. 193.
* Acts 26. 23.

restrayned any longer vnto one circumsised Nation. In the second ranke wee place them, out of whose Positions, the denyall of any the fore-said Articles may be with like facilitie concluded: such as are they, which haue denyed eyther the Diuinitie of Christ with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion* his Humanitie; an example whereof may be that of *Cassianus*, defending the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, against *Nestorius* Bishop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when shee brought forth Christ, did not bring forth the Sonne of God, but a sole and a meere man: out of which Heresie the denyall of the Articles of the Christian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou dost deny our Lord Iesus Christ; in denying the Sonne, thou canst not choose but denie the Father: for according to the voice of the Father himselfe, He that hath not the Sonne, hath not the Father. Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denyest him which doth beget. Againe, denying the Sonne of God to haue beene borne in the flesh, how canst thou belecue him to haue suffered? beleueing not his Passion, what remayneth, but that thou denie his Resurrection? For we beleue him not Rayseed, except we first beleue him Dead: neither can the reason of his rising from the Dead stand without the faith of his death going before. The denyall of his Death and Passion inferreth the denyall of his rising from the depth. Whereupon it followeth that thou also deny his Ascension into Heauen. The Apostle affirmeth, that he which Ascended, did first Descend, so that as much as lyeth in thee, our Lord Iesus Christ hath neither risen from the depth, nor is ascended into Heauen, nor sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, neither shall he come at the Day of the finall account which is looked for, nor shall iudge the quicke and dead. And darest thou yet set foot in the Church? Canst thou thinke thy selfe a Bishop, when thou hast denyed all those things, whereby thou dost obtaine a Bishoply calling? NESTORIUS confessed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denyall of euery part of his Confession. Heresies there are of the third sort; such as the Church of Rome maintayneth, which be removed by a greater distance from the foundation, although indeed they ouerthrow it. Yet because of that weaknesse, which the Philosopher noteth in mens capacities, when he saith, that the common sort cannot see things, which follow in reason, when they follow as it were a-farre off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancie of such Heresie and the foundation, is not so quickly or so easily found, but that an Heretike of this, sooner then of the former kind, may directly grant, and consequently neuerthelesse, denie the foundation of Faith.*

33 If reason be suspected, tryall will shew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwise by teaching the doctrine she doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamentall words: and what man is there, that will refuse to subscribe vnto them? Can they directly grant, and directly denie one and the very selfe-same thing? Our owne proceedings in disputing against their workes satisfactorie, and meritorious, doe shew not only, that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithstanding their opinion. For are not these our arguments against them? *Christ alone hath satisfied and appeased his Fathers wrath: Christ hath merited saluation alone.* Wee should doe fondly to vse such disputes, neither could we thinke to preuaile by them, if that, whereupon we ground, were a thing, which wee know they doe

Lib. 6. de Incor.
Dom. cap. 16.

not hold, which we are assured they will not grant. Their very answers to all such reasons as are in this Controuersie brought against them, will not permit vs to doubt, whether they hold the foundation, or no. Can any man that hath read their Bookes concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their answers vnto these heads? *That the remission of all our sins, the pardon of all whatsoever punishments thereby deserued, the rewards which God hath laid vp in Heauen, are by the blood of our Lord Iesus Christ purchased, and obtaigned sufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually, for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Christ be applied particularly vnto him, by such meanes as God hath appointed that to worke by. That those meanes of themselves, being but dead things; onely the blood of Christ is that which putteth life, force, and efficacie in them to worke, and to be available, each in his kind to our saluation. Finally, that grace being purchased for vs by the blood of Christ, and freely without any merit or desert at the first bestowed vpon vs, the good things which we do, after grace received, be thereby made satisfactory, & meritorious.* Some of their sentences, to this effect, I must alleage for mine owne warrant. If we desire to heare forraine iudgements, we find in one this confession: *He that could reckon how many the vertues and merits of our Saviour Iesus Christ haue beene, might likewise vnderstand how many the benefits haue beene, that are to come to vs by him; for so much as men are made partakers of them all by meanes of his Passion: by him is giuen vnto vs Remission of our sinnes, grace, glory, liberty, prayse, saluation, redemption, iustification, iustice, satisfaction, sacraments merits, and all other things which we had, and were behooueful for our saluation.* In another we haue these oppositions, and answers made vnto them: *All grace is giuen by Christ Iesus; True, but not except Christ Iesus be applied. He is the propitiation for our sinnes; by his stripes we are healed, he hath offered himselfe vp for vs: all this is true; but apply it: we put all satisfaction in the blood of Iesus Christ; but we hold that the meanes which Christ hath appointed for vs in this case to apply it, are our penall workes.* Our Countymen in Rhemes make the like answer, that they seeke saluation no other way, then by the blood of Christ; and that humbly they doe vse Prayers, Fastings, Almes, Faith, Charitie, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Priests, only as the meanes appointed by Christ, to apply the benefit of his holy blood vnto them: touching our good workes, that in their owne natures they are not meritorious, nor answerable to the ioyes of Heauen; it commeth by the grace of Christ, and not of the worke it selfe, that we haue by well-doing a right to Heauen, and deserue it worthily. If any man thinke that I seeke to varnish their opinions, to set the better foote of a lame cause fore-most: let him know, that since I began throughly to vnderstand their meaning, I haue found their halting greater, then perhaps it seemeth to them which know not the deepnesse of Satan, as the blessed Diuine speaketh. For although this bee prooffe sufficient, that they doe not directly denie the foundation of Faith: yet if there were no other leauen in the whole lump of their Doctrine, but this; this were sufficient to prouue, that their Doctrine is not agreeable vnto the foundation of Christian Faith. The Pelagians being ouer-great friends vnto Nature, made themselves enemies vnto Grace, for all their confessing, that men haue their soules, and all the faculties thereof, their wils, and all the abilitie of their wils from God. And is not the Church of Rome

still

Lewis of Granada, Medit. ca. 7. last 3.

Parigerales, l. 11.

Anno. in Job 1.

still an aduerfarie vnto Christs Merits, because of her acknowledging, that we haue receiued the power of meriting by the blood of Christ? Sir Thomas Moore, setteth downe the oddes betweene vs and the Church of Rome, in the matter of workes, thus, *Like as we grant them; that no good worke of man is rewardable in heauen of his owne nature; but through the meere goodnes of God, that list to set so high a price vpon so poore a thing; and that this price God setteth through Christs Passion, and for that also they be his own workes with vs; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God worke in him; and as wee grant them also; that no man may be proud of his workes, for his imperfect working, & for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a seruant vnprofitable & doth but his bare duty; as we, I say, grant vnto them these things: so this one thing, or twaine, do they grant vs againe, that men are bound to work good workes, if they haue time and power, & that who so worketh in true faith most, shall be most rewarded; but then sei they thereto, that all his rewards shall be giuen him for his faith alone, and nothing for his workes at all, because his faith is the thing, they say, that forceth him to worke well.* I see by this of Sir Thomas Moore, how easie it is for men of the greatest capacity, to mistake things written or spoken, as well on the one side as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the worke of man rewardable in the World to come, through the goodnesse of God whom it pleased to set so high a price vpon so poore a thing: and ours, that a man doth receiue that eternall and high reward, not for his workes, but for his faiths sake, by which he worketh: whereas in truth our doctrine is no other then that wee haue learned at the feet of Christ; namely, that God doth iustifie the beleeuing man, yet not for the worthinesse of his beliefe, but for the worthinesse of him, which is beleued; God rewardeth abundantly euery one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignitie, which is, or can bee in the worke, but through his meere mercie, by whose commandement he worketh. Contrariwise, their doctrine is, that as pure water of it selfe hath no sauour, but if it passe through a sweete Pipe, it taketh a pleasant smell of the Pipe through which it passeth: so, although before grace receiued, our workes doe neither satisfie, nor merit; yet after, they doe both the one and the other. Euery vertuous action hath then power in such to satisfie, that if wee our selues commit no mortall sinne, no haynous crime whereupon to spend this treasure of satisfaction in our owne behalfe, it turneth to the benefit of other mens release, on whom it shall please the Steward of the house of God to bestow it; so that we may satisfie for our selues and others, but merit only for our selues. In meriting, our actions doe worke with two hands; with one they get their morning stipend, the increase of grace; with the other their euening hire, the euerslasting Crowne of glorie. Indeed they teach that our good workes doe not these things, as they come from vs, but as they come from grace in vs: which grace in vs is another thing in their Diuinitie, then is the meere goodnesse of Gods mercie towards vs in Christ Iesus.

In his Book of
Consolation.

Works of Su-
pererogation.

34 If it were not a strong deluding spirit, which hath possession of their hearts: were it possible, but that they should see, how plainly they doe herein gaine say the very ground of Apostolique faith? Is this that saluation by grace, whereof so plentifull mention is made in the Scriptures of God? Was

this their meaning, which first taught the World to looke for saluation onely by Christ? By grace, the Apostle saith, and by grace in such sort as a gift: a thing that commeth not of our selues, nor of our workes, lest any man should boast, and say; *I haue wrought out my owne saluation*. By grace they confesse; but by grace in sort, that as many as weare the Diademe of blisse, they weare nothing but what they haue wonne. The Apostle, as if he had fore-seene, how the Church of Rome would abuse the World in time by ambiguous termes, to declare in what sence the name of grace must be taken, when we make it the cause of our saluation, saith, *He saued vs according to his mercie*: which mercie, although it exclude not the washing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghost, the meanes, the vertues, the duties, which God requireth of our hands which shall be saued; yet is it so repugnant vnto merits, that to say wee are saued for the worthinesse of any thing which is ours, is to deny wee are saued by grace. Grace bestoweth freely: and therefore iustly requireth the glory of that which is bestowed. We deny the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ; we abuse, difanull, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter Passion, if we rest in these proud imaginations, that life is deseruedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35 Howbeit, considering how many vertuous and iust men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, haue had their sundry perilous opinions: and amongst sundry of their opinions, this, that they hoped to make good some part of amends for their sinnes, by the voluntary punishments which they laid vpon themselues, because by a consequent it may follow hereupon, that they were iniurious vnto Christ: shall we therefore make such deadly Epitaphs, and set them vpon their graues; *They denyed the foundation of faith directly, they are damned, there is no saluation for them?* S. Austin saith of himselfe, *Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo*. And except we put a difference betweene them that erre, and them that obstinately persist in error, how is it possible, that euer any man should hope to bee saued? Surely in this case, I haue no respect of any person alie or dead. Give me a man of what state or condition soeuer, yea, a *Cardinall* or a *Pope*, whome in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himselfe, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sinnes, and filled with loue towards the Gospell of Christ, whose eyes are opened to see the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all heresie and error any wise opposite thereunto: this one opinion of Merites excepted, hee thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is discouraged; It may be, I am forgetfull, and vnskilfull, not furnished with things new and old, as a wise learned Scribe should bee, nor able to alleage that, whereunto, if it were alleaged, he doth beare a minde most willing to yeeld, and so to be recalled as well from this, as from other errors. And shall I thinke, because of this onely error, that such a man toucheth not so much as the hemme of Christs garment? If he doe, wherefore should not I haue hope, that vertue may proceed from Christ to saue him? Because his error doth by consequent overthrow his faith? Shall I therefore cast him off, as one that hath vtterly cast off Christ? one that holdeth not so much as by a slender threed? No, I will not be

be afraid to say vnto a *Pope* or *Cardinall* in this plight, Be of good comfort, we haue to doe with a mercifull God; rather to make the best of a litle which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophister, which gathereth the worst out of euery thing, wherein we erre. Is there any reason that I should be suspected, or you offended for this speech? * Is it a dangerous thing to imagine, that such men may find mercie? The houre may come when we shall thinke it a blessed thing to heare, that if our sinnes were the sinnes of the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, the bowels of the mercie of God are larger. I doe not propose vnto you a *Pope* with the necke of an *Emperour* vnder his feet; a *Cardinall* riding his horse to the bridle in the blood of *Saints*: but a *Pope* or *Cardinall*, sorrowfull, penitent, disrobed, stript not onely of vsurped power; but also deliuered and recalld from error; Antichrist conuerted and lying prostrate at the foote of *Christ*: and shall I thinke that *Christ* will spurne at him? And shall Irosse and gaine say the mercifull promises of God, generally made vnto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a *Pope*, of a *Cardinall*? What difference is there in the world betweene a *Pope* and a *Cardinall*, and *Tobies* style in this case? If wee thinke it impossible for them, after they be once come within that ranke, to be afterwards touched with any such remorse, let that be granted. The *Apostle* saith, *If I or an Angell from heauen preach vnto, &c.* Let it be as likely that *S. Paul* or an Angell from heauen should preach Heresie, as that a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* should be brought so farre forth to acknowledge the truth: yet if a *Pope* or *Cardinall* should, what find we in their persons, why they might not be saued? It is not the persons you will say, but the error, wherein I suppose them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercie; the opinion of merits doth take away all possibilitie of saluation from them. What, if they hold it onely as an error? Although they hold the truth truly and sincerely in all other parts of *Christian* faith? Although they haue in some measure all the vertues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of Gods elect children in them? Although they be farre from hauing any proud presumptuous opinion, that they shall be saued by the worthynesse of their deeds? Although the only thing which troubleth and molesterh them, be but a litle too much deiection, somewhat too great a feare, rising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthynesse in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? Although they be not obstinate in this perswasion? Although they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disproue it? Although the only let, why they doe not forsake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the meanes, by which it might be disproued? Although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not remoued, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and a senor, to remouue it? Let me die, if euer it be proued, that simply an error doth exclude a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* in such a case vtterly from hope of life. Surely, I must confesse vnto you, if it be an error, that God may be mercifull to saue men, euen when they erre: my greatest comfort is my error; were it not for the loue I beare vnto this error, I would neuer wish to speake nor to lue.

36 Wherefore, to resume that Mother sentence, whereof I litle thought that so much trouble would haue growne: I doubt not but that God was mercifull

* Let all affection be laid aside; Let the matter indifferently be considered.

so saue thousands of our Fathers lining in Popish Superstitions, in as much as they sinned ignorantly. Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this sentence, that it should be an occasion of so many hard censures? Did I say, that thousands of our Fathers might be saued? I haue shewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I say, I doubt not, but they were saued? I see no impietie in this perswasion, though I had no reason for it. Did I say, Their ignorance doth make me hope they did find mercy, and so were saued? What hindreth saluation but sin? Sinnes are not equall: and ignorance, though it doth not make to be no sinne, yet seeing it did make their liane the lesse, why should it not make our hope concerning their life, the greater? We pittie the most, and doubt not, but God hath most compassion ouer them that sinned for want of vnderstanding. As much is confessed by sundrie others, almost in the selfe-same words which I haue vsed. It is but onely my euill hap, that the same sentences which saue veritie in other mens bookes, should seeme to bolster Heresie when they are once by me recited; If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the blessed Apostle hath deceiued me. What I said of others, the same he said of himselfe, *I obtaine mercie, for I did it ignorantly.* Construe his words, and you cannot misconstrue mine. I speake no otherwise, I meant no otherwise then he did.

37 Thus haue I brought the question, concerning our Fathers, at the length, vnto an end. Of whose estate vpon so fit an occasion, as was offered me, handling the waightie causes of separation between the Church of Rome and vs, and the weakē motiues which are commonly brought to retaine men in that Societie; amongst which motiues, the examples of our Fathers deceased is one, although I saw it conuenient to vtter the sentence, which I did to the end, that all men might thereby vnderstand how vntruely we are said to condemne as many as haue bin before vs otherwise, perswaded then we our selues are; yet more then that one sentence I did not thinke it expedient to vtter, iudging it a great deale meeter for vs to haue regard to our owne estate, then to sift ouer-curiously, what is become of other men. And fearing lest that such questions as these, if voluntarily they should be too farre waded in, might seeme worthy of that rebuke, which our Sauiour thought needfull in a case not vnlike: *What is this vnto thee?* When I was forced much beside mine expectation, to render a reason of my speech, I could not but yeeld at the call of others, and proceed so farre as dutie bound mee, for the fuller satisfying of minds. Wherein I haue walked as with reuerence, so with feare: with reuerence, in regard of our Fathers, which liued in former times; not without feare, considering them that are alie.

38. I am not ignorant, how readie men are to feed and soothe vp themselves in euill. Shall I, will the man say that loueth the present world more then he loueth Christ, shal I incurre the high displeasure of the mightiest vpon earth? Shal I hazard my goods? Endanger my estate? Put my selfe in ieopardie, rather then to yeeld to that, which so many of my Fathers embraced, and yet found fauour in the sight of God? *Curse Merodach*, saith the Lord, *curse her Inhabitants, because they helped not the Lord, they helped him not against the mightie.* If I should not onely not helpe the Lord against the mightie, but helpe to

strengthen

strengthen them that are mightie, against the Lord: worthily might I fall vnder the burthen of that curse, worthy I were to beare my owne iudgement. But if the doctrine which I teach, be a flowre gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the sauing truth of the Gospel; from whence notwithstanding poysoned creatures doe sucke venome: I can but wish it were otherwise, and content my selfe with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, because it hath not befallen me alone. *S. Paul* taught a truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miserie is, in respect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our release. If we seeke vnto him, the more we haue sinned, the more praise, and glorie, and honour, vnto him that pardoneth our sinne. But marke what lewd collections were made hereupon by some. *Why then am I condemned for a sinner?* And the Apostle (as we are blamed, and as some affirme that we say: *Why doe we not euill, that good may come of it?*) he was accused to teach that which ill-disposed men did gather by his teaching, though it were cleane not only besides, but against his meaning. The Apostle addeth, *Their condemnation (which thus doe) is iust.* I am not hastie to apply sentences of condemnation. I wish from mine heart their conuersion, whofoeuer are thus puerly affected. For I must needs say, their case is fearefull, their estate dangerous, which harden themselves, presuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true that God is mercifull; but let vs beware of presumptuous sinnes. God deliuered *Jonah* from the bottome of the Sea; will you therefore cast your selues headlong from the tops of Rocks, and say in your hearts, God shall deliuer vs? Hee pittieeth the blind that would gladly see; but will he pittie him, that may see, and hardneth himselfe in blindness? No. Christ hath spoken too much vnto you, to claime the priuiledge of your Fathers.

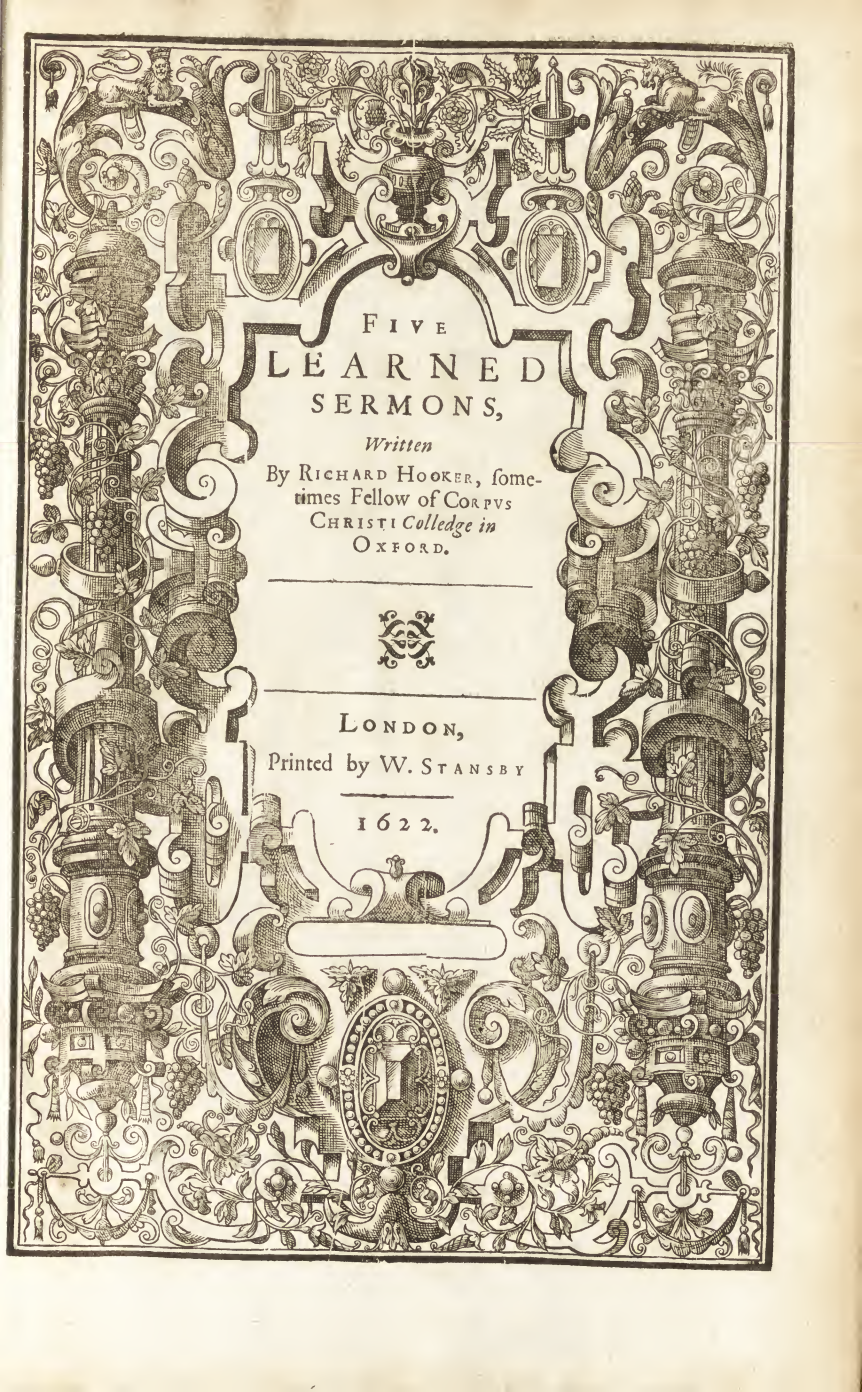
39 As for vs that haue handled this cause concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing, or any other, which we bring vnto you, the counsell is good which the Wise man giueth, *Stand thou fast in thy sure vnderstanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and haue but one manner of word, and follow the Word of peace and righteousnesse.* As a loose tooth is a grieffe to him that eateth: so doth a wauering and vntable word in speech, that tendeth to instruction, offend. *Shall a wise man speake words of the winde,* saith *Eliphas*, light, vnconstant, vntable words? Surely, the wisest may speake words of the winde, such is the vntoward constitution of our nature, that we doe neither so perfectly vnderstand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so stedfastly embrace it, when it is vnderstood; nor so graciously vtter it, when it is embraced; nor so peaceably maintaine it, when it is vttered; but that the best of vs are ouer-taken sometimes through blindness, sometimes through hastinesse, sometime through impatience, sometime through other passions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too subiect. We must therefore be contented, both to pardon others, and to craue that others must pardon vs for such things. Let no man, that speaketh as a man, thinke himselfe, whiles hee liueth, alwayes freed from scapes and ouer-sights in his speech. The things themselves, which I haue spoken vnto you, are found, howfoeuer they haue cemed otherwise vnto some: at whose hands I haue in that respect received iniurie.

iniurie. I willingly forget it: although indeed, considering the benefit which I haue reaped by this necessarie speech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apostle, *They haue not iniured me at all.* I haue cause to wish them as many blessings in the Kingdome of heauen, as they haue forced me to vtter words and syllables in this cause; wherein I could not be more sparing of speech then I haue bene. *It becommeth no man, saith Saint IEROME, to be patient in the crime of Heresie.* Patient, as I take it, we should be alwayes, though the crime of Heresie were intended; but silent in a thing of so great consequence I could not, beloued, I durst not be: especially the loue that I beare to the truth of Christ Iesus being hereby somewhat called in question. Whereof I beseech them in the meekenesse of Christ, that haue bene the first original cause, to consider that a watch-man may crie (*an enemy*) when indeed a friend cometh. In which cause, as I deeme such a watch-man more worthy to be loued for his care, then misliked for his errour: so I haue iudged it my owne part in this, as much as in me lyeth, to take away all suspicion of any vnfriendly intent or meaning against the Truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40 Now to you, Beloued, which haue heard these things, I will vse no other words of admonition, then those which are offered me by Saint IAMES, *My Brethren, haue not the faith of our glorious Lord Iesus in respect of persons.* Yee are not now to learne, that as of it selfe it is not hurtfull, so neither should it be to any scandalous and offensiue in doubtfull cases, to heare the different iudgements of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this mind, that *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may haue comfort by this varietie.

Now the God of peace giue you peaceable
minds, and turne it to your euer-
lasting comfort.

F I N I S.



FIVE
LEARNED
SERMONS,

Written

By RICHARD HOOKER, some-
times Fellow of CORPUS
CHRISTI Colledge in
OXFORD.



LONDON,
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1622.

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A LEARNED SER-
MON OF THE NA-
TURE OF PRIDE.

A B A C. 2. 4.

*His minde swelleth and is not right in him:
But the Iust by his Faith shall liue.*



THE nature of man being much more delighted to be led then drawne; doth many times stubbornly resist authoritie, when to perswasion it easily yeeldeth. Whereupon the wisest Law-makers haue endeoured alwayes, that those Lawes might seeme most reasonable which they would haue most inuolably kept. A Law simply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in comparison of that which expresseth the reason wherefore it doth the one or the other. And surely, euen in the Lawes of God, although that

Hee hath giuen commandement, bee in it selfe a reason sufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men: yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacritie and cheerefulnesse of minde, when wee see plainly that nothing is imposed more then we must needs yeeld vnto, except wee will be vnreasonable. In a word, whatsoeuer wee be taught, bee it Precept for direction of our manners, or Article for instruction of our faith, or Document any way for information of our mindes; it then taketh roote and abideth, when wee conceiue not only what God doth speake, but why. Neither is it a small thing which wee derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, ioy, and delight which we our selues should take by it, when wee loosely slide ouer his speech as though it were as our owne is, commonly vulgar and triuiall: whereas he vttereth nothing but it hath besides the substance of Doctrine deliuered, a depth of Wisdome, in the very choice and frame of words to deliuer it in: the reason whereof being not perceiued, but by greater intention of braine then our nice mindes for the most part can well away with, faine we would bring the World, if we might, to thinke it but a needlesse curiositie, to rip vp any thing further then extemporall readines of wit doth serue to reach vnto. Which course, if here we did list to follow, we might tell you that in the first branch of this sentence, God doth condemne the Babylonians Pride, and in the second teach, what happinesse of state shall grow to the righteous by

the constancie of their Faith, notwithstanding the troubles which now they suffer; and after certaine notes of wholesome instruction hereupon collected, passe ouer without detayning your mindes in any further remoued speculation. But as I take it, there is a difference betweene the talke that becometh Nurces amongst Children, and that which men of capacitie and iudgement do or should receiue instruction by.

The minde of the Prophet being erected with that which hath bene hitherto spoken, receiueh here for full satisfaction, a short abridgement of that which is afterwards more particularly vnfolded. Wherefore as the question before disputed of doth concerne two sorts of men, the wicked flourishing as the Bay, and the righteous like the withered Grasse; the one full of Pride, the other cast downe with vtter discouragement: so the answere which God doth make for resolution of doubts hereupon arisen, hath reference vnto both sorts, and this present sentence containyng a brieve Abstract thereof, comprehendeth summarily as well the fearefull estate of iniquitie ouer-exalted, as the hope layd vp for righteousness oppressed. In the former branch of which sentence, let vs first examine what this rectitude or streightnesse importeth, which God denyeth to bee in the minde of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, He made them at the first, true, good, and right. True, in respect of correspondence vnto that patterne of their being, which was eternally drawne in the counsell of Gods fore-knowledge; Good, in regard of the vse and benefit which each thing yeeldeth vnto other; Right, by an apt conformitie of all parts with that end which is outwardly proposed for each thing to tend vnto. Other things haue ends proposed, but haue not the facultie to know, iudge, and esteeme of them and therefore as they tend thereunto vnwittingly, so likewise in the meanes whereby they acquite their appointed ends; they are by necessitie so held, that they cannot diuert from them. The ends why the Heauens doe moue, the heauens themselues know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they seeke for, neither are they by any such necessitie tyed naturally vnto any certaine determinate meane to obtaine their end by, but that they may, if they will, forsake it. And therefore in the whole World no creature but only man which hath the last end of his actions proposed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his mind directly bending it selfe, is termed right or straight, otherwise peruerse.

To make this somewhat more plaine, wee must note, that as they which trauell from Citie to Citie, enquire euer for the straightest way, because the straightest is that which soonest bringeth them vnto their iournies end: So wee hauing here, as the Apostle speaketh, no abiding Citie, but being alwayes in trauell towards that place of ioy, immortalitie, and rest, cannot but in euerie of our deeds, words and thoughts, thinke that to be best, which with most expedition leadeth vs thereunto, and is for that very cause termed right. That Soueraigne good, which is the eternall fruition of all good, being our last and chiefest felicitie, there is no desperate despiser of God and godlinesse liuing which doth not wish for. The difference betweene right and crooked mindes, is in the meanes which the one or the other doe eschew or follow. Certaine

it is, that all particular things which are naturally desired in the world, as food; rayment, honour, wealth, pleasure, knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise vnto that future good which we looke for in the world to come, that euen in them there lyeth a direct way tending vnto this. Otherwise we must thinke that God making promises of good things in this life, did seek to peruert men; and to leade them from their right mindes. Where is then the obliquitie of the minde of man? His minde is peruerse, cam, and crooked, not when it bendeth it selfe vnto any of these things, but when it bendeth so, that it swarueith either to the right hand or to the left, by excessse or defect from that exact rule whereby humane actions are measured. The Rule to measure and iudge them by, is the Law of God. For this cause the Prophet doth make so often & so earnest sute, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandements*: As long as I haue respect to thy Statutes, I am sure not to tread amisse. Vnder the name of the Law, wee must comprehend not only that which God hath written in Tables and leaues, but that which Nature also hath engrauen in the hearts of men. Else how shall those Heathen which neuer had Bookes but Heauen and Earth to looke vpon, be conuicted of peruerseness? But the Gentiles which had not the Law in Bookes, had, saith the Apostle, the effect of the Law written in their hearts.

Then seeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, vnlesse it bee found in all parts such, that God examining and calling it vnto account with all seuerity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or swaruing aside, (which absolute perfection when did God euer finde in the sonnes of meeere mortall men?) Doth it not follow that all flesh must of necessitie fall downe and confesse, wee are not dust and ashes, but worse, our mindes from the highest to the lowest are not right? If not right, then vndoubtedly not capable of that blessednesse which we naturally seeke, but subiect vnto that which wee most abhorre, anguish, tribulation, death, woe, endlesse miserie. For whatsoeuer misseth the way of Life, the issue thereof cannot bee but perdition. By which reason all being wrappod vp in sinne, and made thereby the Children of death, the minds of all men being plainly conuicted not to be right: shall we thinke that God hath indued them with so many excellencies, moe not only then any, but then all the Creatures in the World besides, to leaue them in such estate, that they had bin happier if they had neuer bin? Heere cometh necessarily in a new way vnto Saluation, so that they which were in the other peruerse, may in this be found straight and righteous. That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace. The end of that way, Saluation merited, presupposing the righteousnesse of mens workes, their righteousnesse, a naturall habitie to doe them, that habitie the goodnessse of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, Saluation bestowed vpon men as a gift presupposing not their righteousnesse; but the forgiuenesse of their vnrighteousnesse, iustification; their iustification, not their naturall habitie to doe good, but their heartie sorrow for not doing, and vnlayned beliefe in him for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God; taking them out from the number of lost children, their election a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy

their miserie, for whome hee vouchsafed to make himselfe a Mediatour. The want of exact distinguishing betweene these two wayes, and obseruing what they haue common, what peculiar, hath beene the cause of the greatest part of that confusion whereof Christianitie at this day laboureth. The lacke of diligence in searching, laying downe, and inring mens minds with those hidden grounds of Reason, whereupon the least particulars in each of these are most firmly and strongly builded, is the onely reason of all those scruples and vncertainties wherewith we are in such sort intangled, that a number despaire of euer discerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But wee will let this matter rest, whereinto we stepped to search out a way how some mindes may bee and are right truely euen in the sight of God, though they bee simply in themselves not right.

Howbeit there is not onely this difference betweene the iust and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the sight of God, because his obliquitie is imputed; the other peruerse, because his sinne is vnrepented of: but euen as lines that are drawne with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they should, are thought ragged and vneuen, neuertheless direct in comparison of them which run clean another way; so there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amisse, yet they are not as those hideous and vgly Monsters, in whom because there is nothing but wilfull opposition of minde against God, a more then tolerable deformitie is noted in them, by saying, that their mindes are not right. The Angell of the Church of *Thyatira*, vnto whom the Sonne of God sendeth this greeting, *I know thy workes and thy loue, and seruice, and faith: notwithstanding I haue a few things against thee*, was not as he vnto whom Saint Peter, *Thou hast no fellowship in this businesse, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God*. So that whereas the orderly disposition of the minde of man should be this, perturbations and sensuall appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and sober will; will, in all things framed by reason; reason, directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his minde as it were turned vpside downe. In him vnreasonable cecity and blindness trampled all Lawes both of God and Nature vnder feet; wilfulnesse tyrannized ouer reason, and brutish sensualitie ouer will. An euident token that his outrage would worke his overthrow, and procure his speedie ruine. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in these words signifieth; *His minde doth swell*.

Immoderate swelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of ineuitable destruction; Pride, a vice which cleaueth so fast vnto the hearts of men, that if wee were to strip our selues of all faulces one by one, wee should vndoubtedly find it the very last and hardest to put off. But I am not here to touch the secret itching humour of vanitie wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more then meanly inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did swell. Which that we may both the better conceiue, and the more easily reape profit by the nature of this vice, which setteth the whole World out of course, and hath put so many euen of the wisest besides themselves, is first of all to bee inquired into; Secondly, the dangers to be discovered, which it draweth ineuitable after it, being not cured; and last of all, the wayes to cure it.

Whether

Whether we looke vpon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatsoeuer is in the World admired as a part of mans excellencie, adorning his bodie, beautifying his minde, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in euery kinde somewhat possible which no man hath, and somewhat had which few men can attayne vnto. By occasion whereof there groweth disparagement necessarily; and by occasion of disparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. First therefore, although men bee not proud of any thing which is not at least in opinion good; yet euery good thing they are not proud of, but onely of that which neither is common vnto many, and being desired of all, causeth them which haue it, to be honored about the rest. Now there is no man so voide of braine, as to suppose that Pride consisteth in the bare possession of such things; for then to haue Vertue were a Vice, and they should bee the happiest men who are most wretched, because they haue least of that which they would haue. And though in speech wee doe intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we say, *They are Wisemen and they know it*, yet this doth not proue that euery Wiseman is proud which doth not thinke himselfe to be blockish. What we may haue and know that we haue it without offence, do we then make offensie when we take ioy and delight in hauing it? What difference betweene men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly blessings, and Idols gorgeously attyred, but this, *the one takes pleasure in that which they haue, the other none*? If we may be posselt with beaurie, strength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be prillie what we are euery way, if glad and ioyfull for our owne well-fare, and in all this remayne vnblamable, neuertheless some there are who granting thus much, doubt whether it may stand with humility to except those testimonies of praise and commendation, those titles, roomes, and other honours which the World yeeldeth as acknowledgements of some men excellencies about others. For in as much as Christ hath said vnto those that are his; *The Kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them are called gracious Lords: Be ye not so*; The Anabaprist hereupon vrgeth equalitie amongst Christians, as if all exercise of authoritie were nothing else bat Heathenish Pride. Our Lord & Sauour had no such meaning. But his Disciples feeding themselves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Messias of the World should in Ierusalem erect his Throne, and exercise dominion with great pompe and outward state-liness, aduanced in honour and terrene power about all the Princes of the Earth, began to thinke how with their Lords condition, their owne would also rise: that hauing left and forsaken all to follow him; their place about him should not be meane: and because they were many, it troubled them much, which of them should bee the greatest man. When sure was made for two by name, that of them one might sit at his right hand, and the other at his left, the rest beganne to somacke, each taking it grievously, that any should haue what a.l did affect. Their Lord and Master to correct this humour, turneth aside their cogitations from these vaine and fantasiefull conceits, giuing them plainly to vnderstand that they did but deceiue themselves. His coming was not to purchase an earthly, but to bestow an heavenly Kingdome, wherein they (if any) shall bee greatest, whom vnfaigned Humilitie maketh in this

World lowest, and least amongst others: *These are they which haue continued with mee in my temptations, therefore I leaue vnto you a Kingdome, as my Father hath appointed me, that yee may eat and drinke at my Table in my Kingdome, and sit on seates, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Israel.* But my Kingdome is no such Kingdome as ye dreame of. And therefore these hungry ambitious contentions are seemlier in Heathens then in you. Wherefore from Christs intent and purpose nothing further remoued, then dislike of distinctions in titles and callings annexed for orders sake vnto authoritie, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Ciuill. And when wee haue examined thoroughly what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it, can be so simple, as not to see an vgly shape thereof apparent many times in reiecting honours offered, then in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as *Iudas* his care for the poore was meere couetousnesse, and that franck-heated wastfulness spoken of in the Gospell, thrift; so there is no doubt but that going in rags may be Pride, and Thrones bee challenged with vnfained humilitie.

Wee must goe farther therefore and enter somewhat deeper, before wee can come to the Closet wherein this Poyson lyeth. There is in the heart of euery proud man, first, an error of vnderstanding; a vaine opinion whereby he thinketh his owne excellencie, and by reason thereof, his worthinesse of estimation, regard, and honour, to be greater then in truth it is: This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to rayse vp himselfe, and by his inward affections his outward acts are fashioned. Which if you list to haue exemplified, you may either by calling to minde things spoken of them whom God himselfe hath in Scripture specially noted with this fault, or by presenting to your secret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious liues and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together so plentiful an harvest of examples in this kind as the sacred Scripture affordeth. That which wee drinke in at our Eares, doth not so piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceiue by sight. Is there any thing written concerning the *Assyrian* Monarch in the tenth of *Esay*, of his swelling mind, his haughtie looks, his great and presumptuous vaunts; *By the power of mine owne hand I haue done all things, and by mine owne wisdom I haue subdued the World?* Any thing concerning the Dames of Sion in the third of the Prophet *Esay*, of their stretched out necks, their immodest eyes, their Pageant-like, stately, and pompeous gate? Any thing concerning the practices of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; of their impatience to liue in subiection, their mutinies, repining at lawfull authority, their grudging against their Superiours Ecclesiastical and Ciuill? Any thing concerning Pride in any sort sect, which the present face of the World doth not as in a glasse represent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Bookes, both prophane and holy, were all lost, as long as the manners of men retain the state they are in: for him which obserueth how that when men haue once conceiued an over-weaning of themselves, it maketh them in all their affections to swell, how deadly their hatred, how heauie their displeasure, how vnappeasable their indignation and wrath is aboue other mens, in what manner they compose themselves to be as *Heteropolites*, without the compasse of all such Rules as common are sort measured by; how the Oathes which religious hearts

hearts doe tremble at, they affect as principall graces of speech; what felicitie they take to see the enormitie of their crimes about the reach of Lawes and punishments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudinesse of their looke; how farre they exceed the termes where-with mans nature should be limited; how high they beare their heads ouer others; how they brow-beat all men which doe not receiue their Sentences as Oracles with maruelous applause and approbation; how they looke vpon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor heare any thing sauing their owne praise, with patience, nor speake without scornfulnesse and disdain; how they vse their seruants, as if they were beasts, their inferiors as seruants, their equals as inferiors, and as for superiors acknowledge none; how they admire themselues as venerable, puissant, wise, circumspect, prouident, euerie way great, taking all men besides themselues for cyphers, poore, inglorious, silly creatures, needlesse burthens of the earth, off-scourings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a false conceit of mens excellencie in things honoured, which accordingly frameth also their deeds and behaiour, vnlesse there be cunning to conceale it. For a foule scarre may be couered with a faire cloth. And as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth Grapes of Thistles: nor from a thing of so bad a nature, can other then sutable fruits be looked for. What harme soeuer in priuate families there groweth by disobedience of children, stubbornnesse of seruants, vntactablenesse in them, who although they otherwise may rule, yet should in consideration of the imparitie of their sexe be also subiect; whatsoeuer by strife amongst men combined in the fellowship of greater Societies, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subiects in ciuill States; by Hereses, Schismes, diuisions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the Mother which brought them forth, and the only Nurse that feedeth them. Giue me the hearts of all men humbled, and what is there that can ouerthrow or disturbe the peace of the world? Wherein many things are the cause of much euill, but Pride of all.

To declaime of the swarmes of euils issuing out of Pride, is an easie labour. I rather wish that I could exactly prescribe & perswade effectually the remedies, whereby a sore so grieuous might be cured, and the meanes how the pride of swelling minds might be taken downe. Whereunto so much we haue already gained, that the euidence of the cause, which breedeth it, pointeth directly vnto the likeliest and fittest helps to take it away: diseases that come of fullnesse, emptinesse must remooue. Pride is not cured, but by abating the error which causeth the mind to swell. Then seeing that they swell by misconceit of their owne excellency; for this cause all which tend to the beating downe of their pride, whether it be aduertisement from men, or from God himselfe chastisement, it then maketh them cease to be proud, when it causeth them to see their error in ouer-seeing the thing they were proud of. At this marke, *Iob*, in his Apologie vnto his eloquent friends, ay meth. For perceiuing
how

how much they delighted to heare themselves talke, as if they had giuen their poore afflicted familiar a schooling of marvellous deepe and rare instruction, as if they had taught him more then all the world besides could acquaint him with, this answer was to this effect: Yee swell as though yee had conceiued some greater matter, but as for that which yee are deliuered off, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of these things? At the same marke the blessed Apostle driueth; yee abound in all things, yee are rich, yee raigne, and would to Christ we did raigne with you. But boast not. For what haue yee, or are yee of your selues? To this marke all those humble Confessions are referred, which haue bene alwayes frequent in the mouthes of Saints, truly wading in the tryall of themselves: as that of the Prophet, *We are nothing but sorenesse and festered corruption*: our very light is darknesse, and our righteousnesse it selfe vnrighteousnesse; that of GREGORY, *Let no man euer put confidence in his owne deserts*; *Sordet in conspectu Iudicis, quod fulget in conspectu operantis*, In the sight of that dreadfull Iudge it is noysome, which in the doers iudgement maketh a beautifull shew: That of ANSELMUS, *I adore thee, I blesse thee, Lord God of heauen, and Redeemer of the world, with all the power, ability, and strength of my heart and soule, for thy goodnes so vnmeasurably extended, not in regard of my merits, whereunto only tormentes were due, but of thy meeke vnprocured benignity*. If these Fathers should be raised again from the dust, & haue the bookes laid open before them wherein such sentences are found as this, *Workes, no other then the value, desert, price, and worth of the ioyes, of the Kingdome of heauen*; *Heauen, in relation to our workes, as the very stipend, which the byred Labourer couenanteth to haue of him whose workes he doth, a thing equally and instantly answering vnto the time and waight of his trauailes, rather then to a voluntarie or beautifull gift*. If, I say, those reuerend fore-rehearsed Fathers, whose bookes are so full of sentences, witnessing their Christian humilitie, should be raised from the dead, and behold with their eyes such things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of such writ, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* then of Christ, that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more swelling minds then sincerely and feelingly knowne Christianitie can tolerate?

Annot. Rhem. in
1. Cor. 3.

But as vnruely children, with whom wholsome admonition preuaileth little, are notwithstanding brought to feare that euer after, which they haue once well smarted for: so the mind which falleth not with instruction, yet vnder the rod of diuine chastisement ceaseth to swell. If therefore the Prophet *Dauid* instructed by good experience, haue acknowledged, *Lord, I was euen at the point of cleane forgetting my selfe, and so straying from my right mind*: but thy rod hath bene my reformer, it hath bene good for me, euen as much as my soule is worth, that I haue bene with sorrow troubled: if the blessed Apostle did need the corrosiue of sharpe & bitter strokes, lest his heart should swell with too great abundance of heauenly Reuelations, surely, vpon vs whatsoeuer God in this world doth, or shall inflict, it cannot seeme more then our pride doth exact, not only by way of reuenge, but of remedie. So hard it is to cure a sore of such qualitie as pride is, in as much as that which rooteth out other vices, causeth this, and (which is euen aboue all conceit) if we were cleane from all spot and blemish, both of other faults of pride, the fall of
Angels

Angels doth make it almost a question whether we might not need a preservative still, lest we should haply waxe proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a medicine ; and Vice, but a wound ? Yet we haue so often deeply wounded our selues with medicine , that God hath beene faine to make wounds medicinable, to cure by Vice where Vertue hath stricken, to suffer the iust man to fall, that being raised , he may be taught what power it was which vpheld him standing. I am not afraid to affirme it boldly with *S. Augustine*, that men puffed vp through a proud opinion of their owne sanctitie and holinesse , receiue a benefit at the hands of God , and are assisted with his grace, when with his grace they are not assisted , but permitted, and that grieuouly to transgresse, whereby as they were in ouer-great liking of themselues supplanted , so the dislike of that which did supplant them , may establish them afterwards the surer. Aske the very soule of *Peter*, and it shall vndoubtedly make you it selfe this answer ; My eager protestations made in the glorie of my ghostly strength, I am ashamed of, but those Chry-stall teares wherewith my sinne and weaknesse was bewayled, haue procured my endlesse ioy , my strength hath beene my ruine, and my fall my stay.

F I N I S .

A
**REMEDIE AGAINST
 SORROW AND FEARE,**
 Deliuered in a Funerall
 S E R M O N.

I O H N 14. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.



THE holy Apostles hauing gathered themselues together by the speciall appointment of Christ, and being in expectation to receiue from him such instructions as they had bene accustomed with, were told that which they least looked for, namely, That the time of his departure out of the world, was now come. Whereupon they fell into consideration, first, of the manifold benefits which his absence should bereauē them off: and secondly, of the sundrie euils which themselues should be subiect vnto, being once

bereaued of so gracious a Master and Patron. The one consideration overwhelmed their soules with heauinesse: The other with feare. Their Lord and Sauour, whose words had cast downe their hearts, raiseth them presently againe with chosē sentences of sweet encouragement. My deare, it is for your owne sakes that I leaue the world. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your loue were directed with that aduised and staied iudgement which should be in you, my speech of leauing the world, and going vnto my Father, would not a little augment your ioy. Desolate and comfortlesse I will not leaue you; in Spirit I am with you to the worlds end, whether I be present or absent, nothing shall euer take you out of these hands: my going is to take possession of that, in your names, which is not onely for me, but also for you prepared, where I am, you shall be. In the meane while, *My peace I giue, not as the world giveth, giue I vnto you: Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.* The former part of which sentence hauing other-where alreadye bene spoken of, this vnacceptable occasion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not looke for. But so God disposeth the wayes of men. Him I heartily beseech, that the thing which hee hath thus ordered by his prouidence, may through his gracious goodnesse turne vnto your comfort.

Our

Our nature coueteth preseruacion from things hurtfull. Hurtfull things being present, doe breed heauinesse, being future, doe cause feare. Our Sauour to abate the one, speaketh thus vnto his Disciples: *Let not your hearts bee troubled,* and to moderate the other, addeth *Feare not.* Griefe and heauinesse in the presents of sensible euils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore seeme that Christ required a thing impossible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they choose? But we must note this being naturall and therefore simply not reprocueable, is in vs good or bad according to the causes for which we are grieued, or the measure of our griefe. It is not my meaning to speake so largely of this affection, as to go ouer all particulars whereby men doe one way or other offend in it, but to teach it so farre onely as it may cause the very Apostles equals to swarue. Our griefe and heauinesse therefore is reprocueable, sometime in respect of the cause from whence, sometime in regard of the measure whereunto it groweth.

When Christ the life of the world was led vnto cruell death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewayled much his heauie case. It was naturall compassion which caused them, where they saw vnderferued miseries, there to powre forth vnrestrained teares. Nor was this reproued. But in such readinesse to lament where they lesse needed, their blindness in not discerning that for which they ought much rather to haue mourned, this our Sauour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the teares which were wasted for him, might better haue bene spent vpon themselues. *Daughters of Ierusalem, weepe not for me, weepe for your selues and for your children.* It is not as the Stoicks haue imagined, a thing vnseemly for a wise man to be touched with griefe of mind, but to be sorrowfull when we least should, and where we should lament, there to laugh, this argueth our small wisdom. Again, when the Prophet *Dauid* confesseth thus of himselfe, *I grieued to see the great prosperitie of godlesse men how they flourish and goe vnoucht,* *Psal. 73.* Himselfe hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cause should not haue made so pensiu. To grieue at this, is to grieue where we should not, because this griefe doth rise from errour. We erre when we grieue at wicked mens impunitie and prosperitie, because their estate being rightly discerned, they neither prosper nor goe vnpunished. It may seeme a paradoxe, it is a truth, that no wicked mans estate is prosperous, fortunate, or happie. For what though they blesse themselues and thinke their happinesse great? Haue not franticke persons many times a great opinion of their owne wisdom? It may be that such as they thinke themselues, others also doe accompt them. But what others? Surely such as themselues are. Truth and reason discerneth farre otherwise of them. Vnto whom the Iewes with all prosperitie, vnto them the phrase of their speech is to wish peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happinesse, when the Prophet saith plainly that the wicked haue no peace, how can we thinke them to haue any part of other then vainely imagined felicitie? What wise man did euer accompt fooles happie? If wicked men were wise, they would cease to be wicked. Their iniquitie therefore prouing their folly, how can we stand in doubt of their miserie? They abound in those things which all men desire.

desire. A poore happinesse to haue good things in possession, *A man to whom God hath giuen riches and treasures and honour, so that he wanteth nothing for his soule of all that it desireth, but yet God giueth him not the power to eat thereof:* such a felicitie *Salomon esteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing.* If such things adde nothing to mens happinesse where they are not vsed, surely wicked men that vse them ill, the more they haue, the more wretched. Of their prosperitie therefore we see what we are to thinke. Touching their impunitie, the same is likewise but supposed. They are oftener plagued then wee are aware of. The pangs they feele are not alwayes written in their fore-heads. Though wickednes be sugar in their mouthes, and wantonnesse as Oyle to make them looke with cheerefull countenance, neuer theles if their hearts were disclosed, perhaps their glittering estate would not greatly bee enuid. The voices that haue broken out from some of them, *O that God had giuen me a heart senselesse like the flint in the rocks of stone!* which as it can taste no pleasure, so it feeleth no woe; these and the like speeches are surely tokens of the curse which *Zophar in the Booke of Iob* powreth vpon the head of the impious man, *He shall sucke the gall of Asps, and the Vipers tongue shall slay him.* If this seeme light because it is secret, shall we thinke they goe vnpunished, because no apparent plague is presently seene vpon them? The iudgements of God doe not alwayes follow crimes as Thunder doth Lightning, but sometimes the space of many Ages comming betweene. When the Sunne hath shined faire the space of sixe dayes vpon their Tabernacle, wee know not what Cloudes the seuenth may bring. And when their punishment doth come, let them make their account in the greatnes of their sufferings, to pay the interest of that respect which hath bene giuen them. Or if they chance to escape cleerely in this World, which they seldome doe, in the Day when the Heauens shall shriuell as a Scrole, and the mountaines moue as frightened men out of their places, what Caue shall receiue them? what Mountaine or Rock shall they get by intreatie to fall vpon them? What couert to hide them from that wrath which they shall be neither able to abide nor auoyde? No mans miserie therefore being greater then theirs whose impiety is most fortunate; much more cause there is for them to bewaile their owne infelicitie, then for others to be troubled with their prosperous and happy estate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not or would not touch them. For these causes and the like vnto these therefore be not troubled.

Now though the cause of our heauinesse be iust, yet may not our affections herein be yeilded vnto with too much indulgencie and fauour. The griefe of compassion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other least dangerous. Yet this is a let vnto sundry duties, by this wee are to spare sometimes where we ought to strike. The griefe which our owne sufferings doe bring, what temptations haue not risen from it? What great aduantage *Saran* hath taken euen by the godly griefe of hartie contrition for sinnes committed against God, the neere approaching of so many afflicted soules, whom the conscience of sinne hath brought vnto the very brinke of extreme despaire, doth but too abundantly shew. These things wheresoeuer they fall, cannot but trouble and molest the minde. Whether wee bee therefore moued vainely with that which seemeth hurtfull and is not; or

haue juſt cauſe of grieſe, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grieuous, our Sauours leſſon is, touching the one, Be not troubled, nor over-troubled for the other. For though to haue no feeling of that which meerely concerneth vs were ſtupiditie, neuertheleſſe, ſeeing that as the Author of our Saluation was himſelfe conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which wee are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thornes, bee it neuer ſo hard to learne wee muſt learne to ſuffer with patience, euen that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the houre when God ſhall call vs vnto our tryall, and turne this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith wee ſwell in that gall and bitterneſſe which fleſh doth ſhrinke to taſte of, nothing may cauſe vs in the troubles of our ſoules to ſtorme and grudge and repine at God, but euery heart be enabled with diuinely inſpired courage to inculcate vnto it ſelfe, *Be not troubled*, and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember it, that nothing may be ſo ſharpe and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelues may giue our ſelues this encouragement, *Euen learne alſo patience, O my ſoule.*

Naming patience, I name that vertue which onely hath power to ſlay our ſoules from being over-exceſſiuely troubled: a vertue, wherein if euer any, ſurely that ſoule had good experience, which extremitie of paines hauing chafed out of the Tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, haue carried into the boſome of her father *Abraham*. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeeme vnto vs ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to heare in what manner they haue ended their liues? The Lord himſelfe hath not diſdayned ſo exactly to register in the Booke of liſe, after what ſort his Seruants haue cloſed vp their dayes on earth, that he deſcendeth euen to their very meanest actions, what meate they haue longed for in their ſickneſſe, what they haue ſpoken vnto their Children, Kinsfolke, and Friends, where they haue willed their dead Carcaſſes to be laid; how they haue framed their Wils and Testaments, yea the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their naturall heare hath departed from them, their cries, their groanes, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaspings, he hath moſt ſolemnely commended vnto the memorie of all Generations. The care of the liuing both to liue and to dye well muſt needes bee ſome what increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded vp in ſilence, but the cares of many bee made acquainted with it. Again, when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the houre of their laſt need, beſides the praye which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of liſe, but it cauſeth them ſometime or other to wiſh in their hearts, *O that we might dye the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words, would be to ſtrike euen as many wounds into their minds whom I rather will to comfort, therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman, only this little I ſpeake, and that of knowledge, *She liued a Dove, and dyed a Lambe.* And if a-
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mongst so many vertues, heartie deuotion towards God, towards pouertie tender compassion, motherly affection towards seruants, towards friends euen seruicable kindnesse, milde behauiour, and harmelesse meaning towards all; if where so many vertues were eminent, any be worthy of speciall mention, I wish her dearest friends of that sexe to be her nearest followers in two things: *Silence*, saying only where dutie did exact speech, and *Patience*, euen then when extremitie of paines did enforce griefe. *Blessed are they which dye in the Lord.* And concerning the dead which are blessed, let not the hearts of any living be ouer-charged, with griefe ouer-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of feare, which respecteth euils to come, as the other which we haue spoken of doth present euils; first, in the nature thereof it is plaine, that we are not of euery future euill afraid. Perceiue wee not how they, whose tendernesse shrinketh at the least rase of a Needles point, doe kisse the Sword that pierceth their Soules quite through? If every euill did cause feare, sinne, because it is sinne, would be feared; whereas properly sinne is not feared as sinnie, but onely as hauing some kind of harme annexed. To teach men to auoyd sinne, it had bene sufficient for the Apostle to say, Flye it. But to make them afraid of committing sinne, because the naming of sinne sufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is as a *Serpent which stingeth the soule*. Againe, be it that some nocieue or hurtfull things be towards vs, must feare of necessitie follow hereupon? Not except that hurtfull things do threaten vs either with destruction or vexation, and that such as wee haue neither a conceit of abilitie to resist, nor of vtter impossibilitie to auoyde. That which we know our selues able to withstand, we feare not, adde that which we know we are vnable to deferre or diminish, or any way auoyd, we cease to feare, wee giue our selues ouer to beare and sustaine it. The euill therefore which is feared, must be in our perswasion vnable to be resisted when it commeth, yet not vterly impossible for a time in whole or in part to be shunned. Neyther doe we much feare such euils, except they be imminent and nere at hand, nor if they be nere, except we haue an opinion that they be so. When we haue once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of such euils prest and readie to invade vs, because they are hurtfull vnto our nature, wee feele in our selues a kind of abhorring; because they are thought nere, yet not present, our nature seeketh forthwith how to shift and prouide for it selfe; because they are euils which cannot be resisted, therefore she doth not prouide to withstand, but to shun and auoyde. Hence it is, that in extreme feare the Mother of life contracting her selfe, auoyding as much as may be the reach of euill; and drawing the heate together with the spirits of the bodie to her, leaueth the outward parts cold, pale, weake, feeble, vnapt to performe the functions of life, as wee see in the feare of *Balthasar King of Babel*. By this it appeareth, that feare is nothing else but a perturbation of the minde through an opinion of some imminent euill, threatening the destruction or great annoyance of our nature, which to shun, it doth contract and deiect it selfe.

Now because not in this place onely, but other where often we heare it repeated *Feare not*, it is by some made a long question, *whether a man may feare destruction or vexation, without sinning?* First, the reproofe wherewith Christ

checketh his Disciples more then once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are yee afraid?* Secondly, the punishment threatned in the twenty one of the *Reuelation*, to wit, the Lake, and fire, and brimstone, not onely to Murtherers, vncleane persons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Lyers, but also to the fearefull and faint-hearted, this seemeth to argue that fearefulnesse cannot but be sinne. On the contrarie side we see, that He which neuer felt motion vnto sinne, had of this affection more then a slight feeling. How cleere is the euidence of the Spirit, that *in the dayes of his flesh hee offered up Prayers and Supplications with strong cries and teares vnto him that was able to saue him from death, and was also heard in that which hee feared? Heb. 5.7.* Whereupon it followeth, that feare in it selfe is a thing not sinfull. For is not feare a thing naturall, and for mens preseruacion necessary, implanted in vs by the prouident and most gracious Giuer of all good things, to the end that wee might not runne head-long vpon those mischiefes wherewith we are not able to encounter, but vse the remedie of shunning those euils which we haue not abilitie to withstand? Let that people therefore which receiue a benefit by the length of their Princes dayes, that Father or Mother that reioyceth to see the Off-spring of their flesh grow like greene and pleasant Plants, let those children that would haue their Parents, those men that would gladly haue their friends and brethrens dayes prolonged on earth, (as there is no naturall-hearted man but gladly would) let them blesse the Father of lights, as in other things, so euen in this, that he hath giuen man a fearefull heart, and setled naturally that affection in him, which is a preseruacion against so many wayes of death. Feare then in it selfe being meere nature, cannot in it selfe bee sinne, which sinne is not nature, but thereof an accessary deprivation.

But in the matter of feare we may sinne, and doe, two wayes. If any mans danger be great, theirs greatest, that haue put the feare of danger farthest from them. Is there any estate more fearefull then that Babylonians Strumpets, that sitteth vpon the tops of seuen hils, glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queene? &c. Reuel. 18.7.* How much better and happier they, whose estate hath beene alwayes as his who speaketh after this sort of himselfe, *Lord, from my youth haue I borne thy yoke?* They which sit at continuall ease, and are setled in the lees of their securitie, looke vpon them, view their countenance, their speech, their gesture, their deedes; put them in feare, O God, saith the Prophet, that so they may know themselves to be but men, Wormes of the Earth, dust and ashes, fraile, corruptible, feeble things. To shake of securitie therefore, and to breed feare in the hearts of mortall men, so many admonitions are vsed concerning the power of euils which beset them, so many threatnings of calamities, so many descriptions of things threatned, and those so liuely, to the end they may leaue behind them a deepe impressiō of such as haue force to keepe the heart continually waking. All which do shew, that wee are to stand in feare of nothing more, then the extremitie of not fearing.

When feare hath deliuered vs from that Pit, wherein they are sunke that haue put far from them the euill day; that haue made a league with death, and haue said, *Tush, we shall feele no harme;* it standeth vs vpon to take heed it cast vs not into that, wherein soules destitute of all hope are plunged. For our directiō, to auoyde, as much as may be, both extremities, that wee may know as a

Shipmaster by his Carde, how farre we are wide, either on the one side or on the other; we must note that in a Christian man there is first, nature, Secondly, corruption peruerting Nature; Thirdly, grace correcting, and amending corruption. In feare all these haue their seuerall operations. Nature teacheth simply, to wish preferuation and auoydance of things dreadful, for which cause one Sauour himselfe prayeth, and that often; Father, if it be possible. In which cases, corrupt natures suggestions are, for the safetie of temporall life, not to sticke at things excluding from eternall: wherein how farre euen the best may bee led, the chiefe Apostles frailtie teacheth. Were it not therefore for such cogitations, as on the contrarie side grace and faith ministreth, such as that of Job, *Though God kill me*, that of PAUL, *Scio, cui credidi*, I know him on whom I doerelye, small euils would soone be able to ouerwhelme euen the best of vs. A Wiseman, saith SALOMON, *doth see a plague comming, and hideth himselfe*. It is nature which teacheth a Wiseman, in feare to hide himselfe, but grace and faith doth teach him where. Fooles care not where they hide their heads. But where shall a Wiseman hide himselfe, when he feareth a plague comming? Where should the frightened Childe hide his head, but in the bosome of his louing Father? Where a Christian, but vnder the shadow of the wings of Christ his Sauour? Come, my people, saith God, in the Prophet, *Enter into thy Chamber, hide thy selfe*, &c. *Esay 26*. But because we are in danger like chafed Birds, like Doves that seeke, and cannot see the resting holes that are right before them, therefore our Sauour giueth his Disciples these encouragements beforehand, that feare might neuer so amaze them, but that alwayes they might remember, that whatsoeuer euils at any time did beset them, to him they should still repaire for comfort, counsell, and succour. For their assurance whereof, his Peace he gaue them, his Peace he left vnto them, *not such peace as the World offereth, by whom his name is neuer so much pretended, as when deepest treachery is meant, but Peace which passeth all vnderstanding, Peace that bringeth with it all happinesse, Peace that continueth for euer and euer with them that haue it*. This Peace God the Father grant, for his Sonnes sake, vnto whom with the Holy Ghost, three Persons, one Eternall, and Euer-liuing God, be all honour, glorie, and praise, now, and for euer.

Amen.

F I N I S.

A LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE SERMON OF THE CERTAINTIE AND PERPETVITIE OF FAITH in the Elect; especially of the Prophet HABAKKUKS Faith.

HABAK. I. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, The Law doth faile, did thereby shew himselfe an unbelieuer.



We haue seene in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weaknesse of the Prophets faith; first, what things they are whereunto the faith of sound beleeuers doth assent: secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that doe, doe it many times with small assurance. Now because nothing can be so truely spoken, but through mis-vnderstanding it may be depraued; therefore to preuent, if it be possible, all misconstruction in this cause, where a small error cannot rise but with great danger, it is perhaps needfull ere we come to the fourth point, that something be added to that which hath bene already spoken concerning the third.

That meere naturall men doe neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we doe not maruell, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weake in faith? Why is their assenting to the Law so scrupulous, so much mingled with feare and wauering? It seemeth strange that euer they should imagine the Law to faile. It cannot seeme strange if we waigh the reason. If the things which we beleue be considered in themselves, it may truely be said, that Faith is more certaine then any Science. That which we know either by sense, or by infallible demonstration, is not so certaine as the principles, articles, and conclusions of Christian faith. Concerning which we must note, that there is a *certainie of euidence*, and a *certainie of adherence*. *Certainie of euidence* we call that, when the mind doth assent vnto this or that, not because it is true in it selfe, but because the truth is cleere, because it is manifest to vs. Of things in themselves most certaine, except they be also most euident, our perswasion is not so assured, as it is of things more euident, although in themselves they be lesse certaine. It is as sure, if not surer, that there be spirits as that there be men: but wee be more assured of these then of them, because these are more euident. The truth of some things is so euident, that no man which heareth them, can doubt of them: as when we heare that *a part of any thing is lesse then the whole*, the mind is constrained to say, This is true. If it were so in matters of faith, then as all men haue equall certainie of this, so no beleuer should be more scrupulous and doubtfull then another. But we find the

the contrarie. The Angels and Spirits of the righteous in heauen, haue certaintie most euident of things spirituall: but this they haue by the light of glorie. That which we see by the light of grace, though it be indeed more certaine, yet is it not to vs so euidently certaine, as that which sense or the light of nature will not suffer a man to doubt of. Proofoes are vaine and frivoulos, except they be more certaine then is the thing proued: and do we not see how the Spirit euery where in the Scripture proueth matters of faith, laboureth to confirme vs in the thing which wee belecue, by things whereof we haue sensible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we haue lesse certaintie of euidence concerning things beleueed, then concerning sensible or naturally perceiued. Of these who doth doubt at any time? Of them at sometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the sundrie confessions of the perfectest, that haue liued vpon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I should dwel too long vpon a matter, sufficiently knowne by euery faithfull man that doth know himselfe.

The other which we call the *certaintie of adherence*, is when the heart doth cleaue and sticke vnto that which it doth belecue. This certaintie is greater in vs then the other. The reason is this. The faith of a Christian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promises of God, not only as true, but also as good: and therefore euen then when the euidence which he hath of the truth, is so small, that it griueth him to feele his weakenesse in assenting thereto; yet is therein him such a sure adherence vnto that which he doth but faintly and fearefully beleue, that his Spirit hauing once truly tasted the heavenly sweetnesse thereof, all the world is not able quite and cleane to remoue him from it: but hee striueth with himselfe to hope against all reason of beleueing, being settled with *Iob* vpon this vnmoveable resolution, *Though God kill me, I will not giue ouer trusting in him.* For why? This lessoe remaineth for euer imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleaue vnto God, Psal. 73.*

Now the minds of all men being so darkned, as they are with the foggie dampe of originall corruption, it cannot be that any mans heart liuing should be either so enlightned in the knowledge, or so established in the loue of that wherein his saluation standeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor shrinking at all. If any such were, what doth let why that man should not be iustified by his owne inherent righteousness? For righteousness inherent, being perfect, will iustifie. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteousness inherent; yea a principall part, the roote and the mother of all the rest: so that if the fruit of euery tree be such as the roote is, faith being perfect, as it is if it be not at all mingled with distrust and feare, what is there to exclude other Christian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteousness of Christ? His garment is superfluous; we may be honourably clothed with our owne Robes, if it be thus. But let them beware who challenge to themselves a strength which they haue not, lest they lose the comfortable support of that weakenesse which indeed they haue.

Some shew, although no soundnesse of ground there is, which may be alledged for defence of this supposed perfection in certaintie touching matters of our faith; as first, that *Abraham* did beleue and doubted not: secondly, that the Spirit which God hath giuen vs to no other end, but only to assure vs

that

that we are the sonnes of God; to embolden vs to call vpon him as our Father, to open our eyes and to make the truth of things beleeued euident vnto our minds, is much mightier in operation then the common light of nature, whereby we discern sensible things: wherefore we must needs be more sure of that we beleue, then of that we see; wee must needs be more certaine of the mercies of God in Christ Iesus, when we are of the light of the Sunne when it shineth vpon our faces. To that of ABRAHAM, *He did not doubt*, I answer, that this negation doth not exclude all feare, all doubting; but only that which cannot stand with true faith. It freeth Abraham from doubting through infidelitie, not from doubting through infirmitie; from the doubting of unbelievers, not of weake beleuers; from such a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promise of sudden plentie in the middest of extreme dearth, answered, *Though the Lord would make windowes in heauen, were it possible so to come to passe?* But that Abraham was not void of all doubting, what need wee any other prooffe then the plaine euidence of his owne words? *Genes. 17. v. 17.* the reason which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectuell, if God did worke like a naturall Agent, as the fire doth inflame, and the Sunne inlighten, according to the uttermost abilitie which they haue to bring forth their effects. But the incomprehensible wisdom of God doth limit the effects of his power, to such a measure as seemeth best vnto himselfe. Wherefore he worketh that certaintie in all, which sufficeth abundantly to their saluation in the life to come; but in none so great as attaineth in this life vnto perfection. Euen so, O Lord, it hath pleased thee, euen so it is best and fittest for vs, that feeling still our owne infirmities, we may no longer breathe, then pray, *Adiuna Domine, Helpe, Lord, our incredulitie.* Of the third question, this I hope, will suffice, being added vnto that which hath bene thereof already spoken. The fourth question resteth, & so an end of this point.

That which cometh last of all in this first branch, to be considered concerning the weaknes of the Prophets faith: *Whether he did by this very thought, The Law doth faile, quench the spirit, fall from faith, and shew himselfe an unbelieuer or no.* The question is of moment, the repose and tranquillitie of infinite soules doth depend vpon it. The Prophets case is the case of many; which way soeuer wee cast for him, the same way it passeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguish grace, why the like thoughts in vs should not take the like effect, there is no cause. Forasmuch therefore as the matter is waightie, deare, and precious, which wee haue in hand, it behoueth vs with so much the greater charinesse to wade through it, taking special heed both what we build, and whereon we build: that if our building be pearle, our foundation be not stubble; if the doctrine wee teach be full of comfort and consolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be sure: otherwise we shall not saue but deceiue both our selues and others. In this we know we are not deceiued, neither can wee deceiue you, when wee teach that the faith whereby yee are sanctified cannot faile; it did not in the Prophet, it shall not in you. If it be so; let the difference be shewed betweene the condition of vnbelieuers and his, in this or in the like imbecillitie and weaknes. There was in *Abakkuk*, that which *S. Iohn* doth call the *seed of God*, meaning thereby, the first grace which God powreth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Christ; which ha-

uing receiued, if because it is an aduerfarie vnto sinne, we doe therefore thinke we sinne not both otherwise, and also by distrustfull and doubtfull apprehending of that, which we ought stedfastly to beleue, surely, we doe but deceiue our selues. Yet they which are of God, doe not sinne either in this, or in any thing any such sinne as doth quite extingnish grace, cleane cut them off from Christ Iesus: because the *seed of God* abideth in them, and doth shield them from receiuing any irremediable wound. Their faith when it is at strongest is but weake; yet euen then when it is at the weakest, so strong, that vtterly it neuer faileth, it neuer perisheth altogether, no not in them, who thinke it extingnished in themselves. There are, for whose sakes I dare not deate slightly in this cause, sparing that labour which must be bestowed to make it plaine. Men in like agonies vnto this of the Prophet *Habakkuks*, are through extremities of grieue many times in iudgement so confounded, that they find not themselves in themselves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they seeke, they make diligent search and enquire. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet still they aske where? Still they lament as for a thing which is past finding: they mourne as *Rachel*, and refuse to be comforted, as if that were not, which indeed is; and as if that which is not, were; as if they did not beleue when they doe; and as if they did despair when they doe not. Which in some, I grant, is but a melancholy passion proceeding only from that deiection of mind; the cause whereof is in the bodie, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no such bodily cause, the mind is not lightly in this moode, but by some of these three occasions. One; that iudging by comparison either with other men or with themselves, at some other time more strong, they thinke imperfection to be a plaine deprivation, weakenesse to be vtter want of faith. Another cause is; they often mistake one thing for another. Saint *Paul* wishing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this sort: *The God of hope fill you with all ioy of beleuing*. Hence an error groweth, when men in beaunesse of spirit suppose they lacke faith, because they find not the sugered ioy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but so as a separable accident, as a thing that may be remooued from it; yea, there is a cause why it should be remooued. The light would neuer be so acceptable, were it not for that vsuall entercourse of darkenesse. Too much hony doth turne to gall, and too much ioy euen spirituallly would make vs wantons. Happier a great deale is that mans case, whose soule by inward desolation is humbled, then he whose heart is through abundance of spirituall delight lifted vp, and exalted aboue measure. Better it is sometimes to goe downe into the pit with him, who beholding darkenesse, and bewailing the losse of inward ioy and consolation, cryeth from the bottome of the lowest hell, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* then continually to walke arme in arme with Angels, to sit, as it were, in *Abrahams* bosome, and to haue no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thanke my God, it is not with me as it is with other men*. No; God will haue them that shall walke in light, to feele now and then what it is to sit in the shadow of death. A griued spirit therefore is no argument of a faithlesse mind. A third occasion of mens mis-iudging themselves, as if they were faithlesse when they are not, is; They fasten their cogitations vpon the distrustfull suggestions of the flesh, whereof finding great abundance in themselves; they gather thereby,

Surely,

Surely, vnbeliefe hath full dominion, it hath taken plenarie possession of me; if I were faithfull, it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, because they lye buried and ouerwhelmed with the contrarie: when notwithstanding as the blessed Apostle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groweth*, and that God heareth when we doe not; so there is no doubt, but that our faith may haue, and hath her priuie operations secret to vs, in whom, yet knowne to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a mind deceiued by too hard an opinion of himselfe, and it doth but augment his griefe: he hath his answer readie; Will you make me thinke otherwise then I find, then I feele in my selfe? I haue thoroughly considered and exquisitely sifted all the corners of my heart, and I see what there is: neuer seeke to perswade me against my knowledge, *I doe not, I know, I doe not beleue*. Well, to fauour them a little in their weaknesse: let that be granted which they doe imagine; be it that they are faithlesse and without beleefe. But are they not grieued for their vnbeliefe? They are. Doe they not wish it might, and also strue that it may be otherwise? We know they doe. Whence commeth this, but from a secret loue and liking which they haue of those things that are beleued? No man can loue things which in his owne opinion are not. And if they thinke those things to be, which they shew that they loue, when they desire to beleue them; then must it needs be, that by desiring to beleue, they proue themselves true beleeuers. For without faith, no man thinketh that things beleued are. Which argument all the subtiltie of infernall powers will neuer be able to dissolue. The Faith therefore of true Beleeuers, though it haue many and grieuous down-falls, yet doth it still continue inuincible; it conquereth and recovereth it selfe in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is subiect, are not able to preuaile against it. The Prophet *Habbakuk* remained faithfull in weaknesse, though weake in faith. It is true, such is our weake and waueing nature, that we haue no sooner receiued grace, but we are readie to fall from it: wee haue no sooner given our assent to the Law that it cannot faile, but the next conceit which we are readie to imbrace, is, that it may, and that it doth faile. Though wee find in our selues a most willing heart to cleaue vnseparably vnto God, euen so farre as to thinke vnfaynedly with *PETER, Lord, I am readie to goe with thee into Prison and to death*: yet how soone and how easily, vpon how small occasions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone and left vnto our selues? The Galatians to day for their sakes which teach them the truth in Christ, content if need were to plucke out their owne eyes, and the next day readie to plucke out theirs which taught them. The loue of the Angel to the Church of Ephesus, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly slaked? The higher we flow, the neerer we are vnto an ebbe, if men be respected as meere men, according to the wonted course of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly support of the Spirit. Again, the desire of our ghostly Enemy is so vncredible, and his meanes so forcible to ouerthrow our faith, that whom the blessed Apostle knew betrothed & made hand-fast vnto Christ, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am ielous ouer you with a godly ielousie, for I haue prepared you to one Husband, to present you a pure Virgin vnto Christ: but I feare, lest as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his subtiltie, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicitie which is in Christ.*

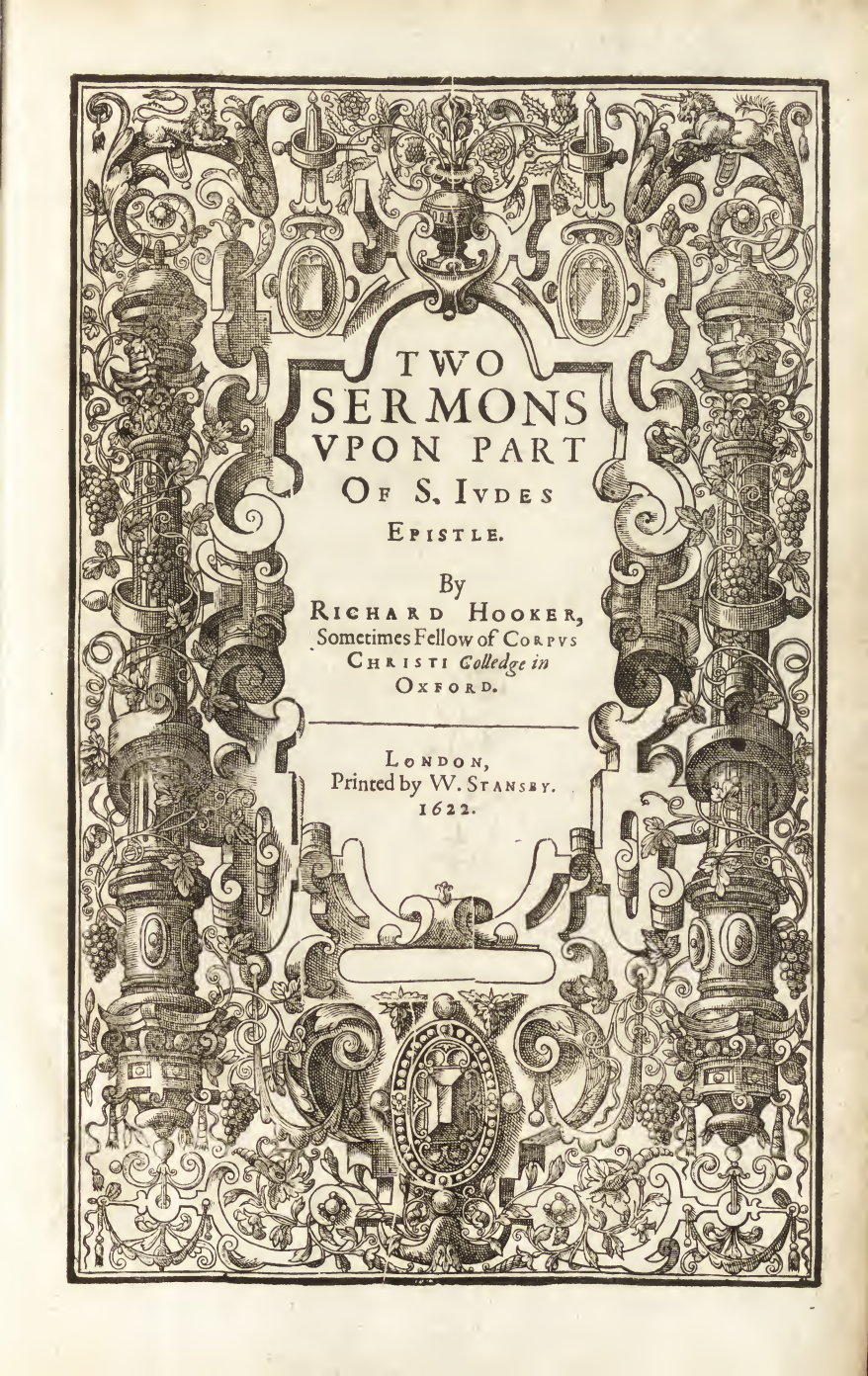
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The simplicitie of faith which is in Christ, taketh the naked promise of God, his bare Word, and on that it resteth. This simplicitie the Serpent laboureth continually to peruert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancie and contrarietie betwene the promise of God, and those things which sense or experience, or some other fore-conceiued perswasion hath imprinted. The Word of the promise of God vnto his people, is, *I will not leaue thee, nor forsake thee*: vpon this the simplicitie of Faith resteth, and it is not afraid of famine. But marke how the subtiltie of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation, whose Spirits were not faithful vnto God. They beheld the desolate state of the Defart in which they were, and by the wisdom of their sense, concluded the promise of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the wildernesse?* The Word of the promise to Sara was, *Thou shalt beare a Sonne*. Faith is simple and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this simplicitie of faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument, drawne from common experience to the contrarie: *A woman that is old; SARA now to be acquainted againe with forgotten passions of youth?* The Word of the promise of God by *Moses* and the Prophets, made the Sauour of the world so apparent vnto *Philip*, that his simplicitie could conceiue no other Messias, then Iesus of Nazareth the Sonne of *Ioseph*. But to stay *Nathaniel*, lest being inuited to come and see, he should also beleue, and so be saued: the subtiltie of Satan casteth a myst before his eyes, putteth in his head against this, the common conceiued perswasion of all men concerning Nazareth; *Is it possible that a good thing should come from thence?* This stratagem he doth vse with so great dexteritie, the minds of all men are so strangely enforced with it, that it bereaueth them for the time of all perceiuaunce of that which should releuee them and be their comfort, yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, euen of things wherewith they are most familiarly acquainted. The people of Israel could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea, was able to feed him in the Defart: but this was obliterated and put out by the sense of their present want. Feeling the hand of God against them in their food, they remembered not his hand in the day that he deliuered them from the hand of the Oppressor. *Sara* was not then to learne, that *with God all things are possible*. Had *Nathaniel* neuer nored, how *God doth choose the base things of this world, to disgrace them that are most honorably esteemed?* The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promises of grace, protection, and fauour, which God in the Law doth make vnto his people, do not grant them any such immunitie as can free and exempt them from all chastisements: he knew that as God said, *I will continue my mercy for euer towards them*; so he likewise said, *Their transgressions I will punish with a rod*: he knew that it cannot stand with any reason, we should set the measure of our owne punishments, and prescribe vnto God how great or how long our sufferings shall be: he knew that we were blind, & altogether ignorant what is best for vs; that we sue for many things very vnwisely against our selues, thinking we aske Fish, when indeed we craue a Serpent: he knew that when the thing we aske is good, & yet God seemeth slow to grant it, he doth not deny, but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to desire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God had seuered for his owne people; and seeing it abandoned vnto Heathen Nations;

nations; viewing how reprochfully they did tread it downe, and wholly make hauock of it at their pleasure; beholding the Lords owne Royall Seate made an heape of stones, his Temple defiled, the carcases of his seruants cast out for the Fowles of the ayre to deuoure, and the flesh of his meeke ones for the beasts of the field to feed vpon; being conscious to himselfe how long and how earnestly he had cryed, *Succour vs, O God of our well-fare, for the glorie of thine owne Name;* and feeling that their fore was still increased: the conceit of repugnance betweene this which was obiect to his eyes, and that which faith vpon promise of the Law did looke for, made so deepe an impression and so strong, that hee disputeth not the matter, but without any further enquire or search, inferreth as we see, *The Law doth faile.*

Of vs who is heere, which cannot very soberly aduise his Brother; Sir, you must learne to strengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you haue had of Gods great goodnesse towards you, *per ea que agnoscat prestita discas sperare promissa:* By those things which you haue knowne performed, learne to hope for those things which are promised. Doe you acknowledge to haue receiued much? Let that make you certaine to receiue more. *Habentis dabitur: To him that hath, more shall be giuen.* When you doubt what you shall haue, search what ybn haue had at Gods hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath bestowed, are Bills Obligatorie and sufficient Sureties that he will bestow further. His present mercie is still a warrant of his future loue, because *whom he loneth, he loneth vnto the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if wee could reckon vp as many euident, cleere, vndoubted signes of Gods reconciled loue towards vs, as there are yeeres, yea dayes, yea houres past ouer our heads; all these set together haue not such force to confirme our faith, as the losse, and sometimes the onely feare of losing a little transitorie goods, credit, honour, or fauour of men, a small calamitie, a matter of nothing to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily againe remoued; that wee are cleane cast out of Gods Booke, that he regards vs not, that he looketh vpon others, but passeth by vs like a stranger, to whom we are not knowne. Then we thinke, looking vpon others, and comparing them with our selues; their Tables are furnished day by day; earth and ashes are our bread: they sing to the Lute, and they see their children dance before them; our hearts are heauie in our bodies as lead, our sighes beat as thicke as a swift Pulse, our teares doe wash the beds wherein we lye: the Sunne shineth faire vpon their fore-heads; we are hanged vp like Bottles in the smoke, cast into corners like the snerds of a broken Pot: tell not vs of the promises of Gods fauour, tell such as doe reape the fruit of them, they belong not to vs, they are made to others: the Lord bee mercifull to our weaknes; but thus it is. Well, let the frailtie of our nature, the subtiltie of Satan, the force of our deceivable imaginations be, as wee cannot deny but they are, things that threaten euery moment the vtter subuersion of our faith; faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things. That which one sometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego sic existimabam, P. C. vni patrem sepe meam predicantem audiueram, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse.* As I haue often heard my Father acknowledge, so I my selfe did euer thinke, that the friends and fauou-

rers of this State charged themselues with great labour, but no mans condition so safe as theirs: the same we may say a great deale more iustly in this case: our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Master hath full often spoken, by long experience we haue found it true; as many as haue entred their names in the my-
 sticall Booke of Life, *eos maximum laborem suscipere*, they haue taken vpon them a labourfome, a toylefome, a painefull profession, *sed omnium maximè tutos esse*, but no mans securitie like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat*; Here is our toyle: *but I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not*; this is our safetic. No mans condition so sure as ours: the Prayer of Christ is more then sufficient both to strengthen vs, be wee neuer so weake; and to ouerthrow all aduerfarie power, be it neuer so strong and potent. His Prayer must not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vaine, who thinke that their watching can preferue the Citie which God himselfe is not willing to keepe. And are not theirs as vaine, who thinke that God will keepe the Citie, for which they themselues are not carefull to watch? The Husbandman may not therefore burne his Plough, nor the Marchant forsake his Trade, because God hath promised, *I will not forsake thee*. And doe the promises of God concerning our stabilitie, thinke you, make it a matter indifferent for vs to vse or not to vse the meanes whereby, to attend or not to attend to reading, to pray or not to pray that we fall not into temptacion? Surely if we looke to stand in the faith of the Sonnes of God, we must hourelly, continually bee providing and setting our selues to striue. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in saying, *Father, keepe them in thy Name*, that wee should bee carelesse to keepe our selues. To our own safetic, our owne sedulitie is required. And then blessed for euer and euer be that Mothers child, whose faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may shake, the pillars of the World may tremble vnder vs; the countenance of the Heauen may be appaled, the Sunne may lose his light, the Moone her beautie, the Starres their glorie: but concerning the man that trusteth in God, if the fire haue proclaimed it selfe vnable as much as to singe a haire of his head; if Lyons, Beasts rauinous by nature, and keene with hunger, being set to deuoure, haue as it were religiously adored the very flesh of the faithfull man, what is there in the World that shall change his heart, ouerthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who shall make a separation betweene me and my God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or sword? No; I am perswaded that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakednesse, nor perill nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature shall euer preuaile so far ouer me. I know in whom I haue belequed; I am not ignorant whose precious blood hath beene shed for me; I haue a Shepheard full of kindnesse, full of care, and full of power: vnto him I commit my selfe; his owne finger hath engrauen this sentence in the Tables of my heart; *Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat, but I haue prayed that thy faith faile not*. Therefore the assurance of my hope I will labor to keepe as a Jewell vnto the end, and by labor, through the gracious mediation of his Prayer, I shall keepe it.



TWO
SERMONS
Vpon PART
OF S. IVDAS
EPISTLE.

By
RICHARD HOOKER,
Sometimes Fellow of CORPVS
CHRISTI Colledge in
OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed by W. STANSBY.
1622.

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TO THE WORSHIPFULL
 M. GEORGE SUMMASTER, Principall
 of Broad-Gates Hall in Oxford,
 HENRY JACKSON wilheth
 all happinesse.

S I R,



Our kind acceptance of a former testification of that respect I owe you, hath made mee venture to shew the World these godly Sermons vnder your name. In which, as euerie point is worth obseruation, so some especially are to be noted. The first, that as the Spirit of Prophecie is from God himselfe, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and mindes of his holy Pen-men, (which if some

would diligently consider, they would not puzzle themselves with the contentions of SCOT, and THOMAS, Whether God onely, or his ministring Spirits, doe infuse into mens mindes Propheticall Reuelations, per species intelligibiles) so God framed their words also. Whence the holy Father ^a Saint AVGVSTINE religiously obserueth, That all those which vnderstand the sacred Writers, will also perceiue, that they ought not to vse other words, then they did, in expressing those heauenly Mysteries which their hearts conceiued, as the Blessed Virgin did our Sauour, By the Holy Ghost. The greater is CASTELLIO his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to speake oherwise, then they haue already. Much like to that impious King of Spaine, ALPHONSVS the tenth, who found fault with Gods Workes, ^b Si inquit, creationi affuisssem, mundum melius ordinasssem; If hee had beene with God at the Creation of World, the World had gone better, then now it doth. As this man found fault with Gods Workes, so did the other with Gods words. But because we haue a ^c most sure

^a Lib. 4. cap. 6. de doct. chr.

^b Rob. Tolet. lib. 4. cap. 5.

^c 1. Pet. 1.

d Pref. in Orat.
D. Rainold.

word of the Prophets, to which we must take heed, I will let his words passe with the wind, hauing^d elsewhere spoken to you more largely of his Errors, whom notwithstanding, for his other excellent parts, I much respect.

e Parsons in 3.
Conuers.

You shall moreouer from hence vnderstand, how Christianitie consists not in formall and seeming puritie (vnder which, who knowes not notorious villanie to maske?) but in the heart-root. Whence the Authour truly teacheth, that Mockers, which vse Religion as a Cloake, to put off and on, as the Weather serueth, are worse then Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew, how iustly this kind of men hath beene reprobued by that renowned Martyr of Iesus Christ, B. Latimer; both because it will bee opposite to this purpose, and also free that Christian Worthie from the slanderous reproches of^{*} him, who was, if euer any, a Mockers of God, Religion, and all good men. But first I must desire you, and in you all Readers, not to thinke lightly of that excellent man, for vsing of this and the like wittie Similitudes in his Sermons. For whosoever will call to mind, with what riff-raff Gods people were fedde in those dayes, when their Priests, ^e whose lips should haue preferred knowledge, preached nothing else but Dreames, and false Miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that ^f sottish Legend, coyned and amplified by a drowfie head, betweene sleeping and waking. Hee, that will consider this, and also how the people were delighted with such toys (God sending them strong Delusions, that they should beleene lyes) and how hard it would haue beene for any man, wholly, and vpon the suddayne, to draw their minds to another bent; will easily perceiue, both how necessary it was to vse Symbolicall Discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applyed by that Religious Father, to the end hee might lead their vnderstanding so farre, till it were so conuincd, informed, and settled, that it might forget the meanes and way, by which it was led, and thinke onely of that it had acquired. For in all such mysticall speeches, who knowes not, that the end for which they are vsed, is onely to bee thought vpon?

e Malac. 2.7.

f Causa locor.
lib. 11. cap. 6.
Vines, lib. 2. de
corrupt. art.
Harv. lib. 4.

g Pag. 1903.
edit. 1570.

This then being first considered, let vs heare the Storie, as it is related by Master FOX: Master LATIMER (^g saith he) in his Sermon gaue the people certaine Cards out of the fift, sixt, and seuenth Chapters of Saint Matthew. For the chiefe Triumph in the Cards, hee limited the Hart; as the principall thing that they should serue God withall, whereby hee quite ouerthrew

all

all hypocriticall and externall Ceremonies, not tending to the necessarīe furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. By this hee exhorted all men to serue the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies, adding moreouer to the praise of that Triumph, that though it were neuer so small, yet it would take vp the best Coat-Card beside in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubbes, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worshipped and serued in simplicitie of the heart, and veritie, wherein consisteth true Christian Religion, &c. Thus Master Fox.

By which it appeares, that the holy mans intencion was to lift vp the peoples hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph, and played (himselfe) at Cards in the Pulpit, as that base Companion^h Parsons reports the matter, in his wonted scurrilous vaine of Rayling, whence hee calleth it aⁱ Christmasse Sermon. Now he that will thinke ill of such Allusions, may out of the aboundance of his folly, iest at Demosthenes, for his storie of the^k Sheepe, Wolves, and Dogges, and at^l Menenius, for his fiction of the Belly. But, hinc illæ lachrymæ, The good Bishop meant, that the Romish Religion came not from the heart, but consisted in outward Ceremonies: Which sorely grieved Parsons, who neuer had the least warmth or sparke of honestie. Whether Bishop Latimer compared the Bishops to the Knaues of Clubbes, as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am sure Parsons, of all others, deserved those Colours; and so I leaue him.

Wee see then, what inward puritie is required of all Christians, which if they haue, then in prayer, and all other Christian duties, they shall lift vp purchands, as the^m Apostle speakes, not asⁿ Baroni-
 us would haue it, washed from finnes with holy water, but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of sinne, as the Greeke word^o doth signifie.

you may also see here refuted those Calumnies of the Papists, that wee abandon all Religious Rites, and goaly Duties, as also the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certaintie of Faith (and so of Saluation) which is so strongly denied by some of that Faction, that they haue told the world, ° S. PAVL himselfe was vncertaine of his owne saluation. What then shall wee say, but pronounce a woe

^h In the third part of 3. con-
 uctions of
 England: in
 the Examin. of
 Foxes Saints,
 cap. 14. §. 53.
 54. p. 215.
ⁱ Sect. 55.
^k Plut. in De-
 mosthen.
^l Liv. Dec. 1.
 lib. 2. an. V. C. 60

^m 1. Tim. 2. 8.
ⁿ An. 10. 1.
 An. 57. n. 109.
 110. & 102.
^o An. 132. num. 5

^o S. Paulus de
 sua salute in-
 cert^o Ricbeon.
 Iesuit. l. 2. c. 12.
 idololat. Hugue-
 noi. pag. 119.
 in marg. edit.
 lat. Mozunt.
 1613. inter. rec.
 Marcel. Som. 4r.
 Iesuita.

p Witnesse the
verses of Hora-
tius a Jesuite,
recited by Possiv.
Biblioth. Select.
part. 2. l. 17. c. 19
Exue Francis-
cum tunicâ la-
cerog; cucullo,
Qui Francisus
erat. iam tibi
Christus erit.
Francisci exu-
vijs (si quali-
cet) induc
Christum,
Iam Francisus
erit, qui modo
Christus erat.
The like hath
Bencius, ano-
ther Jesuite.
q 2. Cor. 5. 1.

to the most strict observers of Saint Francis Rule, and his Canonick Discipline (though they make him euen ^p equall with Christ) and the most meritorious Monke that euer was registred in their Kalender of Saints? But wee for our comfort are otherwise taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to build our selues in our most holy faith, that so, when our ^a earthly house of this Tabernacle shall be destroyed, we may haue a building giuen of God, a house not made with hands, but eternall in the Heauens.

This is that, which is most piously and feelingly taught in these few leaues, so that you shall read nothing here, but what, I perswade my selfe, you haue long practised in the constant course of your life.

It remaineth onely, that you accept of these Labours tendered to you by him, who wisheth you the long ioyes of this world, and the eternall of that which is to come.

Oxon. from Corp. Christi Colledge,
this 13. of Ianuarie, 1613.



TWO
SERMONS VPON
PART OF S. IVDES
EPISTLE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

*But yee, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles
of our Lord Iesus Christ,*

*How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which
should walke after their owne vngodly laits.*

These are makers of Sects, fleshly, hauing not the Spirit.

*But yee, beloved, edifie your selues in your most holy faith; praying in the Holy
Ghost,*

*And keepe your selues in the loue of God; looking for the mercy of our
Lord Iesus Christ; vnto eternall life.*



He occasions whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epistle was written, is opened in the front and entrie of the same. There were then, as there are now, many euill and wickedly disposed persons, not of the mysticall bodie, yet within the visible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, vngodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonnesse, and denied the Lord Iesus. For this cause the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Iude*, the seruant of Iesus, and brother

of *Iames*, to exhort them that are called, and sanctified of God the Father, that they would earnestly contend to maintaine the faith, which was once deliuered vnto the Saints. Which faith because we cannot maintaine, except we know perfectly, first, against whom, secondly, in what sort it must be maintained; therefore in the former three verses of that parcell of Scripture which I haue read, the enemies of the Crosse of Christ are plainly described; and in the later two, they that loue the Lord Iesus, haue a sweet Lesson giuen them, how to strengthen and stablish themselues in the faith. Let vs first therefore examine the description of these reprobates; concerning
faith;

faith; and afterwards come to the words of the exhortation; wherein Christians are taught how to rest their hearts on Gods eternall and euertlasting Truth. The description of these godlesse persons is two-fold, *Generall* and *Speciall*. The *generall* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *particular* pointeth at them, and saith plainly, These are they. In the *generall* description we haue to consider of these things. *First*, when they were described, *They were told of before*. *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ*. *Thirdly*, the dayes when they should be manifested vnto the world, they told you they should be in the last time. *Fourthly*, their disposition and whole demeanure, *mockers and walkers after their owne vngodly lusts*.

2 In the third to the Philippians, the Apostle describeth certaine. *They are men* (saith he) *of whom I haue told you often, and now with teares I tell you of them, their God is their belly, their glorying and reioycing is in their owne shame, they mind earthly things*.

These were enemies of the Crosse of Christ, enemies whom he saw, and his eyes gusht out with teares to behold them. But we are taught in this place how the Apostles spake also of enemies, whom as yet they had not seene, described a family of men as yet vnto heard of, a generation reserved for the end of the world, and for the last time; they had not onely declared what they heard and saw in the dayes wherein they liued, but they haue prophecied also of men in time to come. And you doe well (saith S. PETER) in that yee take heed to the words of Prophecie, so that yee first know this, that no Prophecie in the Scripture commeth of any mans owne resolution. No prophecie in Scripture commeth of any mans owne resolution. For all prophecie, which is in Scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no Scripture, yea, there are prophecies against the Scripture: by brethren, beware of such prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before; but spoken of before by the Apostles of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in Scripture: For both the manner and the matter of those prophecies doe shew plainly, that they are of God.

Of the spirit of
Prophecie re-
ceiued from
God himselfe.

3 Touching the manner, how men by the spirit of prophecie in holy Scripture haue spoken and written of things to come, we must vnderstand, that as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the vtterance of that they knew, came not by these vsuall and ordinarie means, whereby wee are brought to vnderstand the mysteries of our saluation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For whatsoever we know, we haue it by the hands and ministerie of men, which lead vs along like children, from a letter to a syllable, from a syllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turne ouer. But God himselfe was their instructor, he himselfe taught them, partly by Dreames and Visions in the night, partly by Reuelations in the day, taking them aside from amongst their brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talke with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted euen with the secret and hidden counsels of God. They saw things, which themselues were not able

able to vtter, they beheld that whereat men and Angels are astonished. They vnderstood in the beginning, what should come to passe in the last dayes.

4 God, which lightned thus the eyes of their vnderstanding, giuing them knowledge by vnusuall and extraordinarie meanes, did also miraculously himselfe frame and fashion their words and writings, in so much that a greater difference there seemeth not to be betweene the manner of their knowledge, then there is betweene the manner of their speech and ours. When we haue conceiued a thing in our hearts, and throughly vnderstand it, as we thinke within our selues, ere we can vtter it in such sort that our brethren may receiue instruction or comfort at our mouthes, how great, how long, how earnest meditation are we forced to vse? And after much trauaile, and much paines, when we open our lips to speake of the wonderfull works of God, our tongues doe faulter within our mouthes, yea many times we disgrace the dreadfull mysteries of our faith, and grieue the spirit of our hearers by words vnfauory, and vnseemely speeches. *Shall a wise man fill his belly with the Easterne wind, saith Eliphaz, shall a wise man dispute with words not comely? or with talke that is not profitable?* Yet behold, euen they that are wisest amongst vs living, compared with the Prophets, seeme no other wise to talke of God, then as if the children which are carried in armes, should speake of the greatest matters of state. They whose words doe most shew forth their wise vnderstanding, and whose lips doe vtter the purest knowledge, so long as they vnderstand and speake as men, are they not faine sundrie wayes to excuse themselues? Sometimes acknowledging with the wise man, *Hardly can we discern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before vs, who can then seeke out the things that are in heauen?* Sometimes confessing with *Iob* the righteous, intreating of things too wonderfull for vs, we haue spoken we wist not what. Sometimes ending their talke, as doth the Historie of the Macchabees, If we haue done well, and as the cause required, it is that we desire, if we haue spoken slenderly and barely, we haue done what we could. *But God hath made my mouth like a sword, saith Esay. And we haue receiued, saith the Apostle, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are giuen to vs of God, which things also we speake, not in words, which mans wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets meane by those bookes written full within, and without; which bookes were so often deliuered them to eate, not because God fed them with inke, and paper, but to teach vs, that so oft as he imployed them in this heauenly worke, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their owne, but vttered sillable by sillable as the Spirit put it into their mouthes, no other wise then the Harpe or the Lute doth giue a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill. The difference is onely this: An Instrument, whether it be a Pipe or Harpe; maketh a distinction in the Times and Sounds, which distinction is well perceived of the hearer, the Instrument it selfe vnderstanding not what is Piped or Harped. The Prophets and holy men of God not so. *I opened my mouth, saith Ezechiel, and God reached me a scroule, saying, Sonne of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I giue thee. I ate it, & it was sweet in my mouth as honey,* saith

Of the Prophets manner of speeche.

Iob 15. 2, 3.

Wisd. 9. 16.

Esay 49. 2.

Ezechiel 3.

and

saith

saith the Prophet. Yea sweeter, I am perswaded, then either hony, or the hony-combe. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes; but they felt, they felt the power and strength of their owne words. When they spake of our peace, every corner of their hearts, was filled with ioy. When they prophesied of mournings, lamentations, and woes; to fall vpon vs, they wept in the bitternesse and indignation of spirit, the arme of the Lord being mighty and strong vpon them.

5 On this manner were all the prophesies of holy Scripture. Which Prophesies, although they containe nothing which is not profitable for our instruction, yet as one starre differeth from another in glory, so every word of prophesie hath a treasure of matter in it, but all matters are not of like importance, as all treasures are not of equall price. The chiefe and principall matter of prophesie is the promise of righteousnesse, peace, holinesse, glory, victory, immortalitie; vnto every Soule which belceueth that Iesus is Christ; of the Jew first, and of the Gentile. Now because the doctrine of Salvation to be looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had bene a man forsaken of God, in him who was numbred, iudged, and condemned with the wicked, in him whom men did see buffeted on the face, scoft at by Souldiers, scourged by tormentors, hanged on the Crosse, pierced to the heart, in him whom the eyes of many witnesses did behold; when the anguish of his soule enforced him to roare as if his heart had rent in sunder, *O my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* I say, because the doctrine of saluation by Him, is a thing improbable to a naturall man, that whether wee preach it to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our faith as madnes, the other as blasphemie, therefore to establish and confirme the certaintie of this saluing Truth in the hearts of men; the Lord together, with their preachings, whom hee sent immediately from himselfe, to reueale these things vnto the world, mingled prophesies of things both Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall, which were to come in every age from time to time, till the very last of the latter dayes, that by those things, wherein wee see daily their words fulfilled and done, wee might haue strong consolation in the hope of things which are not seene, because they haue reuealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are spoken of before in Scripture, whereof we see first one thing accomplished, and then another, and so a third, perceiue we not plainely, that God doth nothing else but lead vs along by the hand, till hee haue settled vs vpon the Rocke of an assured hope, that no one iot or tittle of his Word shall passe till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore said in vaine, that these godlesse wicked ones were spoken of before.

6 But by whom? By them whose words, if men or Angels from heauen gaine say, they are accursed; by them, whom whosoever despiseth, despiseth not them, but me, saith Christ. If any man therefore doth loue the Lord Iesus (and woe worth him that loueth not the Lord Iesus!) hereby we may know that he loueth him indeed, if he despise not the things that are spoken of by his Apostles; whom many haue despised euen for the basenesse and simplenesse of their persons. For it is the propertie of fleshly and carnall men, to honour, and dishonour, credit, and discredit the words and deeds of every

A naturall
man percei-
ueth not hea-
uently things.

man,

man according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparell come amongst vs, although he be a Thiefe or a Murtherer (for there are Thieues and Murtherers in gorgeous apparell) bee his heart whatsoeuer, if his Coat be of Purple, or Veluet, or Tiffue, euery one riseth vp, and all the reuerent Solemnities we can vse, are too little. But the man that serueth God; is contemned and despised amongst vs for his pouertie. *Herod* speaketh in Iudgement, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man.* *Paul* preacheth Christ, they tearme him a trifter, *Hearken, beloued: hath not God chosen the poore of this World, that they should be rich in faith? Hath hee not chosen the refuse of the World to bee heires of his Kingdome, which hee hath promised to them that loue him? Hath he not chosen the off-scourings of men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apostles of Iesus Christ? Men vnlearned, yet how fully replenished with vnderstanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in shew, yet in Spirit how strong? how wonderfull? I would faine learne the mysterie of the eternall generation of the Sonne of God,* saith *Hilarie*, Whom shall I seeke? Shall I get me to the Schooles of the *Gracians*? Why? I haue read, *Vbi sapiens? vbi Scriba? vbi Conquisitor huius seculi?* These Wisemen in the World must needs be dumbe in this, because they haue reiected the Wisdome of God. Shall I beseech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, to interpe my Teachers? how can they know this, sith they are offended at the Crosse of Christ? It is death for me to be ignorant of the vnsearchable mysterie of the Sonne of God: of which mysterie notwithstanding I should haue bene ignorant, but that a poore Fisherman, vnknowne, vnlearned, new come from his Boat with his clothes wringing wet, hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* These poore sillie creatures haue made vs rich in the knowledge of the mysteries of Christ.

7 Remember therefore that which is spoken of by the Apostles. Whose words if the Children of this World doe not regard, is it any maruaile? They are the Apostles of our Lord Iesus; not of their Lord, but of our. It is true which one hath said in a certaine place, *Apostolicam fidem seculi homo non capit*, A man sworne to the World, is not capeable of that Faith which the Apostles doe teach. What meane the Children of this World then to tread in the courts of our God? What should your bodies doe at *Bethel*, whose hearts are at *Bethauen*? The god of this World, whom ye serue, hath provided apostles and teachers for you, *Chaldeans, Wisards, Southsayers, Astrologers*, and such like: Hearre them. Tell not vs that yee will sacrifice to the Lord our God, if wee will sacrifice to *Asheroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will reade our Scriptures, if wee will listen to your Traditions; that if yee may haue a Masse by permission, wee shall haue a Communion with good leaue and hking; that yee will admit the things that are spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus, if your Lord and Master may haue his ordinances obserued, and his Statutes kept. *Salomon* tooke it (as well he might) for an euident proote, that he did not beare a motherly affection to her Child, which yielded to haue it cut in diuers parts. Hee cannot loue the Lord Iesus with his heart, which lendeth one eare to his Apostles, and another to false apostles: which can brooke to see a mingle-

We must not
halt betweene
two Opinions.

mangle of Religion and Superstition, Ministers and Masing Priests, Light and Darknesse, Truth and Error, Traditions and Scriptures. No; we haue no Lord but Iesus; no Doctrine, but the Gospell; no Teachers, but his Apostles. Were it reason to require at the hands of an English subiect, obedience to the Lawes and Edicts of the Spaniard? I doe maruell, that any man bearing the name of a Seruant of the Seruants of Iesus Christ, will goe about to draw vs from our Allegiance. We are His sworne Subiects; it is not lawfull for vs to heare the things that are not told vs by his Apostles. They haue told vs, that in the last dayes there shall be Mockers; therefore we beleuee it; *Credimus quia legimus*, We are so perswaded, because we reade it must be so. If we did not reade it, we would not teach it: *Nam que libro Legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus*, saith *Hilarie*: Those things that are not written in the Booke of the Law, wee ought not so much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were spoken of before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ.*

Mockers in
the last time.

8 The third thing to be considered in the description of these men of whom we speake, is the time, wherein they should be manifested to the World. They told you, there should be mockers in the last time. *Noah* at the commandement of God, built an Arke, and there were in it beasts of all sorts, cleane and vncleane. A Husbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found also wilde Grapes. A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he sitteth him downe, he findeth amongst his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath bene the state of the Church sithence the beginning. God alwayes hath mingled his Saints with faithlesse and godlesse persons; as it were the cleane with the vncleane, Grapes with sowre Grapes, his friends and children with aliens and strangers. Maruell not then, if in the last dayes also yee see the men, with whom you liue & walke arme in arme, laugh at your Religion, and blaspheme that glorious Name, whereof you are called. Thus it was in the dayes of the Patriarkes and Prophets; and are we better then our Fathers? Albeit we suppose, that the blessed Apostles, in foreshewing what manner of men were set out for the last dayes, meant to note a calamitie speciall and peculiar to the Ages and Generations which were to come. As if he should haue said; As God hath appointed a time of Seed for the Sower, and a time of haruest for him that reapeth, as he hath giuen vnto euery herbe and euery tree his owne fruit, and his owne season, not the season nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather figges in the Winter, because the Summer is the season for them, nor Grapes of Thistles, because Grapes are the fruit of the Vine) so the same God hath appointed sundry for euery Generation of men, other men for other times, and for the last times the worst men, as may appeare by their properties, which is the fourth point to be considered of in this description.

Mockers.

9 They told you, that there should be *Mockers*. He meaneth men that shall vse Religion as a cloke, to put off, and on, as the weather serueth; such as shall with *Herod* heare the preaching of *John Baptist* to day, and to morrow condescend to haue him beheaded; or with the other *Herod* say, they will worship Christ, when they purpose a massacre in their hearts; kisse Christ with *Judas*,
and

and betray Christ with *Indas*. These are Mockers. For as *Ishmael*, the sonne of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaak*, which was heire of the promise; so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest people vnder the Sunne, if yee be like *Moses*, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, then to enioy the pleasures of sinne for a season. And why? God hath not giuen them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceiue that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of saluation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, euen as *Ishmael* tooke no pleasure in that promise, wherein God hath laid vnto *Abraham*, *In Isaak shall thy seed be called*, because the promise concerned not him, but *Isaak*. They are tearmed for their impietie towards God, mockers, and for the impuritie of their life and conuersation, *walkers after their own vngodly lusts*. *S. Peter* in his second Epistle and third Chapter soundeth the verie depth of their impietie: shewing *first*, how they shall not shame at the length to professe themselues prophane, and irreligious, by flat denying the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing: *secondly*, that they shall not be only deriders of all religion, but also Disputers against God, vsing Truth to subuert the Truth; yea Scriptures themselues to disproue Scriptures. Being in this sort mockers, they must needs bee also followers of *their owne vngodly lusts*. Being Atheists in perswasion, can they choose but be beasts in conuersation? For why remoude they quite from them the feare of God? Why take they such paines to abandon and put out from their hearts all sense, all taste, all feeling of Religion? but only to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remorse and grudging of conscience giue ouer themselues to all vncleanness. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable, then is the condition of Pagans and Turkes. For at the bare beholding of Heauen and Earth, the Infidels heart by and by doth giue him, that there is an eternall, infinite, immortall, and euer-liuing God; whose hands haue fashioned and framed the World; hee knoweth that euery house is builded of some man, though hee see not the man which built the house, and hee considereth, that it must bee God which hath built and created all things; although because the number of his dayes bee few, hee could not see when God disposed his workes of old, when he caused the light of his cloudes first to shine, when he laid the corner stone of the earth, and swaddled it with bands of water and darknesse; when he caused the morning starre to know his place, and made barres and doores to shut vp the Sea within his house, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther*: he hath no eye-witnesse of these things. Yet the light of naturall reason hath put this wisdom in his reines, and hath giuen his heart thus much vnderstanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schooles of the Prophets of God; prophesie to an Infidell, rebuke him; lay the iudgements of God before him, make the secret sinnes of his heart manifest, and he shall fall downe and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of Glorie, were not so far past recovery, but that the preaching of the Apostles was able to moue their hearts and to bring them to this, *Men and breshren, what shall we doe? Agrippa*, that sate in iudgement against *Paul* for preaching, yeelded notwithstanding thus farre vnto him, *Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christian*. Although the Iewes for want of knowledge haue not submitted them-

Mockers wor'd
then Pagans,
and Infidels.

Act. 1.

Act. 16.

Rom. 10.

selues to the righteoufnesse of God; yet I beare them record, saith the Apostle, *that they haue a zeale.* The *Athenians*, a people hauing neither Zeale, nor knowledge, yet of them also the same Apostle beareth witnesse, *Ye men of Athens, I perceiue yee are diuine as worshipers*, some way religious, but Mockers, walking after their owne vngodly lusts, they haue smothered euery sparke of that heavenly Light, they haue stifled euen their very naturall vnderstanding. O Lord, thy mercie is ouer all thy workes, thou sauest Man and Beast! yet a happie case it had beene for these men if they had neuer beene borne: and so I leaue them.

Iudas vir sapiens & certus iudicij.

10 S. *Iude* hauing his minde exercised in the doctrine of the Apostles of Iesus Christ, concerning things to come in the last time, became a man of a wise and staid iudgement. *Griued* he was, to see the departure of many, and their falling away from the faith, which before they did professe: *griued*, but not *dismayed*. With the simpler and weaker sort it was otherwise: Their countenance began by and by to change, they were halfe in doubt they had deceived themselues in giuing credit to the Gospell of Iesus Christ. S. *Iude*, to comfort and refresh these silly Lambes, taketh them vp in his armes, and sheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Looke vpon them that forsake this blessed Profession wherein you stand: They are now before your eyes; view them, marke them, are they not carnall? are they not like to noysome carrion cast out vpon the earth? is there that Spirit in them which cryeth *Abba* Father in your bosomes? Why should any man be discomforted? Haue you not heard that there should be *mockers* in the last time? These verily are they, that now doe separate themselues.

11 For your better vnderstanding, what this seuering and separating of themselues doth meane, wee must know, that the multitude of them which truly beleuee (howsoeuer they bee dispersed faire and wide each from other) is all *one bodie*, whereof the Head is Christ, *one building*, whereof he is the Corner Stone, in whom they as the members of the bodie being knit, and as the stones of the building, being coupled, grow vp to a man of perfect stature, and rise to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Christ to vs, is his meere mercie and loue towards vs. That which tyeth vs to him, is our faith in the promised saluation reuealed in the Word of truth. That which vniteth and ioyneth vs amongst our selues, in such sort that wee are now as if wee had but one heart and one soule, is our loue. Who bee inwardly in heart the liuely members of this body, and the polished stones of this building, coupled and ioyned to Christ, as flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, by the mutuall bond of his vnspeakeable loue towards them, and their vnsayned faith in him, thus linked and fastned each to other by a spirituall, sincere, and hearty affection of loue, without any manner of simulation, who be Iewes within, and what their names be, none can tell, saue he whose eyes doe behold the secret disposition of all mens hearts. Wee, whose eyes are too dimme to behold the inward man, must leaue the secret iudgement of euery seruant to his owne Lord, accounting and vsing all men as brethren both neere and deare vnto vs, supposing Christ to loue them tenderly, so as they keepe the profession of the Gospell, and ioyne in the outward Communion of Saints. Whereof the one doth

doth warrantize vnto vs their faith, the other their loue, till they fall away, and forsake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no iniurie to terme them as they are. When they separate themselues, they are *διουκαραπτισι* not iudged by vs, but by their owne doings. Men doe separate themselues eyther by Heresie, Schisme, or Apostasie. If they loose the bond of faith, which then they are iustly supposed to doe, when they srowardly oppugne any principall point of Christian doctrine, this is to separate themselues by *Heresie*. If they breake the bond of vnitie, whereby the bodie of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they doe, which wilfully forsake all externall communion with Saints in holy exercises purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselues by *Schisme*. If they willingly cast off, and vterly forsake both profession of Christ, and communion with Christians, taking their leaue of all Religion, this is to separate themselues by plaine *Apostasie*. And Saint *Iude*, to expresse the manner of their departure, which by *Apostasie* fell away from the Faith of Christ, faith, they separated themselues: noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmitie and weaknesse in themselues, it was not feare of persecution to come vpon them, whereat their hearts did faile; it was not griefe of torments, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them. No, they voluntarily did separate themselues with a fully settled and altogether determined purpose neuer to name the Lord Iesus any more, nor to haue any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsell and all their strength to raze out their memoriall from amongst men.

Three-fold Separation.

1. Heresie.

2. Schisme.

3. Apostasie.

12 Now because that by such examples, not only the hearts of Infidels were hardened against the Truth, but the minds of weake Brethren also much troubled, the Holy Ghost hath giuen sentence of these back-sliders, that they were carnall men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Iesus, lest any man hauing an ouer-weening of their persons, should be ouer-much amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men not able to discern their spirits, were brought by their Apostasie thus to reason with themselues. If Christ be the Sonne of the liuing God, if he haue the words of eternall life, if he be able to bring saluation to all men that come vnto him, what meaneth this Apostasie, and vnconstrained departure? Why doe his seruants so willingly forsake him? Babes be not deceiued, his seruants forsake him not. They that separate themselues, were amongst his seruants, but if they had beene of his seruants, they had not separated themselues. They were amongst vs, not of vs, faith S. *Iohn*: and S. *Iude* proueth it, because they were carnall, and had not the Spirit. Will you iudge of Wheate by Chaffe which the winde hath scattered from amongst it? Haue the children no bread because the Dogs haue not tasted it? Are Christians deceiued of that saluation they looked for, because they denyed the ioyes of the life to come which were no Christians? What if they seemed to be Pillers and principall vpholders of our faith? What is that to vs, which know that Angels hath falne from Heauen? Although if these men had beene of vs indeede, (O the blessednesse of a Christian mans estate!) they had stood surer then the Angels, they had neuer departed from their place. Whereas now wee maruaile not at their departure at all, neither are wee prejudiced by their falling away;

because they were not of vs, sith they are fleshly, and haue not the Spirit. Children abide in the house for euer; they are bond-men and bond-women which are cast out.

13 It behoueth you therefore greatly euery man to examine his owne estate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I haue told you already, that we must beware we presume not to sit as Gods in iudgement vpon others, and rashly, as our conceit and fancie doth lead vs, so to determine of this man, he is sincere, or of that man, He is an hypocrite, except by their falling away they make it manifest and knowne what they are. For who art thou that takest vpon thee to iudge another before the time? Iudge thy selfe. God hath left vs infallible euidence, whereby wee may at any time giue true and righteous sentence vpon our selues. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we haue passed from death to life, we know it, saith Saint *John*, because wee loue our Brethren: and know yee not your owne selues, how that Iesus Christ is in you, except yee be Reprobates? I trust, beloued, we know that we are not Reprobates, because our Spirit doth beare vs record, that the Faith of our Lord Iesus Christ is in vs.

14 It is as easie a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whose yee are, as for the eyes of your bodie to iudge where you sit, or in what place you stand. For what saith the Scripture? Yee, which were in times past strangers and enemies, because your mindes were set on euill workes, Christ hath now reconciled in the bodie of his flesh through death, to make you holy, and vblameable, and without fault in his sight: if you continue grounded and established in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Gospell, *Coloss. 1.* And in the third to the *Colossians*. Yee know, that of the Lord yee shall receiue the reward of that Inheritance, for yee serue the Lord Christ. If we can make this account with our selues; I was in times past dead in trespasses and sinnes, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the Ayre, and after the Spirit that worketh in the Children of disobedience; but God, who is rich in mercie, through his great loue, wherewith hee loued mee, euen when I was dead, hath quickened me in Christ. I was fierce, headie, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the child that is newly weyned: I loued pleasures more then God; I followed greedily the ioyes of this present World; I esteemed him, that erected a Stage or Theatre, more then *Salomon* which built a Temple to the Lord; the Harpe, Viole, Timbrell, and Pipe, men fingers and women fingers were at my Feasts; it was my felicitie to see my children dance before me. I said of euery kind of vanitie, O how sweet art thou vnto my soule! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pompe of this World; now I take as great delight in the way of thy testimonies, O Lord, as in all riches; now I find more ioy of heart in my Lord and Sauour, then the worldly-minded man, when his Wheate and Oyle doe much abound: now I taste nothing sweet, but the Bread that came downe from Heauen, to giue life vnto the World: now mine eyes see nothing, but Iesus rising from the dead: now my eare refuseth all kinde of melodie to heare the Song of them that haue gotten victorie of the Beast, and of his image, and of his marke, and of the number of his Name, that stand

Infallible euidence in the faithfull, that they are Gods Children.

on the Sea of Glasse, hauing the Harpes of God, and singing the Song of *Moses* the seruant of God, and the Song of the Lambe, saying, Great and marvellous are thy Workes, Lord God Almighty, iust and true are thy wayes, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit haue bene thus effectuell in the secret worke of our Regeneration vnto newnesse of life; if wee endeouour thus to frame our selues anew, then we may say boldly with the blessed Apostle in the tenth to the Hebrewes, *We are not of them which withdraw our selues to perdition, but which follow faith to the conseruation of the soule.* For they that fall away from the grace of God, and separate themselues vnto perdition, they are fleshly and carnall, they haue not Gods holy Spirit. But vnto you, because yee are sonnes, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Sonne into your hearts, to the end yee might know, that Christ hath built you vpon a Rocke vnmoueable; that he hath registred your names in the Booke of Life; that hee hath bound himselfe in a sure and euerlasting Couenant, to be your God, and the God of your children after you; that he hath suffered as much, grieved as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter: O Father, keepe them in thy Name! O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, but I haue knowne thee, and these haue knowne that thou hast sent mee, I haue declared thy Name vnto them, and will declare it, that the loue wherewith thou hast loued me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercie giue vs hearts plentifully fraught with the treasure of this blessed assurance of faith vnto the end.

14 Here I must aduertise all men, that haue the testimonie of Gods holy feare within their breasts, to consider how vnkindly and iniuriously our owne country-men and brethren haue dealt with vs by the space of foure and twentie yeres, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom *S. Iude* here speaketh; neuer ceasing to charge vs, some with Schisme, some with Heresie, some with plaine and manifest Apostasie, as if wee had cleane separated our selues from Christ, vtterly forsaken God, quite abiured Heauen, and trampled all Truth and all Religion vnder our feet. Against this third sort, God himselfe shall plead our Cause, in that day, when they shall answer vs for these words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accused for Schisme and Heresie, we haue often made our reasonable, and in the sight of God, I trust, allowable answers. For in the way which they call *Heresie*, we worship the God of our Fathers, beleeuing all things which are written in the Law & the Prophets. That which they call *Schisme*, we know to be our reasonable seruice vnto God, and obedience to his voice, which cryeth shrill in our eares, *Goe out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that yee receiue not of her plagues.* And therefore when they rise vp against vs, hauing no quarrell but this, wee need not to seeke any farther for our Apologie, then the words of *Abiah* to *Ieroboam* and his Armie, 2. *Chron.* 13. *O IEROBOAM, and Israel, heare you me, ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Israel hath giuen the Kingdome ouer Israel to DAVID, for euer, euen to him and to his sonnes, by a Couenant of Salt; that is to say, an euerlasting Couenant.* Iesuites and Papists, heare yee mee, ought you not to know, that the Father hath giuen all power vnto the Sonne, and hath made him the onely Head ouer his Church, wherein hee dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midst of his Vineyard, manuring it with
the

The Papists
falsely accuse
vs of Heresie
and Apostasie.

Act. 25.

Act. 13.

cap. 8. 11.

Act. 20.

The Popes
vsurped Su-
premacie.

the sweat of his owne browes, not letting it forth to others? For as it is in the Canticle, *Salomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, hee gaue the Vineyard vnto Keepers, euery one bringing for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of Siluer; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before mee, saith Christ. It is true; this is meant of the mysticall Head set ouer the body, which is not seene. But as he hath reserued the mysticall administration of the Church inuisible vnto himselfe, so he hath committed the mysticall government of Congregations visible, to the sonnes of *Dauid*, by the same Couenant; whose sonnes they are, in the gouerning of the Flocke of Christ, whomsoever the Holy Ghost hath set ouer them, to goe before them, and to lead them in their seuerall Pastures; one in this Congregation, another in that: as it is written, *Take heed vnto your selues, and to all the Flocke, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you Ouerseers; to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne blood.* Neither wil euer any Pope, or Papisit, vnder the Cope of Heauen, be able to proue the Romish Bishops vsurped Supremacie ouer all Churches, by any one word of the Couenant of Salt, which is the Scripture: For the children in our streets doe now laugh them to scorne, when they force, *Thou art PETER*, to this purpose. The Pope hath no more reason to draw the Charter of his vniuersall Authoritie from hence, then the Brethren had to gather by the words of Christ, in the last of *S. Iohn*, that the Disciple, whom Iesus loued, should neuer die. *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* saith Christ. Straightwayes a report was raised amongst the Brethren, That this Disciple should not die. Yet Iesus said not to him, He shall not die; but, *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* Christ hath said in the sixteenth of *S. Matthewes* Gospel, to *Simon* the sonne of *Ionas*; *I say to thee, Thou art PETER*. Hence an opinion is held in the world, That the Pope is vniuersall Head of all Churches. Yet Iesus said not, The Pope is vniuersall Head of all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus, Thou art PETER*. Howbeit, as *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, the sequant of *Salomon*, rose vp and rebelled against his Lord, and there were gathered vnto him vaine men and wicked, which made themselues strong against *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Salomon*, because *Roboam* was but a child, and tender-hearted, and could not resist them: So the Sonne of Perdition, and Man of Sinne, being not able to brooke the words of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, which forbade his Disciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They beare Rule, and are called Gracious, If I shall not be so with you*, hath risen vp and rebelled against his Lord, and to strengthen his arme, he hath crept into the houses almost of all the Noblest Families round about him, and taken their children from the Cradle, to be his Cardinals: He hath fawned vpon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by Spirituall Coozenage hath made them sell their lawfull Authoritie and Iurisdiction, for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Christianissimus*, *Defensor fidei*, and such like: He hath proclaimed sale of Pardons, to inueagle the ignorant; built Seminaries, to allure young men, desirous of Learning; erected Stewes, to gether the dissolute vnto him. This is the Rocke whereupon his Church is built. Heereby the Man is growne huge and strong, like the Cedars, which are not shaken with the wind, because Princes haue beene as children, ouer-tender-hearted, and could not resist.

Concil. de Leclor.
Cardin. Laurent.
Surin Comm. de
reb. gest. à Pio 5.
Francisc. Sanso-
vin. de gubernat.
Regnorum &
Reipub. l. 11.
cap. de Iud.
Marescal. &
Soldan.

Hereby

Hereby it is come to passe, as you see this day, that the Man of Sinne doth warre against vs, not by men of a Language which we cannot vnderstand, but he commeth as *Ierobam* against *Iuda*, and bringeth the fruit of our owne bodies to eat vs vp, that the bowels of the child may be made the mothers graue, that hath caused no small number of our Brethren to forsake their Natiue Countrey, and with all disloyaltie to cast off the yoke of their Allegiance to our dread Soueraigne, whom God in mercie hath set ouer them; for whose safegard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the bosomes of men, they would thinke the dearest blood in their bodies well spent. But now, saith *Abiah* to *Ieroboam*, yee thinke yee be able to resist the Kingdome of the Lord, which is in the hands of the sonnes of *Dauid*. Yee see a great multitude, the golden Calues are with you, which *Ieroboam* made you for gods: Haue ye not driuen away the Priests of the Lord, the sonnes of *Aaron*, and the Leuites, and haue made you Priests like the people of Nations? Whosoever commeth with a young Bullocke, and seuen Rammes, the same may be a Priest of them that are no gods. If I should follow the Comparifon, and here vncouer the Cup of those deadly and ougly Abominations wherewith this **I E R O B O A M**, of whom we speake, hath made the Earth so drunke, that it hath reeled vnder vs, I know, your godly hearts would loath to see them. For my owne part, I delight not to take in such filth, I had rather take a garment vpon my shoulders, and goe with my face from them, to couer them. The Lord open their eyes, and cause them, if it be possible, at the length to see, how they are wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blind, and naked! Put it, O Lord in their hearts, to seeke white Rayment, and to couer themselues, that their filthy nakednesse may no longer appeare! For, beloued in Christ, we bow our knees, and lift vp our hands to Heauen in our Chambers secretly, and openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourelly, euen for them also: though the Pope hath giuen out as a Iudge, in a solemne declaratorie Sentence of *Excommunication* against this Land, That our gracious Ladie hath quite abolished *Prayers* within her Realme; and his Schollers, whom he hath taken from the midst of vs, haue in their published Writings charged vs not onely not to haue any holy Assemblies vnto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a common Schoole of Sinne and Flatterie; to hold Sacriledge to be Gods seruice; Vnfaithfulnesse, and breach of promise to God, to giue it to a strumpet, to be a vertue; to abandon Fasting; to abhorre Confession; to mislike with Penance; to like well of Vfurie; to charge none with Restitution; to find no good before God in single life, nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to vs, are much worsed, and more, then afore, corrupted. I doe not adde one word, or syllable, vnto that, which Master *Bristow*, a man both borne and sworne amongst vs, hath taught his hand to deliuer to the view of all. I appeale to the conscience of euery soule, that hath beene truly conuerted by vs; Whether his heart were neuer raised vp to God by our Preaching; whether the words of our exhortation neuer wrung any teare of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his soule neuer reaped any ioy, any comfort, any consolation in Christ Iesus, by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Psalmes, and Thanfsgiuing; whether hee were neuer bettered, but alwayes worsed by vs.

O mercifull God! If Heauen and Earth in this case doe not witnesse with vs, and against them, let vs be razed out from the Land of the Liuing! Let the Earth, on which wee stand, swallow vs quicke, as it hath done *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram!* But if we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; if our Priests, the sonnes of *Aaron*, minister vnto the Lord, and the Leuites in their Office; if we offer vnto the Lord euery morning and euery evening the burnt Offerings, and sweet Incense of Prayers, and Thanksgiuings; if the Bread be set in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candlestick of Gold, with the Lamps thereof, to burne euery morning; that is to say, if amongst vs Gods blessed Sacraments bee duely administred, his holy Word sincerely and daily preached; if we keepe the Watch of the Lord our God, and if yee

1. Chr. cap. 13:

Ver. 12.

haue forsaken him: then doubt yee not, this God is with vs as a Capitaine, his Priests with sounding Trumpets must crie alarme against you; *O yee children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your Fathers, for yee shall not prosper.*



THE

THE SECOND SERMON.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But yee, beloued, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ,

How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which should walke after their owne vngodly lusts.

These are makers of Sects, fleshly, hauing not the Spirit.

But yee, beloued, edifie your selues in your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost,

And keepe your selues in the loue of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, vnto eternall life.



Auging other where spoken of the words of Saint Iude, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which should come in the last time, and backsliders, which euen then fell away from the faith of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ; I am now, by the aid of Almighty God, and through the assistance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation, which I haue read.

2. Wherein first of all, whosoeuer hath an eye to see, let him open it, and he shall well perceiue, how carefull the Lord is for his children, how desirous to see them profit and grow vp to a manly stature in Christ, how loth to haue them any way misled, either by examples of the wicked, or by enticements of the world, and by prouocation of the flesh, or by any other meanes forcible to deceiue them, and likely to estrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with vs, that he careth not whether we sinke or swimme. No, hee hath written our names in the Palme of his hand, in the Signet vpon his finger are we grauen, in sentences not onely of Mercie, but of Iudgement also, we are remembered. Hee neuer denounceth Iudgements against the wicked, but hee maketh some *Prouiso* for his children, as it were for some certaine priuiledged persons, *Touch not mine Anointed, doe my Prophets no harme, hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we haue sealed the seruants of God in their foreheads.* He neuer speaketh of godlesse men, but he adioyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moued to rest and settle our hearts on him. In the second to *Timoshy*, the 3. Chapter, *Enill men* (saith the Apostle)

and

and deceiuers shall waxe worse and worse, deceiuing, and being deceiued. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned. And in the first to Timothy, the sixt Chapter, *Some men lusting after mony, haue erred from the faith, and pierced themselues thorow with many sorrowes. But thou, O man of God, flie these things, and follow after righteousnesse, godlinesse, faith, loue, patience, meeknesse.* In the second to the Theſſalonians, the second Chapter, *They haue not receiued the loue of the Truth, that they might be ſaued, God shall send them strong deluſions, that they may beleue lies. But we ought to giue thankes alway to God for you, brethren, beloued of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to ſaluation, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this epistle of S. Iude, *There ſhal come mockers in the laſt time, walking after their owne vngodly luſts. But, beloued, edifie yee your ſelues in your moſt holy faith.*

3 Theſe ſweet Exhortations, which God putteth euery where in the mouthes of the Prophets and Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt, are euident tokens, that God ſitteth not in Heauen careleſſe and vnmindful of our eſtate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely, a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found vnnaturall, and doe forget the fruit of her owne Wombe, yet Gods iudgements ſheſe plainly, that hee cannot forget the man whoſe heart he hath framed and fashioned anew, in ſimplicite and truth to ſerue and feare him. For when the wickedneſſe of man was ſo great, & the earth ſo filled with crueltie, that it could not ſtand with the righteousneſſe of God any longer to forbear, wrathfull ſentences brake out from him, like Wine from a veſſell that hath no vent: *My Spirit (ſaith he) can ſtruggle and ſtrive no longer, an end of all fleſh is come before mee.* Yet then did Noah find grace in the eyes of the Lord; *I will eſtabliſh my Couenant with thee (ſaith God) thou ſhalt goe into the Arke, thou, and thy ſonnes, and thy wife, and thy ſonnes wives with thee.*

4 Doe we not ſee what ſhift God doth make for Lot, and for his family, in the nineteent of Genesis, leſt the fierie deſtruction of the wicked ſhould ouer-take him? Ouer-night the Angels make enquire, what ſonnes or daughters, or ſonnes in law, what wealth and ſubſtance hee had. They charge him to carrie out all, *What ſoeuer thou haſt in the Citie, bring it out.* God ſeemeth to ſtand in a kind of feare, leſt ſome thing or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, nor an hoofe of any beaſt, nor a thred of any garment, ſhould be ſindged with that fire. In the morning the Angels ſaile not to call him vp, and to haſten him forward, *Arise, take thy wife, and thy daughters which are heere, that they be not deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the Citie.* The Angels hauing ſpoken againe and againe, Lot for all this lingereth out the time ſtill, till at the length they were forced to take both him, and his wife, and his daughters, *by the armes (the Lord being mercifull vnto him) and to carrie them forth, and ſet them without the Citie.*

5 Was there euer any father thus carefull to ſaue his child from the flame? A man would thinke, that now being ſpoken vnto to eſcape for his life, and not to looke behind him, nor to carrie in the plaine, but to haſten to the mountaine, and there to ſaue himſelfe, he ſhould doe it gladly. Yet behold, now he is ſo farre off from a cheerefull and willing heart to do whatſoeuer is commanded him for his owne weale, that he beginneth to reaſon the matter, as if God had

had mistaken one place for another, sending him to the Hill, when saluation was in the Citie. *Not so, my Lord, I beseech thee, Behold, thy seruant hath found* ^{v. 18.} *grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercie which thou hast shewed vnto me in sauing my life. I cannot escape in the mountaine, lest some cuill take mee and I die. Here is a Citie hard by, a small thing, O let me escape thither (is it not a small thing ?) and my soule shall liue. Well, God is contented to yeeld to any conditions. Behold, I haue receiued thy request concerning this thing also, I will spare this Citie, for which thou hast spoken; haste thee; saue thee there. For I can doe nothing till thou come thither.*

6 Hee could doe nothing! Not because of the weaknesse of his strength (for who is like vnto the Lord in power?) but because of the greatnesse of his mercie, which would not suffer him to lift vp his arme against this Citie, nor to powre out his wrath vpon that place, where his righteous seruant had a fancie to remaine, and a desire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercie and loue of God! God is afraid to offend vs which are not afraid to displeas him! God can doe nothing till he haue saued vs, which can find in our hearts rather to doe any thing then to serue him. It contenteth him not to exempt vs, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort vs at euery mention which is made of reprobates and godlesse men; to saue vs as the apple of his owne eye when fire commeth downe from heauen to consume the inhabitants of the earth, except euery Prophet, and euery Apostle, and euery seruant, whom he sendeth forth, doe come loaden with these and the like exhortations, *O beloued, edifie your selues in your most holy faith. Giue your selues to prayer in the Spirit, keepe your selues in the loue of God. Looke for the mercie of our Lord Iesus Christ vnto eternall life.*

7 *Edifie your selues.* The speech is borrowed from materiall builders, and must bee spirituall vnderstood. It appeareth in the 6. of S. Iohns Gospell by the Iewes, that their mouthes did water too much for bodily food, *Our fathers, say they, did eate Manna in the Desert, as it is written, He gaue them bread from heauen to eate, Lord, euermore giue vs of this bread!* Our Sauour, to turne their appetite another way, maketh them this answere, *I am the Bread of life, he that commeth to me, shall not hunger, and he that beleueth in mee, shall neuer thirst.*

8 An vsuall practice it is of Satan, to cast heapes of worldly baggage in our way, that whilest wee desire to heape vp gold as dust, wee may be brought at the length to esteeme vilely that spirituall blisse. Christ, in the 6. of *Mathew*, to correct this euill affection, putteth vs in minde to lay vp treasure for our selues in heauen. The Apostle, 1. *Tim. 3. chapt.* misliking the vanitie of those women, which attired themselues more costly, then becomed the heavenly calling of such as professed the feare of God, willet them to cloath themselues with shamefastnesse and modestie, and to put on the apparell of good workes. *Taliter pigmentata Deum habebitis amatorem, sayth, Tertullian.* Put on righteousnesse as a garment: in stead of Ciuit, haue Faith, which may cause a saouour of life to issue from you, and God shall be enamoured, he shall be ruihed with your beautie. These are the ornaments, and bracelets, and iewels, which inflame the loue of Christ, and set his heart on fire vpon his Spouse.

Hhh

Wee

Wee see, how hee breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire, How faire art thou, and how pleasant art thou, O my loue, in these pleasures!

9 And perhaps *S. Iude* exhorteth vs here not to build our houses, but our selues, foreseeing by the Spirit of the Almighty, which was with him, that there should bee men in the last dayes like to those in the first, which should encourage and stirre vp each other to make Bricke, and to burne it in the fire, to build Houses huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heauen, thereby to get them a name vpon earth; men that should turne out the poore, and the fatherlesse, and the Widdow, to buiid places of rest for Dogs and Swine in their roomes; men that should lay Houses of prayer euen with the ground, and make them stables where Gods people haue worshipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanitie of all vanities, and it is much amongst men: a speciall sickenesse of this age. What it should meane, I know not, except God haue set them on worke to prouide fewell against that day, when the Lord Iesus shall shew himselfe from Heauen with his mightie Angels in flaming fire. What good commeth vnto the owners of these things, sayth *Salomon*, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou busiest thy selfe about many things, One thing is necessarie.* Yee are too busie, my brethren, with Timber, and Bricke; They haue chosen the better part, they haue taken a better course, that build themselues. Yee are the Temples of the liuing God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and will walke in them, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.

Eccles. 5.

10 Which of you will gladly remaine, or abide in a mis-shapen, a ruinous, or a broken house? And shall we suffer sinne, and vanitie to drop in at our eyes, and at our eares, at euery corner of our bodies, and of our soules, knowing that wee are the Temples of the holy Ghost? Which of you receiueth a Guest, whom he honoureth, or whom he loueth, and doth not sweepe his Chamber against his comming? And shall wee suffer the chamber of our hearts and consciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbidge, knowing that Christ hath said, I, and my Father will come, and dwell with you? Is it meete for your Oxen to lie in Parlours, and your selues to lodge in Cribs? Or is it seemely for your selues to dwell in your settled houses, and the house of the Almighty to lie waste, whose house yee are your selues? Doe not our eyes behold, how God euery day ouertaketh the wicked in their iourneyes, how suddenly they pop downe into the pit? how Gods iudgements for their times come so swiftly vpon them, that they haue not the leasure to to crie, Alas? how their life is cut off like a threed in a moment? how they passe like a shadow? how they open their mouthes to speake, and God taketh them euen in the midst of a vaine or an idle word? And dare wee for all this lie downe, take our rest, eate our meate securely and carelesly in the midst of so great and so many ruines? Blessed and praised for euer and euer be his name, who perceiuing of how senselesse and heauie metall wee are made, hath instituted in his Church a spirituall Supper, and an holy Communion, to bee celebrated often, that wee might thereby bee occasioned often to examine these buildings of ours, in what case they stand. For sith God doth not dwell

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

dwel in Temples which are vncleane, sith a Shrine cannot bee a Sanctuarie vnto him; and this Supper is receiued as a seale vnto vs, that wee are his Houfe and his Sanctuarie; that his Christ is as truly vnited to mee, and I to him, as my arme is vnited and knit vnto my shoulder; that Hee dwelleth in mee as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within mee; which perswasion, by receiuing these dreadfull mysteries, wee professe our selues to haue a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocrisie, then woe worth vs: Therefore ere wee put forth our hands to take this blessed Sacrament, wee are charged to examine and to trie our hearts, whether God bee in vs of a truth, or no: and if by faith and loue vnfaigned wee be found the Temples of the holy Ghost, then to iudge, whether we haue had such regard euery one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in vs hath no way bene vexed, molested, and grieved: or if it haue, as no doubt sometimes it hath by incredulitie, sometimes by breach of charitie, sometimes by want of zeale, sometimes by spots of life, euen in the best and most perfect amongst vs (for who can say, his heart is cleane?) O then, to flye vnto God by vnfaigned repentance, to fall downe before him in the humilitie of our soules, begging of him whatsoever is needfull to reparaire our decayes, before wee fall into that desolation whereof the Prophet speaketh, saying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can beale thee?* Lam. 2.13.

11 Receiuing the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this sort, (you that are Spirituall, iudge what I speake) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we blesse? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a tast, a tast of Christ Iesus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not hee which drinketh, behold plainly in this Cup, that his soule is bathed in the bloud of the Lambe? O beloued in our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, if yee will tast how sweet the Lord is, if ye will receiue the King of Glorie, *Build your selues.*

12 *Young men*, I speake this to you; for yee are his Houfe, because by faith ye are Conquerors ouer *Satan*, and haue overcome that euill. *Fathers*, I speake it also to you; yee are his Houfe, because yee haue knowne him, which is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I speake it euen to you also; yee are his Houfe, because your sinnes are forgiuen you for his Namesake. *Matrons and Sisters*, I may not hold it from you; yee are also the Lords building, and, as *S. Peter* speaketh, heires of the grace of life as well as wee. Though it be forbidden you to open your mouthes in publike Assemblies, yet yee must be inquisitiue in things concerning this building, which is of God, with your husbands and friends at home; not as *Dalila* with *Samson*, but as *Sara* with *Abraham*, whose daughters yee are, whilst yee doe well, and build your selues.

13 Having spoken thus farre of the Exhortation, as whereby wee are called vpon to edifie and build our selues; it remaineth now, that wee consider the thing prescribed, namely, wherein wee must bee built. This prescription standeth also vpon two points, the *thing* prescribed, and the *adinnets* of the *thing*. And that is our most pure and *holy faith*.

14 The thing prescribed is *Faith*. For as in a chaine, which is made of many linkes, if you pull the first, you draw the rest; and as in a Ladder of many

staues, if you take away the lowest, all hope of ascending to the highest, will be remoued: So, because all the Precepts and Promises in the Law and in the Gospell doe hang vpon this, *Beleeue*; and because the last of the graces of God doth so follow the first, that hee glorifieth none, but whom hee hath iustified, nor iustifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectuall, and liuely faith in Christ Iesus; therefore *S. Iude* exhorting vs to *build our selues*, mentioneth here, expressly onely faith, as the thing wherein we must be edified, for that faith is the ground and the glorie of all the well-fare of this building.

Ephes. 2. 15 *Ye are not strangers and forainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God (saith the Apostle) and are built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Iesus Christ himselfe being the chiefe corner Stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom yee also are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit. And wee are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if wee beleeue. For it is written, Whosoever confesseth, that Iesus is the Sonne of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God. The strength of this habitation is great; it preuaileth against Satan; it conquereth Sinne; it hath Death in derision; neyther Principalities, nor Powers, can throw it downe; it leadeth the World captiue, and bringeth euery enemy, that riseth vp against it, to confusion and shame, and all by faith; for this is the victorie that ouercommeth the World, euen oue faith. Who is it that ouercommeth the World, but he which beleeueth, that Iesus is the Sonne of God?*

1. Iobn 4.
1. Iobn 5. 16 The strength of euery Building, which is of God, standeth not in any mans armes, or legges; it is onely in our faith, as the valour of *Samson* lay onely in his haire. This is the reason, why we are so earnestly called vpon to *edifie our selues in faith*. Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we beleeue the Gospell of Christ, were able in it selfe, as of it selfe, to make vs vnconquerable, and inuincible, like stones, which abide in the building for euer, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthinesse of our beleeuing, it is the vertue of him in whom we beleeue, by which we stand sure, as houses that are builded vpon a Rocke. He is a Wiseman, which hath builded his house vpon a Rocke; for hee hath chosen a good foundation, and no doubt his house will stand. But how shall it stand? Verily, by the strength of the Rocke which beareth it, and by nothing else. Our fathers, whom God deliuered out of the Land of *Ægypt*, were a people that had no Peeres amongst the Nations of the Earth, because they were built by faith vpon the Rocke, which Rocke is Christ. *And the Rock* (saith the Apostle in the first to the Corinthians, the tenth Chapter) *did follow him*. Whereby we learne not onely this, that being built by faith on Christ as on a Rocke, and grafted into him as into an Oliue, wee receive all our strength and fatnesse from him; but also, that this strength and fatnesse of ours ought to be no cause why we should be high-minded, and not worke out our saluation with a reuerent trembling, and holy feare. For if thou boastest thy selfe of thy faith, know this, That Christ chose his Apostles, his Apostles chose not him; that Israel followed not the Rocke, but the Rocke followed Israel; and that thou bearest not the Roote, but the Roote thee. So that euery heart must this thinke, and euery tongue must thus speake, *Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto vs,*

Mat. 7.

Exod. 11.

vs, nor vnto any thing which is within vs, but vnto thy Name onely, onely to thy Name, belongeth all the praise of all the Treasures and Riches of euey Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boasting and vaunting of our faith.

17 But this must not make vs carelesse to edifie our selues in faith. It is the Lord that deliuereth mens soules from death, but not except they put their trust in his mercie. It is God that hath giuen vs eternall life, but no other. ^{1. Iob. 5.} wife then thus, If we beleeu in the name of the Sonne of God; for hee that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came vpon *Samson*, and made him strong to teare a Lyon as a man would rent a Kid: but his strength forsooke him, and he became like other men when the Razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithfull haue subdued kingdomes, wrought righteoufnesse, obtayned the promises, stopped the mouthes of Lyons, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword: But take away their faith, and doth not their strength forsake them? are they not like vnto other men?

18 If yee desire yet farther to know how necessarie and needfull it is, that wee edifie and build vp our selues in faith, marke the words of the blessed Apostles, *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* If I offer vnto God all the Sheepe and Oxen that are in the world, if all the Temples that were builded since the dayes of *Adam* till this houre, were of my foundation, if I breake my very heart with calling vpon God, and weare out my tongue with Preaching, if I sacrifice my bodie and my soule vnto him, and haue no faith, all this auayleth nothing. *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* Our Lord and Sauour therefore being asked in the sixt of *S. Johns* Gospell, *What shall we doe that we might worke the workes of God,* maketh answer, *This is the worke of God, that yee beleeu in him, whom he hath sent.* No pleasing of
God without
faith.

19 That no worke of ours, no building of our selues in any thing can be auailable or profitable vnto vs, except we be edified and built in faith, what need wee to seeke about for long prooffe? Looke vpon *Israel*, once the very chosen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithfull, and the glorie of Cherubins, and the couenants of mercie, and the law of *Moses*, and the seruice of God, and the promises of *Christ* were made impropriate, who not onely were the off-spring of *Abraham*, father vnto all them which doe beleeu, but *Christ* their off-spring, which is God to bee blessed for euermore.

20 Consider this people, and learne, what it is to *build your selues in faith.* They were the Lords Vine: hee brought it out of *Egypt*, hee threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted, he made roome for it, and caused it to take roote, till it had filled the earth, the mountaines were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly Cedars. Shee stretched out her branches vnto the sea, and her boughs vnto the riuer. But when God hauing sent both his seruants and his Sonne to visite this Vine, they neither spared the one, nor received the other, but stoned the Prophets, and crucified the Loꝝd of glorie which came vnto them, then began the curse of God to come vpon them, euen the curse whereof the Prophet *David* hath

Pfal. 69.
Rom. 17.

spoken, saying, *Let their table be made a snare, and a net, and a stumbling block, even for a recompence vnto them, let their eyes be darkened, that they doe not see, bow downe their baskes for ever, keepe them downe.* And sithens the houre, that the measure of their infidelitie was first made vp, they haue beene spoyled with warres, eaten vp with plagües, spent with hunger and famine: they wander from place to place, and are become the most base and contemptible people that are vnder the Sunne. *Ephraim*, which before was a terrour vnto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelitie so vile, that he seemeth as a thing cast out, to be trampled vnder mens feet. In the midt of these desolations they cry, *Retourne, wee beseech thee, o God of hosts, looke downe from heauen, behold and visit this Vine:* but their very prayers are turned into sin, and their cryes are no better then the lowing of beasts before him. *Well*, sayth the Apostle, *By their vnbeliefe they are broken off, and thou dost stand by thy faith.*

Pfal. 13. 14.

Rom. 11. 20.

1 Pet. 2. 2.

Behold therefore the bountifullnesse and severitie of God, towards them severitie, because they haue false, bountifullnesse towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifullnesse, or else thou shalt be cut off. If they forsake their vnbeliefe, and be grafted in againe, and wee at any time for the hardnesse of our hearts be broken off, it will be at such a iudgement as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are aboute. Who hath searched the counsell of God concerning this secret? and who doth not see that *infidelitie* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* vnto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* vpon the Iewes? It may be that these words seeme darke vnto you. But the words of the Apostle in the eleventh to the *Romans*, are plaine enough, *If God haue not spared the naturall branches, take heed, take heed, lest he spare not thee.* Build thy selfe in faith. Thus much of the thing which is prescribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edifie our selues. Now consider the *conditions* and *properties*, which are in this place annexed vnto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your selues in your faith.*

Hof. 1. 9. not
my people.
1 Pet. 2. 6. not ob-
taining mercy.

21 A strange, and a strong delusion it is wherewith the man of sinne hath bewitched the world; a forcible spirit of errour it must needs be, which hath brought men to such a senselesse and vnreasonable perswasion as this is, not onely that men cloathed with mortalitie and sinne, as wee our selues are, can doe God so much seruice, as shall be able to make a full and a perfect satisfaction before the Tribunnall seate of God for their owne sinnes, yea a great deale more, then is sufficient for themselues; But also that a man at the hands of a Bishop or a Pope, for such or such a price, may buy the *ouerplus* of other mens merits, purchase the fruits of other mens labours, and build his soule by another mans faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitternesse? Is his heart right in the sight of God? Can hee haue any part or fellowship with *Peter*, and with the *successours* of *Peter*, which thinketh so vilely of building the precious Temples of the holy Ghost? Let his money perish with him, and hee withit, because he iudgeth, that the gift of God may be sold for money.

22 But, Beloued in the Lord, deceiue not your selues, neither suffer yee your selues to be deceiued: yee can receiue no more ease nor comfort for your soules by another mans faith, then warmth for your bodies by another mans clothes, or sustenance by the bread which another doth eat. The iust shall liue

liue by his owne faith. Let a Saint, yea a Martyr content himselfe, that he hath cleansed himselfe of his owne finnes, sayth Terullian. No Saint or Martyr can cleanse himselfe of his owne finnes. But if so bee a Saint, or a Martyr can cleanse himselfe of his owne finnes, it is sufficient that hee can doe it for himselfe. Did euer any man by his death deliuer another man from death, except onely the Sonne of God? he indeed was able to *Safe-conduct* a Thiefe from the Crosse to Paradise: for to this end he came, that being himselfe pure from sinne, hee might obey for sinners. Thou which thinkest to doe the like, and supposest, that thou canst iustifie another by thy righteousness, if thou be without sinne, then lay downe thy life for thy brother, die for mee. But if thou be a sinner, euen as I am a sinner, how can the Oyle of thy Lampe bee sufficient both for thee, and for me? *Virgins*, that are wise, get yee Oyle, while yee haue day, into your owne Lampes. For out of all peraduenture, others, though they would, can neither giue nor sell. Edifie your selues in your owne most holy faith. And let this be obserued for the first *propertie* of that, wherein we ought to edifie our selues.

23 Our faith being such, is that indeed which S. Iude doth here terme *Faith*, namely, a thing most *holy*. The reason is this; We are iustified by *Faith*. For *Abraham* beleeued, and this was imputed vnto him for righteousness. Being iustified, all our iniquities are couered; God beholdeth vs in the righteousness which is imputed, and not in the finnes which wee haue committed.

24 It is true, wee are full of sinne, both *originall* and *actuell*; whosoeuer denyeth it, isa double sinner, for he is both a *sinner* and a *liar*. To denie sinne, is most plainly and cleerely to prooue it, because hee that sayth, hee hath no sinne, lyeth, and by lying, prooueth that he hath sinne.

25 But *imputation* of righteousness hath couered the finnes of euery Soule which beleueueth; God by pardoning our sinne, hath taken it away: So that now, although our transgressions be multiplied aboue the haire of our head, yet being iustified, wee are as free, and as cleere, as if there were no one spot or staine of any vncleanness in vs. For it is God that iustifieth; and who shall lay anything to the charge of Gods chosen? sayth the Apostle in the eight chapter to the Romans.

26 Now sinne being taken away, wee are made the righteousness of God in Christ. For *Dauid* speaking of this righteousness, sayth, *Blessed is the man whose iniquities are forgiven*. No man is blessed, but in the righteousness of God. Every man whose sinne is taken away, is blessed. Therefore every man whose sinne is couered, is made the righteousness of God in Christ. The righteousness doth make vs to appeare most holy, most pure, most vnblameable before him.

27 This then is the summe of that which I say: Faith doth iustifie; Iustification washeth away sinne; Sinne remoued, we are cloathed with the righteousness which is of God; the righteousness of God maketh vs most holy. Euery of these I haue proved by the testimonie of Gods owne mouth. Therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh vs most holy; in consideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our most holy Faith*.

28 To make a wicked and a sinfull man most holy through his beleeuing, is more then to create a World of nothing. Our faith most holy? Surely, *Salomon* could not shew the *Queene of Saba* so much treasure in all his Kingdome, as is lapt vp in these words. O that our hearts were stretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our vnderstanding were as bright as the Sunne, that we might thoroughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of Saints, and what is the exceeding greatnesse of his power towards vs, whom he accepteth for pure, and most holy, through our beleeuing. O that the Spirit of the Lord would giue this doctrine entrance into the stonie and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the Law of Righteousnesse, but cannot attaine vnto the righteousnesse of the Law! Wherefore? sayth the Apostle. They seeke righteousness, and not by faith. Wherefore they stumble at Christ, they are bruised, shiuered to pieces as a Ship that hath runne her selfe vpon a rocke. O that God would cast downe the eyes of the proud, and humble the soules of the high-minded, that they might at the length abhorre the garments of their owne flesh, which cannot hide their nakednesse, and put on the faith of Christ Iesus, as he did put it on, which hath said; *Doublelesse I thinke all things but losse, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Iesus my Lord, for whom I haue counted all things losse, and doe iudge them to be dung, that I might winne Christ, and might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteousnesse, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, euen the righteousnesse which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Arke of mercie, wherein this doctrine lyeth, and set it wide before the eyes of poore afflicted consciences, which flie vp and downe vpon the water of their afflictions, and can see nothing but onely the gulse and deluge of their sinnes, wherein there is no place for them to rest their feet. The God of pittie and compassion giue you all strength and courage, every day, and every houre, and every moment, to build and edifie your selues in this most pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing prescribed in this Exhortation, and also of the properties of the thing, *Build your selues in your most holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of *Prayer*, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I haue added somewhat for the applying of it both to others and to our selues.

29 For your better vnderstanding of matters containd in this Exhortation, *Build your selues*, you must note, that every Church and Congregation doth consist of a multitude of beleeuers, as euery house is built of many stones. And although the nature of the mysticall bodie of the Church be such, that it suffereth no distinction in the inuisible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Christs, and Christ is equally theirs: yet in the externall administration of the Church of God, because God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, it is necessarie, that in every Congregation there be a distinction, if not of inward dignitie, yet of outward degree; so that all are Saints, or seeme to bee Saints, and should be as they seeme. But are all Apostles? If the whole bodie were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath giuen some to be Apostles, and some to be Pastours, &c. for the edification of the bodie of Christ.

Christ. In which worke wee are Gods labourers (sayth the Apostle) and yee are Gods husbandrie, and Gods building.

30 The Church respected with reference vnto administration Ecclesiasticall, doth generally consist but of two sorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are ministred vnto, and they to whom the worke of the Ministerie is committed; *Pastours*, and the *Flocke*, ouer whom the holy Ghost hath made them ouerseers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, be his name or his degree whatsoever, bee diligent in his vocation, feed the flocke of God which dependeth vpon him, caring for it not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a readie mind, not as though he would tyrannize ouer Gods heritage, but as a patterne vnto the flocke, wisely guiding them: if the people in their degree doe yeeld themselues frameable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed and squared for the building: if the Magistrate doe carefully and diligently suruey the whole order of the worke, providing by statutes and lawes, and bodily punishments, if need require, that all things may be done according to the rule which cannot deceiue, euen as *Moses* prouided that all things might be done according to the patterne which he saw in the Mount; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of such a Congregation euery man will say, *Behold a people that are wise, a people that walke in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and vnderstanding, a people that haue skill in building themselues.* Where it is otherwise, there, *as by slothfulnesse, the rooffe doth decay; and as by idlenesse of hands, the house droppeth thorow,* as it is in the 10. of Ecclesiastes, vers. 18. so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall away, till there be not a stone left vpon a stone.

31 We see how fruitlesse this exhortation hath bene to such as bend all their trauaile only to build and manage a *Papacie* vpon earth, without any care in the world of building themselues in their most holy faith. Gods people haue enquired at their mouthes, *What shall we doe to haue eternally life?* Wherein shall wee build and edifie our selues? And they haue departed home from their Prophets, and from their Priests, laden with doctrines, which are precepts of men; they haue bene taught to tire out themselues with bodily exercise; those things are inioyned them, which God did neuer require at their hands, and the things he doth require, are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their eares filled with melodie, but their soules doe wither, and starue, and pine away; they crye for bread, and behold, stones are offered them; they aske for fish, and see, they haue Scorpions in their hands; Thou seest, O Lord, that they build themselues, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food; Their Rulers say with shame, Bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkennesse stinketh, their abominations are knowne, their madnesse is manifest, the wind hath bound them vp in ber wings, and they shall be ashamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, sayth the Prophet, is ioyned to idols, let him alone, I will turne me therefore from the Priests, which doe minister vnto idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his chosen in Israel.

32 If there bee any feeling of Christ, and drop of heauenly dew, or any sparke

spark of Gods good Spirit within you, stirre it vp, bee carefull to build and edifie, first your selues, and then your flockes in this most holy faith.

33 I say, first your selues; For, hee which will set the hearts of other men on fire, with the loue of Christ, must himselfe burne with loue. It is want of faith in our selues, my Brethren, which maketh vs* retchlesse in building others: Wee forsake the Lords inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reason of this? Our owne desires are settled where they should not be. We our selues are like those women which haue a longing to eate coales, and lime, and filth; wee are fed, some with honour, some with ease, some with wealth; the Gospell waxeth lothsome and vnpleasant in our taste; how should wee then haue a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancie our selues! If faith waxe cold, and slender, in the heart of the Prophet, it will soone perish from the eares of the people. The Prophet *Amos* speaketh of a famine, saying, *I will send a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men shall wander from sea to sea, and from the North vnto the East shall they runne to and fro, to seeke the Word of the Lord, and shall not find it. Iudgement must beginne at the house of God, sayth Peter.* Yea, I say, at the Sanctuarie of God, this iudgement must beginne. This famine must beginne at the heart of the Prophet. Hee must haue darkeness for a vision, hee must stumble at noone dayes, as at the twi-light, and then truth shall fall in the midst of the streets, then shall the people wander from sea to sea, and from the North, vnto the East shall they runne to and fro, to seeke the Word of the Lord.

34 In the second of *HAGGAI*, *Speake now*, sayth God, to his Prophet, *Speake now to Zerubbabel, the sonne of Shealtiel, Prince of Iudah, and to Iehoshua, the sonne of Iehozadak the high Priest, and to the residue of the people, saying, Who is left among you, that saw this house in her first glorie, and how doe you see it now? Is not this house in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? The Prophet would haue all mens eyes turned to the view of themselues, euery sort brought to the consideration of their present state. This is no place to shew what dutie Zerubbabel or Iehoshua doth owe vnto God in this respect. They haue, I doubt not, such as put them hereof in remembrance. I aske of you, which are a part of the residue of Gods Elect and chosen people: Who is there amongst you, that hath taken a suruey of the House of God, as it was in the dayes of the blessed Apostles of Iesus Christ? Who is there amongst you, that hath seene and considered this holy Temple in her first glorie? And how doe you see it now? Is it not in comparison of the other, almost as nothing, when ye looke vpon them that haue vndertaken the charge of your soules, and know how farre these are for the most part growne out of kind, how few there bee that treade the steps of their ancient Predecessors, yee are easily filled with indignation, easily drawne vnto these complaints, wherein the difference of present, from former times, is bewailed, easily perswaded to thinke of them that liued to enjoy the dayes which now are gone. Surely they were happie in comparison of vs that haue succeeded them: were not their Bishops men vnreprouable, wise, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, euen of those which were without? were not their Pastors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing*

* Carelesse.

Amos 8. 11.

Vers. 12.

1. Pet. 4. 17.

willing to exhort with wholsome doctrine, and to improve which gaine said the Truth? had they Priests made of the refuse of the people? were men, like to the children which were in *Ninueh*, vnable to discern betweene the right hand and the left, presented to the charge of their Congregation? did their Teachers leaue their flockes ouer which the holy Ghost had made them ouer-seers? did their Prophets enter vpon holy things as spoiles, without a reuerend calling? were their Leaders so vnkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to sell them as sheepe or Oxen, not caring how they made them away? But beloued, deceiue not your selues. Doe the faults of your Guides and Pastors offend you? It is your fault if they bee thus faultie.

Nullus qui malum rectorem patitur, eum accuset, quia sui fuit meriti peruersi Pastoris subiacere ditioni, sayth S. Gregorie, whoeuer thou art whom the inconuenience of an euill Governour doth presse, accusethy selfe, and not him.

His being such, is thy deseruing. *O yee disobedient children, turne againe*, sayth the Lord, *and then will I giue you Pastors according to mine owne heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and vnderstanding.* *1er. 3. 14. 15.*

So that the onely way to repaire all ruines, breaches, and offensiue decayes in others, is to beginne reformation at your selues. Which that we may all sincerely, seriously, and speedily

doe, God the Father grant for his Sonne our Sauour Iesus sake, vnto

whom with the holy Ghost, three Persons, one Eternall

and Euerlasting God, be honor, and glorie,

and praise for euer.

A M E N.

F I N I S.



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21 R 1 7





AN ALPHABETICALL
TABLE, CONTAINING ALL
THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS
HANDLED IN THE FIRST
FOVRE BOOKES, OF THE
ECCLESIASTICALL
Politie.

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AN ALPHABETICALL
TABLE, CONTAINING ALL
THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS
MENTIONED IN THE FIFT BOOKE

of Ecclesiasticall Politie, and in the *Diuine Treatates*;
and other godly Sermons of Master
RICHARD HOOKER.

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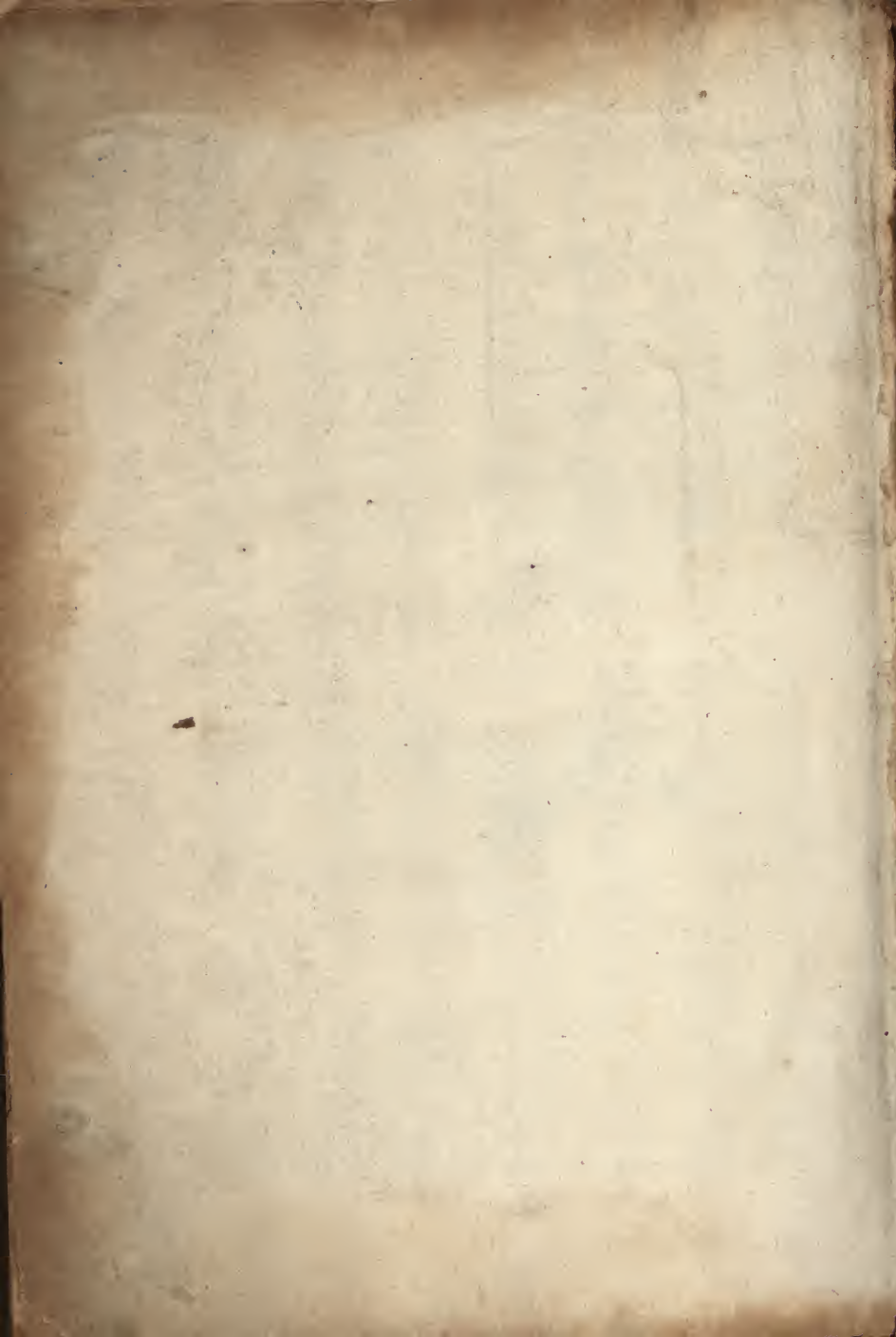
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